MAR 28 '88

I 29.2: An8/4

ORIGINAL

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD AND NATIONAL CEMETERY

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

IES
427

by

Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown

NATIONAL
PARK
SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF
THE INTERIOR

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD AND NATIONAL CEMETERY, SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

By
Charles W. Snell
and
Sharon A. Brown

U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service

Washington, D.C.

1986

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE / xiii

INTRODUCTION / xvii

CHAPTER I

The Antietam National Cemetery Association and Antietam National Cemetery, March 10, 1864-June 7, 1877 / 1

1. Establishment of the National Cemetery, 1864-1865 / 1
2. Development of Antietam National Cemetery, 1865-1867 / 6
3. Antietam National Cemetery, 1868-1877 / 21

CHAPTER II

The War Department and Antietam National Cemetery, June 7, 1877 - August 10, 1933 / 29

1. Perfecting the Title to the Cemetery and Settling the Debts of the Antietam National Cemetery Association, 1877-1879 / 29
2. War Department Improvements of the Cemetery, 1877-1889 / 33
3. Macadamized Road to Antietam National Cemetery, 1888-1928 / 41
4. Some Early Superintendents and their Problems, 1877-1897 / 47
5. Repair and Improvement of the Cemetery, 1898-1933 / 54

CHAPTER III

The War Department's Antietam Board and the Development of Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1890-1898 / 67

1. Beginning of the Movement to Preserve Civil War Battlefields by the U.S. Government, 1866-1895 / 67
2. Establishment and Development of Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1890-1894 / 68
3. Secretary of War's Office Takes Over and the George B. Davis Philosophy of Battlefield Preservation, 1894-1895 / 85
4. Development and Completion of the Battlefield, 1894-1898 / 93

CHAPTER IV

The War Department and Antietam National Battlefield Site, / 115

CHAPTER V

The National Park Service and Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1933-1942 / 141

1. The Transfer from the War Department to the Interior Department, 1924-1933 / 141

2. Coordinating Superintendents and Regional Office Administration of Antietam, 1933-1982 / 146

3. History of Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1933-1942 / 150

    a. Emergency Allotments and Civil Works Administration Projects, 1933-1934 / 151

        (1) The Historical Survey Project / 151

        (2) Labor Project for Philadelphia Brigade Park / 155

    b. Federal Emergency Relief Act Projects, 1934 / 156

    c. A Description of the Battlefield, 1934 / 159

    d. Battlefield Staff, 1934-1942 / 161

        (1) Administrative Staff / 161

        (2) Maintenance Force / 163

        (3) Maintenance Equipment / 163

    e. Normal Maintenance Routine, 1933-1942 / 163

        (1) Lawn areas / 164

        (2) Cast-Iron Historical Tablets / 164

        (3) Battlefield Roads / 165

    f. A Flagstaff on the Battlefield / 166

    g. Office for the Battlefield Superintendent / 167

    h. The Stone Observation Tower Problem, 1933-1935 / 170

    i. Law Enforcement Problems, 1933-1942 / 170

    j. Land Acquisition Program, 1933-1942 / 171

k. National Park Service Expenditures / 180

l. Interpretive Services, 1933-1942 / 180

  (1) Guided Tours / 182

  (2) Educational or Interpretive Literature, 1933-1942 / 186

  (3) The Museum and Library / 190

  (4) Plans for Trailside Exhibits, 1938-1942 / 195

  (5) The Failure to Develop an Adequate Interpretive Program, 1933-1942 / 198

m. Master Planning for Antietam, 1939-1942 / 199

n. Research, Architectural and Historical, 1933-42 / 200

  (1) Architectural Research for Buildings, 1940 / 200

  (2) Historical Research and Interpretive Planning by Historian Edward Steere, 1941-1943 / 202

o. Travel to Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1934-1942 / 209

p. Important Public Events, 1933-1942 / 210

CHAPTER VI

The National Park Service and Antietam National Cemetery, 1933-1942 / 213

1. Administration of the Cemetery / 213

2. Interments / 215

3. Policy on the Sale of Items in the National Cemetery, 1942 / 215

4. First Telephone, 1933 / 216

5. The Cemetery Front (North) Wall and Iron Fence, 1934-1935 / 216

6. Reconstruction of the Cemetery Stone Enclosing Wall, 1939-1940 / 217

7. Trees in the National Cemetery, 1933-1942 / 221

8. Cemetery Headstones, 1936 / 224

9. Cemetery Superintendent's Quarters / 225

10. Annual Expenditures on the Cemetery, 1933-1938 / 225

11. National Park Service Expenditures on Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery, 1933-1938 / 226

CHAPTER VII

Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery During World War II and in the Postwar Years, 1942-1950 / 227

1. Personnel / 227
2. Land Acquisition Program / 229
3. Maintenance Program / 232
    - a. Buildings and Structures / 232
        - (1) Administration-Museum Building (1867 Cemetery Lodge) / 232
        - (2) Park Superintendent's Quarters / 232
        - (3) War Correspondents Monument, Crampton's Gap / 232
        - (4) Burnside Bridge / 233
        - (5) National Cemetery Iron Fence / 233
    - b. Trees in the National Cemetery / 233
    - c. Water Supply, National Cemetery / 234
    - d. Roads and Trails / 234
    - e. Preservation of Historic Fields, Spong Farm / 234
    - f. Park Maintenance Equipment, 1948 / 236
4. Law Enforcement Problems, 1942-50 / 236
5. Research, 1942-50 / 236
6. Master Planning / 236
7. Travel, 1942-50 / 237
8. Special Events and Visitors, 1942-50 / 239
9. Interpretive Services, 1942-50 / 239
    - a. Guided Tours and Lectures / 239
    - b. Interpretive Literature / 240
        - (1) Self-Guiding Leaflet (1935-36) / 240

        (2) Printed Informational Leaflet (1940) / 240
        (3) Sixteen-page Sales Booklet (1941) / 240
    c. Park Library / 241
    d. Park Museums, Temporary and Permanent / 241
    e. Trailside Exhibits and Entrance Signs / 244

CHAPTER VIII

Antietam Finds a Place in the Sun, July 1950 - July 1960 / 247

General, 1950-1960 / 247

Part I--Antietam, 1950-1953 / 248

1. Personnel / 248
2. Closing the National Cemetery to Further Burials / 251
3. Land Acquisition / 252
4. Research / 254
5. Maintenance / 255
    A. Buildings and Structures / 255
        (1) Administration-Museum Building (1867 Cemetery Lodge) / 255
        (2) Superintendent's Quarters (1927-28 Cemetery Lodge) / 255
        (3) Rostrum (1879) in the National Cemetery / 256
        (4) Cemetery Garage / 256
        (5) Battlefield Utility Building / 257
        (6) Stone Observation Tower / 257
        (7) The Burnside Bridge / 257
    b. Cemetery Flagstaff / 258
    c. Wooden Benches in the Cemetery / 258
    d. Trees in the Cemetery / 258
    e. Cemetery Water System / 258
    f. Cast-Iron Historical Markers / 258

        - g. Fencing / 259
        - h. Tractor Mowing / 259
        - i. Preserving Historic Fields, the Spong Farm / 260
        - j. The Dunkard Church Site / 260
            - (1) Plans to Reconstruct the Church / 260
            - (2) Stabilization of the Church Foundations / 264
- 6. Interpretive Services, 1950-1953 / 265
    - a. Guided Tours and Lectures / 265
    - b. Interpretive Publications / 266
        - (1) Self-Guiding Leaflet / 266
        - (2) Free Six-Page Informational Folder / 267
        - (3) Sales Literature / 267
        - (4) Antietam joins the Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1960 / 268
    - c. Trailside Exhibits / 269
    - d. The Temporary Museum / 270
    - e. The Park Library / 275
    - f. Artillery Exhibits / 275
    - g. Contact with Visitors / 276
- 7. Law Enforcement Problems: Vandalism in 1953 / 276
- 8. Master Planning, 1950-1955 / 277
- 9. Travel to Antietam, 1950-1960 / 280

Part II--1954-1960: Selected Problems / 283

- 1. Historical Research and a Full Time Historian's Position / 283
- 2. Mission 66 and the New Visitor Center, 1956-1960 / 293
- 3. Mission 66 and the Proposed Exhibit Prospectus / 298
- 4. Mission 66 and Land Acquisition / 299

  - a. Plans to Expand the Park / 299
  - b. Law Permitting Expansion of the Park, 1960 / 306

CHAPTER IX

Antietam Developed, 1960-1967: Selected Subjects in Staffing / 309

1. Mission 66 Increase in Staffing, 1962-1964 / 310
2. Travel and Visitor Contacts / 312
3. Mission 66 - Land Acquisition, 1960-1967 / 313
4. Reconstruction of the Dunkard Church / 319
5. Special Events: The Battle Centennial, 1962 / 321
   - a. Clara Barton Monument Dedication / 323
   - b. Re-Enactment of the Battle / 327
   - c. Additional State Monuments / 329
   - d. Presidential Visit / 329
6. Mission 66 Development Accomplishments, 1961-1963 / 330
7. Progress During the Fiscal Year 1964 / 337
   - a. Visitor Center / 337
   - b. Superintendent's Residence (National Cemetery) / 344
   - c. Battlefield Utility Building / 344
   - d. Training / 344
   - e. Restoring the Historic Scene / 344
   - f. Improved Outdoor Interpretive Facilities / 344
   - g. Roads and Trails / 345
   - h. Soil and Moisture Conservation / 345
8. Progress During Fiscal Year 1965: Buildings / 345
   - a. Restoring the Historic Scene / 346
   - b. Interpretive Developments / 346
   - c. Maintenance Progress / 350

    - d. Soil and Moisture Accomplishments / 351
    - e. Protection / 351
    - f. Roads and Trails / 351
- 9. Progress During Fiscal Year 1966 / 352
    - a. Roads and Trails / 352
    - b. Interpretation / 353
    - c. Land Acquisition / 354
    - d. Park Development Program / 354
    - e. Statement of Significance / 360
- 10. List of Construction Plans Prepared for MISSION 66 Projects / 360
- 11. MISSION 66 Master Planning, 1960-1967 / 362
- 12. Research, 1960-1967 / 371
    - a. Historical Research / 371
    - b. Problems and Accomplishments / 375
    - c. Architectural Research / 386
    - d. Archeological Research / 386
- 13. Protection, 1960-1967 / 387

CHAPTER X

Antietam Eclipsed, December 17, 1967 - June 1974: Selected Subjects / 389

- 1. Interpretive Prospectus 1970 / 390
- 2. Design Directive--Museum Revision / 394
- 3. Monthly Reports--1971, 1972, 1973 / 395
- 4. Personnel--1967 / 407
- 5. Vandalism--1967 / 407
- 6. Power Lines--1967-1968 / 407
- 7. Land Acquisition and Expansion of Park Boundaries / 413

8. Research on Historic Structures at Antietam / 415

9. Antietam Battlefield Inventory (1974 to 1977) / 432

CHAPTER XI

Antietam Free Again, July 1, 1974 - June 1980 / 437

1. Reorganization, 1974 / 437
2. Key Personnel / 437
    a. Superintendent / 437
    b. Chief, Interpretation, Recreation, and Resource Management / 439
    c. Interpretive Specialist / 440
    d. Park Technician / 440
    e. Chief of Maintenance, 1974-1931 / 441
    f. Chief of Maintenance / 442
3. Administration / 442
    a. Personnel--Organization, 1974-1982 / 442
    b. CETA / 443
    c. YCC / 444
    d. YACC / 450
    e. EEO / 450
    f. FWP / 453
4. Budget and Finance, 1974-1982 / 453
5. Property Management / 454
6. Planning / 455
7. Statement for Management / 455
8. Advisory Commission / 456
9. Land Acquisition, 1974-1983 / 456
10. Monocacy National Battlefield, 1934-1982 / 465
11. Energy Conservation, 1978-1982 / 469

12. Maintenance, 1974-1982 / 471

13. Miscellaneous Activities / 488

14. Resource Management / 493

    a. Fish and Wildlife / 493

    b. Water Resources / 493

    c. Special Use Permits - Natural/Cultural Resources / 494

15. Search and Rescue / 497

16. Campground Management / 497

17. Communications / 499

18. Interpretation / 499

    a. General / 499

    b. Environmental Education / 508

    c. Women Cannoneers Controversy / 513

    d. Redesigned Exhibit Room / 515

    e. James Hope Paintings / 516

    f. "Antietam Visit" Film / 517

    g. Cooperating Association / 517

    h. Curatorial and Library Activities / 519

    i. Historical Research / 525

    j. Volunteers in Parks / 525

    k. Special Events / 532

        (1) Bicentennial Events, 1975-1976 / 532

        (2) President Jimmy Carter's Visit, 1978 / 534

        (3) Antietam National Battlefield's 90th Birthday, 1980 / 535

19. Concluding Comments / 536

MAPS

1. 1892 Map of National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland / 56
2. 1914 Map of U.S. National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland / 57
3. Map of Tracts and Sites within Antietam Battlefield / 177
4. Map of Troop Positions during Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862 / 205
5. Map of Tour Route of Antietam National Battlefield Site / 282
6. Map of Land Status, March 1960 / 308
7. Map of Electric Transmission Routing, March 1968 / 412

APPENDICES

I. Officers and Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery Association / 537

II. A Description of the Physical Features and Structures of Antietam National Cemetery, 1889 / 541

III. Expenditures for Repair and Improvements at Antietam National Cemetery, 1878-1894 / 547

IV. Extracts from the Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, Quartermaster-General, and the Cemeterial Branch of the Quartermaster's Office / 551

V. List of the Superintendents of Antietam National Cemetery, 1865-1942 / 553

VI. Allotments and Expenditures for Antietam National Cemetery, 1904-1938 / 555

VII. Members of the Antietam National Battlefield Site Board, 1890-1898 / 559

VIII. Superintendents of Antietam National Battlefield, 1900-1982 / 561

IX. The Antietam "Brain Trust", Civil Work Administration Project, 1933-1934 / 563

X. Extracts from Assistant Historical Technician Steere's Memorandum of October 2, 1941, Regarding Status of Research Studies / 565

XI. National Park Service Historical Studies, 1933-1941 / 569

PREFACE

This report has been prepared to satisfy the Task Directive approved by Deputy Regional Director Bob Stanton, dated March 18, 1982, requesting the Assistant Manager, National Capital Team, Denver Service Center, to proceed with an administrative history of Antietam National Battlefield and Antietam National Cemetery.

The preparation of this administrative history of Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery, 1865-1980, has involved difficulties that no one could have foreseen when this project was formulated. These include the following obstacles that had to be overcome:

1. Although the National Park Service has now administered Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery for forty-nine years, no documented studies of the operations of these areas under the War Department and Antietam National Cemetery Board of Trustees from 1865 to August 10, 1933, have been prepared. To close this gap in our knowledge involved extensive original research to bring the story down to August 10, 1933, when the National Park Service took charge of Antietam. As a result of this work, however, Chapters I to IV open doors to an unknown era of history at the battlefield.
2. When an effort was made to use and borrow the official Park Service records at Antietam National Battlefield to facilitate the writing of the National Park Service phase of the history (1933-1980), it was discovered that W. Dean McClanahan, superintendent of the C & O Canal, had destroyed most of the official park records for Antietam from 1933 to about 1965, with only few exceptions. This act of vandalism occurred in December 1967, when Mr. McClanahan and his C & O Canal staff occupied the first floor of the new Antietam Visitor Center as their administrative offices, and placed the Antietam staff in the basement rooms of the Visitor Center. The destruction of the Antietam National Battlefield records, 1933-1972, forced the writer to use the National Park Service Records of the Washington Office that had been placed in the National Archives at Washington, D.C.
3. Since January 1982, the present administration, through a reduction in force program, has reduced the staff of the National Archives by 140

positions. This has greatly slowed the furnishing and reproduction of historical materials by the archives' staff. Orders for copies of historical documents and maps relating to Antietam that were placed on April 13 were delivered on June 17, 1982. After initial contact, ten working days passed before the staff of the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, was able to produce a limited amount of data on the history of Antietam after July 1, 1949.

4. Due to the centralized filing system, without index, used by the National Park Service from July 1, 1949, to date, it was almost impossible for the staff of the Suitland Center, which has also been reduced, to produce any significant amount of data on Antietam or, indeed, any other park. Documents relating to Antietam and other parks, instead of being concentrated in geographical files under the name of the area, are widely scattered through hundreds of general files. This means that for all practical purposes, data after July 1, 1949, are largely unavailable. This, together with the 1967 destruction of the records at Antietam, means that it is impossible at the present time to write a comprehensive administrative history of Antietam from January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1972.

As the matter now stands, the administrative history of Antietam, based on documentary evidence available, may be considered complete from 1865 to June 30, 1949. From July 1, 1949, to December 31, 1953, the record is fairly complete because monthly reports of the battlefield superintendents were located in the Federal Records Center at Suitland. From January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1974, the annual and monthly reports of the superin-tendents could not be found and the narrative for this period is based only on what documents could be found in the files of the park and the Washington Office. The documentary record from July 1, 1974, to date is complete and available in the park files at Antietam. At some future date, when the National Park Service files at the Washington Federal Records Center at Suitland, Maryland, have been put in a usable condition, the administrative history of Antietam National Battlefield site from January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1974, should be restudied and rewritten on the basis of a great deal of documentary evidence that is not presently available.

A number of people have greatly facilitated the research necessary to prepare this report. I wish to thank Virgil G. Leimer, Superintendent of

Antietam National Battlefield, and his staff for their cooperation. I am particularly endebted to park technicians Paul Chiles and Betty J. Otto of Antietam for their assistance in providing much information and copies of many historical documents.

Charles W. Snell
Washington, D.C.
September 1982

BLANK PAGE

INTRODUCTION

At Antietam Creek, near the quiet town of Sharpsburg, Maryland, two great armies collided and on September 17, 1862, fought the Battle of Antietam--the bloodiest one-day battle of the Civil War. Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was intent on invading the North and the objective of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac was to stop this invasion. When the hot September sun finally set upon the devastated battlefield, 23,000 Americans had fallen in this violent conflict. Tactically a draw, strategically Antietam was a decisive Northern victory because it halted Lee's invasion and forced the Confederate Army to retreat into Virginia. Five days later, seizing upon this Federal victory, President Abraham Lincoln used the opportunity on September 22, 1862, to issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation--a dramatic step toward eliminating slavery in the United States.[1]

In March 1865, the state of Maryland passed a law appropriating funds to provide for the establishment of Antietam National Cemetery near Sharpsburg for the purpose of interring in permanent graves the bodies of the Union soldiers who fell at Antietam. Eighteen other loyal states whose sons fell during that engagement were also invited to participate in this effort. On June 7, 1877, the board of trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery Association turned their charge over to the United States Government. The War Department from 1877 to August 10, 1933, provided perpetual care to Antietam National Cemetery as a part of a system of some 82 national cemeteries established to inter the bodies of 321,623 Union soldiers, sailors, and marines.

In the late 1880s Civil War veterans from both the North and South began to think about commemorating the events in which they had taken part and of preserving forever some of the major battlefields on which they had fought from 1861 to 1865. The first such Civil War battlefield to be preserved by the War Department for the United States government was Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, authorized by an act of Congress approved on August 19, 1890. The second was Antietam National Battlefield Site, by an act approved August 30, 1890. The War Department established and developed the Antietam National Battlefield Site in 1891-1898 and maintained the park from 1898 to August 10, 1933.

---

[1] About 12,410 Union and 10,700 Confederate soldiers were killed, wounded, and missing at Antietam. Frederick Tilberg, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland (National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 31,) Washington, D.C., 1960 (revised 1961), pp. 47, 57, 1.

As part of a governmental reorganization, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Antietam National Cemetery were among the 48 historical areas that were transferred from the care of the War Department to that of the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior on August 10, 1933. The National Park Service has administered the Antietam Battlefield and Cemetery from 1933 to date.

The history that follows endeavors to explain how the Antietam National Battlefield Site and Antietam National Cemetery were established, developed, administered, and interpreted, first by the War Department, 1877-1933, and then by the National Park Service, 1933 to 1980. The role of the Antietam National Cemetery Association in establishing and first developing the Antietam National Cemetery, 1865 to 1877, is also considered.

CHAPTER I

THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, MARCH 10, 1864 -JUNE 7, 1877

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1864-1865

In early 1864, State Senator Lewis P. Firey introduced a resolution into the Senate of Maryland which appointed a joint committee "to inquire into the propriety of purchasing on the part of the State, a portion of the battlefield of Antietam, not exceeding twenty acres, for the purposes of a State and National Cemetery, in which the bodies of our heroes who fell in that great struggle and are now bleaching in the upturned furrows, may be gathered for a decent burial, and their memories embalmed in some suitable memorial."[2]

Shortly after the passage of the resolution, the committee surveyed the battlefield and selected as the most eligible and beautiful location the site where the present Antietam National Cemetery stands. The proprietor of this land also presented them with an offer to sell about 10 acres of his farm on favorable terms.[3]

Accordingly, in an act approved March 10, 1864, the state of Maryland appropriated the sum of five thousand dollars to be applied to the purchase and enclosure of a portion of the Antietam battlefield not exceeding 10 acres. The act further authorized the governor to appoint an agent to superintend the work of enclosing the cemetery, to exhume the bodies of the deceased of Maryland, New York, and other loyal states, if required, and to provide that Confederate soldiers who fell in the army of Gen. Robert E. Lee should be buried in a separate portion of the cemetery from that designed for the Union soldiers who fell under Mag. Gen. George B. McClellan.[4]

---

2. Cited from board of trustees, History of Antietam National Cemetery, Including a Descriptive List of the Loyal Soldiers buried therein, together with the Ceremonies and Addresses on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Grounds, September 17, 1867 (John W. Wood, printer, Baltimore, 1869), 7.
3. Ibid., p. 8. The Act of March 10, 1864, is Chapter 237 for the laws of 1864.
4. Ibid., p. 8.

About April 25, 1864, Augustus W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland, visited Sharpsburg, Maryland, and contracted to purchase 10 acres of the present Robert F. Kennedy farm as the site for the proposed cemetery at the price of $100 per acre. On May 4 however, George French, a Hagerstown, Maryland, lawyer handling the transaction, wrote to Governor Bradford and informed him that a good title to the tract could not be obtained at this time because one of the heirs to the property was incompetent and an inmate of a Virginia lunatic asylum. The matter remained in this incomplete state until August 1865.[5]

Meanwhile, the Maryland legislature passed an act on March 23, 1865 that repealed the act of March 10, 1864. The new law "to incorporate the Antietam National Cemetery in Washington County" directed:

> that said lot of ground purchased by the Governor .... rest and remain in the State of Maryland, in fee simple, in trust for all the States that shall participate as hereinafter provided, and said lot of ground shall be devoted in perpetuity for the purpose of the burial and final resting place of the remains of the soldiers who fell at the battle of Antietam or at other points north of the Potomac River during the invasion of Lee, in the summer and fall of 1862, or died thereafter in consequence of wounds received in said battle or during the invasion.[6]

The law appointed four Marylanders: Thomas A. Boullt, Augustus A. Biggs, Edward Shriver, and Charles C. Fulton as "Trustees for the State of Maryland, and one Trustee from each of the other States to be appointed by the Governor of their respective States." These trustees were to form "a body politic in law, under the name, style and title of the Antietam National Cemetery."[7]

---

[5] Trustees, History of Antietam N.C., p. 8; Letter of George French to Governor A.W. Bradford, May 4, 1864.

[6] The Law of Maryland Incorporating the Antietam National Cemetery Association, Passed March 23, 1865, Chapter 203, Sections 1 and 2, Maryland Law of 1865.

[7] Ibid., Section 3.

There is a copy of Chapter 203, March 23, 1865, law in National Archives R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box No. 131, Washington, D.C.

The act of March 23, 1865, directed that "the care and management of the grounds ... are hereby entrusted solely to the Trustees ... and it shall be their duty, out of funds that may come into their hands by State appropriations or otherwise, to remove the remains of all the soldiers...., and to have them properly interred in the aforementioned grounds." The law further stated that the "remains of the soldiers of the Confederate army [are] to be buried in a part of the grounds separate from those of the Union Army." The board of trustees was instructed

> to lay out and enclose said grounds with a good and substantial stone wall not less than four feet high or with an iron fence, as said Trustees may think best, and to ornament, divide and arrange into suitable plots and burial lots, establish carriage ways, avenues and foot ways, erect buildings and a monument or monuments and suitable marks to designate the graves, and generally to do all things in their judgement necessary and proper to be done to adapt the grounds to the use for which it has been purchased and set apart.[8]

The law ordered the Maryland trustees and trustees of other states who might have been appointed to hold their first meeting at Hagerstown, Maryland in May 1865 to elect a president and secretary-treasurer, and to proceed with the business of establishing and developing the cemetery.[9]

The law directed the trustees to

> appoint a keeper of the cemetery, whose duty it shall be to protect the property thereof, to make all needful and necessary repairs, to plant, cultivate and preserve the trees and shrubbery from injury, to prevent the defacement or mutilation of the tombstones and monuments, and to hold the keys and have the general superintendence of the grounds, admission of visitors and all the interior arrangements of said cemetery.

The salary of the keeper was to be established by the board of trustees. To protect the cemetery, the law provided that

> any person who shall injure or destroy any of the trees or shrubbery, or mutilate or destroy, or remove any ornament, thereof, shall on conviction thereof before any Justice of the

---

[8] Ibid., Section 4.

[9] Ibid., Section 5.

Peace, be fined not less than five dollars nor more than fifty dollars, to be recovered as small debts are recoverable.[10]

The Act of March 23 directed

> that the expenses incident to the removal of the dead, enclosing and ornamenting the cemetery, and all the work connected therewith, and its future maintenance shall be apportioned among the States connecting themselves with the corporation according to their population as indicated by their representation in the House of Representatives of the United States.[11]

Here it may be noted that of the 80 national cemeteries established by June 30, 1880, to inter 318,492 Union dead, only two, Antietam and Gettysburg national cemeteries, were initially established and developed by the states.[12] The other 78 were established by the Quartermaster Corps of the War Department.

The Maryland Act of 1865 appropriated the sum of $7,000 for the purpose of purchasing the lot for the cemetery and toward enclosing and ornamenting the burial ground. Before the end of 1865, the state of Rhode Island contributed an additional $1,000 to the Antietam National Cemetery project.[13]

The board of Maryland trustees held its first meeting in Hagerstown, Maryland on May 25-26, 1865. On the 25th, Dr.

---

[10] Ibid., Section 12.

[11] Ibid., Section 7.

[12] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 16, p. 390, Act of Congress, approved July 14, 1870, directing the Secretary of War to "take charge of the soldiers' national cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and the Antietam National Cemetery at Sharpsburg, Maryland, whenever the commissioners and trustees having charge of said cemeteries are ready to transfer their care to the general government." Number of cemeteries and number of Union soldiers buried in national cemetery from annual report of Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs to Secretary of War Alexander Ramsey for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, in Congressional Serial No. 1952, pp. 333-334.

[13] Chapter 203, Section 13, Maryland Law of 1865.

Augustin(e) A. Biggs was elected president, Gen. Edward Shriver vice-president, and Thomas A. Boullt secretary-treasurer.[14]

On May 26 the board visited and inspected the proposed 10-acre cemetery site on the Robert F. Kennedy farm. As a result of this action, on the same day the board adopted a resolution authorizing the president to purchase additional land on the east side of the proposed cemetery tract. The east addition, consisting of about one and a quarter acres, was to be acquired "with a view of throwing out a ravine on the west side, which would add greatly to the expense of the preparation of the grounds if retained within the enclosure, and appropriating it as a kitchen garden for the use of the keeper of the Cemetery, when such a one should be thereafter selected by the Board."[15]

Also on the 26th, the first steps were taken to secure a list of the names of the dead and to make a registry of the location of the graves. Immediately after the 1862 battle, Aaron Good and Joseph A. Gill, residents of Sharpsburg living in the vicinity of the battlefield, devoted their time and efforts to identifying the dead and locating their graves. By 1865 they had collected "a large number of names and carefully prepared register of the location of various graves which were scattered over a large section of country miles in extent." On the 26th the board of trustees authorized their president to employ Aaron Good to complete the existing list by going over the battlefield and making careful notes of all the information he could obtain.[16]

No further progress could be made until title of the land was obtained, so the next efforts were accordingly devoted to purchasing the cemetery tracts.

---

[14] Trustees, History of Antietam National Cemetery, 9-10. Also Index to the Resolutions and Orders and Summary of the Proceedings of the Board of the Antietam National Cemetery from May 25, 1865 to June 2, 1869 Indexed, R.P. 5, (Printed by Negley and Co., Hagerstown, Md., n.d., ca. 1869). Copy of pamphlet found in National Archives Record Group No. 92-Office of the Quartermaster General, Entry 576-General Correspondence of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1865 - 1890, Box 131-Antietam National Cemetery.

[15] Trustees, History of Antietam N.C., 10; Index to Resolutions, 1865-69, R.P. 6.

[16] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 10, 11; Index, 1865-69, R.P. 6.

Between May 4, 1864, and June 17, 1865, Jacob Firey had acquired the remaining one-fifth undivided interest in the 31¼-acre Robert F. Kennedy farm. As a court-appointed trustee (since November 17, 1859), Fiery already controlled the remaining undivided four-fifths interest in the property. On June 17, 1865, then, Jacob Fiery was finally in a position to deliver a clear title to the 10-acre tract that Governor Augustus W. Bradford had contracted to buy at $100 per acre in the spring of 1864.

On August 1, 1865, Fiery sold "Ten Acres and eight perches of land more or less" of the Kennedy farm to the board of trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery, acting on behalf of Governor Bradford, for the sum of $1,005.[17]

On September 25, 1865, the board of trustees next purchased "one acre, one rod, and nine perches of land, more or less," located on the east side of the 10-acre tract from Samuel H. Rohrbeck and Diana Rohrbeck, his wife, for $156.75 for the use of Antietam National Cemetery.[18]

By September 25, 1865, the board of trustees had purchased the site of Antietam National Cemetery, comprising 11¼ acres, for $1,161.75.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1865-1867

On July 4, 1865, Secretary-Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt was directed by the board to advertise for proposals and receive bids for the erection of a substantial stone wall around the grounds, and President Biggs was requested to furnish all information as to the dimensions and materials to be used in constructing the proposed wall.[19] At the meeting of the board, held on September 12, the three bids received to erect the stone wall were found to far exceed the money available for making improvements and hence none was accepted.

---

[17] Deed of B. & S., Jacob Firey, trustee, to Antietam National Cemetery Trustees, dated August 1, 1865, and recorded September 15, 1865. In Deed Book Liber 65, Folio 137, 138, and 139, Land Records Washington County, Hagerstown, Md. Jacob Fiery's deed of June 17, 1865, was recorded on June 25, 1865.

[18] Deed of B.&.S., dated September 25, 1865, and recorded September 26, 1865, in Deed Book, Liber 65, Folio 188, 189. Land Records, Washington County, Hagerstown, Md. A receipt for this amount, dated September 25, 1865, to Augustin A. Biggs, President, and signed by Samuel H. Rohrbeck, is in National Archives R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[19] Trustees, History of A.N.C., p. 12; Index 1865-69, R.P. 8.

> For the accomplishment of as much work as possible with the limited funds at the disposal of the trustees, it was resolved on September 12 to place the business and the general supervision of affairs in the hands of President Biggs, who, at the same time was appointed general superintendent, with instructions to proceed at once with the grading and the quarrying of the necessary stone for the walls, for the lime, and to arrange for the coping stone, and to perform all other acts towards the accomplishment of the duties imposed upon the Trustees as in his judgement he might deem necessary.
>
> In mid September 1865
>
> The superintendent at once entered upon the discharge of his duties by employing a large force, principally honorably discharged Union soldiers, to open the quarries and prepare the stone for the wall, at the same time that a similar force was engaged in removing the surface stone from the Cemetery grounds, which being unfit for the wall or to be burnt into lime, was, however, valuable for the foundation and for filling the inside of the raised part of the wall.[20]

On December 13, 1865, a meeting of the board of trustees was held at Sharpsburg for the purpose of inspecting the work performed by Superintendent Biggs and to devise means for the completion of the cemetery. It was stated in a prior notice that

> by the close of the present year, the funds-seven thousand dollars--appropriated by the State of Maryland, and one thousand by the State of Rhode Island, will be exhausted. It will therefore be necessary for other States interested in this Humane and Patriotic work to make additional appropriations for its completion.[21]

At the December 13 meeting the superintendent was authorized to prepare an estimate of the amount required to complete the cemetery, showing the proportion of each state interested. Secretary-Treasurer Boullt was also ordered to have the charter (Chapter 203) of the cemetery printed and to send copies, together with the estimate of the superintendent, to the governors of the different states.[22]

---

[20] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 12-13. Index, 1865-69, p. 10.

[21] Printed notice, dated Hagerstown, Maryland, November 20, 1865, by order of President of the Board, Thos. Boullt, Secretary, copy from Antietam Battlefield Park files. Copy provided by park technician Betty Otto.

[22] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 13-14; Index, 1865-69, R.P. 11.

Superintendent Biggs' estimate, dated December 13, 1865, for the total amount of $85,852.32 for completing the cemetery, is on the following page. The additional funds needed, he estimated, would amount to about $78,852.32. Expenditures to December 29, 1865, amounted to $6,428.84.[23]

BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION

ESTIMATED AMOUNT REQUIRED TO COMPLETE THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY,

Prepared for the Board by General Superintendent
Augustin A. Biggs, M.D., December 13, 1865.

1.	Cost of Grounds	$1,164.75
2.	2,636 perches stone, delivered, at $1.20 per perch	3,163.20
3.	173 perches stone, delivered for keeper's lodge at $1.20 per perch	207.60
4.	Expense of laying 2,636 perch at $1.50 per perch	3,954.60
5.	Expense of excavating 820 yards of foundation at 40 cents per yard	328.00
6.	Expense of 18,161 yards grading, at 30 cents per yard	5,484.30
7.	Expense of 6,560 bushels sand, at 4 cents per bus	262.40
8.	Expense of 2,500 bushels lime, at 25 cents per bus	625.00
9.	For labor	7,000.00
10.	For survey	25.00
11.	For keeper's lodge	1,500.00
12.	For entrance gate	500.00
13.	For powder and fuse	60.00
14.	For 1,915 linear feet coping, at $3.25 per foot	6,223.75
15.	For removal, boxing, and burial of 6,000 dead, at $5 each	30,000.00
16.	For tools and implements	230.00
17.	For 6,000 headstones for inscriptions, at $3 each	18,000.00
18.	For carriage ways and drainage	1,000.00
19.	For 797 feet iron fence, on front line, at $3 per ft	3,391.00
20.	For blacksmithing	500.00
21.	For iron clamps and lead for coping (on enclosing wall)	420.00
22.	For pointing wall, outside and inside, at 12 cents per perch	316.32
23.	For contingent expenses	2,500.00
	Total estimated cost:	$85,852.32

Amount already expended for work and materials (Dec. 13, 1865)	$5,200.00	– 7,000.00
Cash paid for ground	1,161.75	
Balance on hand (of Maryland Appropriation)	638.25	
	$7,000.00	
Amount yet required to complete the work		$78,852.32

---

[23] Trustees, *History of A.N.C.*, 14-15. $6,361.75 to December 13, 1865; higher figure from Second Annual Report of the President, Antietam National Cemetery, Sharpsburg, Md., June 5, 1867. R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

(Note: Rhode Island appropriation of $1,000, for some unknown reason, is not included in this estimate).

Board of Trustees, History of Antietam National Cemetery....(1869), 14-15.

Printed copies of the cemetery charter and the December 13 estimates, broken down by the quota due from each loyal state, were then mailed to the governor of each state.[24] On December 19, the board further appointed a committee to solicit an additional appropriation of $8,000 from the Maryland legislature.[25] On March 7, 1866, another committee was appointed to wait upon the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio to solicit funds on behalf of the cemetery.[26]

In an extra session held in January 1866, the Maryland legislature voted an additional appropriation of $8,000, as requested, thus making a total contribution of $15,000 to Antietam National Cemetery.[27] Other states also responded during the first half of 1866 "so that the amount of funds appropriated to the 1st day of August, A.D. 1866, amounted in round numbers to $30,000". (See chart on following page). Sixteen of the loyal states made appropriations for the Antietam National Cemetery project. As the Trustees explained the matter in their History:

> Whilst in one or two instances a State has failed to make the full amount of its appropriation to correspond to its apportionment, and in three instances no appropriation whatever has been made, in another instance the generous liberality of one has more than compensated for the deficiencies in the former. .... in the instances referred to where three States have failed entirely to make any appropriation, we believe the reason, in some degree, arises from the small number of dead from these States, who fell in this battle...[28]

---

[24] A three-page printed document, a copy from the Antietam Battlefield Park files was provided courtesy of park technician Betty Otto.

[25] Index, 1865-69, R.P. 13.

[26] Ibid., R.P. 14.

[27] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 16-17.

[28] Ibid., 17.

APPROPRIATIONS OF 19 LOCAL STATES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1865 - 1874 = $90,261.34

States	Amount Requested	Dec. 29, 1865	Aug. 1, 1866	April 4, 1867	June 5, 1867	Dec. 5, 1867	Dec. 9, 1868	Dec. 9, 1869	June 21, 1871	Dec. 11, 1871	Dec. 16, 1874
New York	$17,281.88	--	--	--	--	$10,000.00	--	--	$7,281.00	--	--
Indiana	6,132.28	--	--	--	6,132.28	--	--	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	2,299.92	--	--	--	--	2,230.00	--	--	--	--	--
Maryland	2,787.40	7,000.00	8,000.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
New Jersey	2,787.40	--	--	$1,500.00	--	1,000.00	--	--	--	--	$287.00
Illinois	7,804.72	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	652.50
Minnesota	1,114.96	--	--	462.35	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maine	2,787.40	--	2,787.40	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Rhode Island	1,114.96	1,000.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	114.96	--
Pennsylvania	13,379.52	--	--	5,000.00	--	--	--	--	7,700.00	--	300.00
Ohio	10,592.13	--	--	--	5,000.00	--	--	--	5,392.00	--	--
Wisconsin	3,344.88	--	--	--	--	--	3,344.86	--	--	--	--
Michigan	3,344.88	--	--	--	--	--	--	3,000.00	--	--	--
Vermont	1,672.44	--	--	--	--	--	1,600.44	--	--	72.00	--
Delaware	577.48	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,000.00	--
W. Virginia	1,672.44	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

New Hampshire	1,672.44	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,650.00
Massachusetts	5,574.80	--	--	4,000.00	--	--	--	--	--	1,574.00	--
Iowa	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	$85,851.32	8,000.00	12,459.80	10,962.35	11,132.28	13,230.00	4,945.30	3,000.00	20,373.00	2,760.96	2,889.50
From Interest	--	--	--	34.37	--	--	181.52	--	--	--	290.78
GRAND TOTAL	$85,851.32	8,000.00	12,459.80	10,962.35	11,132.28	13,230.00	4,945.30	3,000.00	20,373.00	2,760.96	2,889.50

As of December 9, 1869, the states had appropriated a grand total of $63,729.17 of the estimated total of $85,852.32 believed needed on December 13, 1865.[29]

"Ever since 1866," the treasury of the board of trustees has "been in a condition to promptly discharge all its financial obligations, and to leave a surplus therein."[30] This affluent condition of the treasury was apparently to continue from 1866 to 1869.

On March 7 and again on August 1, 1866, the board of trustees voted to pay Superintendent Biggs $200 and Secretary-Treasurer Boullt $100 for their services.

At the meeting held on March 7, the board ordered the superintendent to "lay off the Grounds, with a view of giving each State the necessary portion" for interring its dead. On August 1, 1866, Biggs was next directed to advertise "for laying off the Grounds and pay $100 for the plan adopted."[31] Finally, at a meeting held on September 20, the official ground plan of the cemetery, prepared by Superintendent Biggs, was formally adopted.[32]

> This plan (see Map No. 1) forms within the walls of the cemetery a semi-ellipsis, divided into segments of circles, sections and parallelograms of varying size, to correspond with the number of the loyal dead from the different states represented in the battle and each division is designated by a letter, and each section of graves is numbered in order. That portion of the grounds devoted to this purpose begins at a point within about one hundred and thirty feet from the main entrance to the cemetery, thus leaving a large space between it and wall, which extends along the line of the Sharpsburg and Boonsboro road in front [on the north side]. A main carriage drive, about 16½ feet in width, leads from the entrance [south] through the grounds. It branches in different directions into subordinate roads and walks leading to every part of the cemetery, which are macadamized and graveled.

---

29. Report of Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt to Antietam National Cemetery Association, December 9, 1869, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.
30. Trustee, History of A.N.C., p. 17.
31. Index, 1865-69, R.P. 15; R.P. 22.
32. Index, 1865-69, R.P. 24.

> Nineteen states had sections in the cemetery.
>
> "The grounds are thoroughly drained by a system of tubing, very complete, and which will provide very valuable in maintaining them in good condition against injury arising from heavy rains."[33]

The plan indicates that the proposed lodge or residence for the keeper of the cemetery was to be located within the cemetery walls, adjacent to and on the west side of the main entrance to the cemetery.

"In the centre of the ground plan of the Cemetery is an open space devoted to the [future] erection of a monument commemorative of the great event of the battle, and the heroism of those who sleep at its foot and around it."[34] This was to be the site of the Soldier's Monument.

A massive stone wall, constructed by a labor force working under the supervision of Biggs, enclosed the cemetery on three sides, while a lower stone wall about 3 feet high that was intended to be surmounted by a substantial iron fence, completed the enclosure on the north or front side.

The wall surrounding the east, south, and west sides of the cemetery was described in 1869 as follows:

> This wall is of a uniform height, on the inside of five feet, including the coping and varying on the outside from the height last named to ten and fifteen feet, owing to the unevenness of the surrounding ground, which is rolling and broken in its character, as well the grounds proper before filling up and grading the same. The coping on the wall is two feet five inches in breadth, and eight inches in thickness, and the whole length of the coping, if extended in a straight line, would measure twenty-seven hundred feet--making it over a half mile in length.[35]

---

[33] Trustees, History of Antietam N.C., 20. During 1867 $1,000 were spent for 1,500 feet of drainage tiles. Report to the governor of Pennsylvania from A.A. Biggs, Supt. of Antietam National Cemetery, November 20, 1867, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[34] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 20-21.

[35] Trustee, History of A.N.C., 19: During summer of 1867 2,115 feet of coping were cut and laid on top of the enclosing wall at a cost of $7,402.50; from report to the governor of Pennsylvania from A.A. Biggs, supt. of Antietam N.C., Nov. 20, 1867, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

At the September 20, 1866, meeting, the design for an iron fence and gateway for the north or front line of the grounds was agreed upon by the board, and according to their instructions, a contract was made with the Robert Wood & Co. of Philadelphia for a wrought iron fence 607 feet long at six dollars per foot, as well as for the iron gateway, at a cost of $880. The gateway was 26 feet in width. These items were delivered to the cemetery on September 7, 1867, and cost, including packing and shipping charges, was $4,583.40.[36]

On March 7, 1866, the board appointed a "Committee to wait on the Secretary, and make application for coffins" to bury the Union dead.[37] On March 14 Maj. Gen. D. H. Rucker, the chief quartermaster of the Washington (D.C.) Depot, informed Col. O. W. Bradley, chief quartermaster of the Baltimore Depot, that Quartermaster General M.C. Meigs "has ordered 6,000 coffins (wood) manufactured for use at Antietam National Cemetery to be delivered to you."[38] On July 16, Superintendent Biggs wrote to the secretary of war asking assistance in removing the remains of the Union dead who fell at the battlefield of Antietam and other points in the upper Potomac Valley. Responding on behalf of the secretary on August 23, Quartermaster General Meigs informed Dr. Biggs that orders had been issued to Gen. M. I. Ludington, chief quartermaster of the depot of Washington, "to remove the bodies from the battlefield and about and to deliver them to you on the cemetery grounds." He also advised Biggs that 6,000 coffins were now being shipped to Antietam.[39]

The quartermaster's burial party began burying the dead at Antietam National Cemetery on October 4, 1866.[40] In their History, published in 1869, the board of trustees described this process:

---

[36] Trustees, History of Antietam N.C., 19. The receipted bill, signed by A.A. Biggs, dated August 20, 1867 in the amount of $4,583.40 is in National Archives R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. The gates were Model #365 and the fencing was model #611. Index, 1865-69, R.P. 24.

[37] Index, 1865-69, R.P. 14.

[38] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[39] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. Also in same box, letter of Lt. Col. James M. Moore, in charge of national cemeteries, to Dr. A.A. Biggs, September 3, 1866, asking "as to the most proper time to commence operations for the Government."

[40] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. Lt. Col. James M. Moore to QMG M. C. Meigs, October 8, 1866.

> The removal of the dead was commenced in October, 1866, by the United States Burial Corps, detailed by the General Government for the purpose under the superintendence of Lieutenant John W. Sheree, and they continued their work until January, 1867, when, by reason of the severity of the weather, operations in that department were stopped. There had been removed up to that time about three thousand bodies. They resumed work in April, and finished their work in August of the same year.[41]

In a report to the quartermaster general, prepared by Maj. J. J. Dana and dated September 24, 1867, it was recorded that as of June 30, 1867, the Quartermaster Corps had interred 4,240 bodies at the Antietam National Cemetery at a cost of $24,495.04.[42]

In a completion report to General Rucker, dated September 12, 1867, Lt. Col. James M. Moore reported that the Quartermaster Corps cemeterial operations at Antietam, resulting from the instructions of the quartermaster general dated August 15, 1866 had been completed on September 4. He noted that "The Government ... furnished all necessary labor and transportation delivering the bodies at the cemetery." Continuing, he reported:

> The remains of all U.S. soldiers scattered through the Counties of Frederick, Washington, and Alleghany, including the whole northwestern part of Maryland and the cities Frederick and Cumberland have been exhumed and removed to the Antietam National Cemetery. The search has been a most thorough one and it is believed that no remains of U.S. soldiers are now scattered through the above mentioned localities. Nineteen states are represented in the cemetery.
>
> The total number of interments made is:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | U.S. Soldiers known | 2,903 |
> | U.S. Soldiers unknown | 1,792 |
> | Total: | 4,695 |
>
> Accurate records of all interments made were turned over to Colonel A. P. Blunt, A.G.N., U.S.A., Washington, D.C., with the completion of the cemetery on the 4th inst.[43]

---

[41] Trustees, History of A.N.C., p. 17-18.

[42] Part of the quartermaster general's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, Serial No. 1324, p. 560. Statement showing the number of national cemeteries not completed.

[43] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

In conclusion, Colonel Moore notified General Rucker on September 30, 1867, that the "total cost of the expenditures incurring to the Government in the establishment of the Antietam National Cemetery is $30,395.00."[44]

The original plan of interring only the dead who fell at Antietam was thus modified in 1866-67. The board of trustees remarked of this change:

> The local Trustees did not confine their action to the removal of the dead who fell at the battle of Antietam, but deemed it proper, at the suggestion of the authorities at Washington, to remove all the Federal dead who had been buried in Washington, Alleghany, and Frederick counties, Maryland, believing that course to be in accordance with the patriotic spirit with which the appropriations were made for the establishment of the Cemetery. They were exhumed, placed in coffins, and delivered to the association Superintendent, who buried them at the expense of the association. In the burial of the dead every coffin was numbered, and a corresponding number entered in a book kept for this purpose, with the name, company, regiment and State, when they could be ascertained, so that, at any time, by reference to the records, the location of any grave can at once be found. The dead were buried under the immediate supervision and eye of the President, who held the tape line over every coffin deposited, and entered the name, number and company in his fieldbook, before any earth was replaced....
>
> The trenches for the reception of the bodies are six feet in width and three feet in depth, one-third of which are quarried out of solid rock, which, to a great extent, underlies the ground of the Cemetery, and the surrounding country. Two feet are allowed for each body. The coffins containing the bodies were furnished free of charge, through the generosity of the General Government.[45]

In their History, published in 1869, the trustees listed the total number of dead interred in Antietam National Cemetery as 4,667, as compared to 4,695 as reported by James M. Moore on September 12, 1867.[46]

---

[44] Ibid.

[45] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 18. Expenditures of the Antietam National Cemetery Association made for 1,115 interments during the summer of 1867 were $138.37; "for mounding of 4,695 graves", "$234.75; and $557.50 for excavating 2,730 cubic yards of trenches. From Report to the Governor of Pennsylvania from A.A. Biggs, Supt. of Antietam National Cemetery, November 20, 1867, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

Probably as a result of the increased workload as the cemetery neared completion, the general superintendent was given a monthly salary of $100 and the secretary-treasury a salary of $50 per month on June 5, 1867.[47] A year later, on May 6, 1868, the superintendent's salary was reduced to $50 per month and that of the secretary-treasurer to $25 per month.[48]

On June 5, 1867, the board established an executive committee composed of three trustees, plus the president and secretary-treasurer included as ex-officio members. Col. W. Yates Selleck of Wisconsin was elected as chairman of the new committee. The purposes of the executive committee were "to procure designs for a Lodge House, to cost $6,000" and "to procure designs on a Monument to cost $30,000," to ornament the cemetery.[49]

On July 25, 1867, Colonel Selleck, as chairman of the executive committee, and Grant, Jackson & Co., architects and builders of Washington, D.C., entered into a contract "To furnish all material and work necessary for a 'Keeper's Lodge' and its appurtenances, upon the grounds of the Antietam National Cemetery at Sharpsburg, Maryland, and to finish and complete the same according to plans and specifications made by Paul J. Pelz, architect [of Washington, D.C.], which plans and specifications form a part of this contract, said Keeper's Lodge to be entirely completed, ready for occupancy, and delivered on or before the 1st November 1867." The contractors were to receive $5,500 for this work.[50]

Paul J. Pelz, born in Germany 26 years before, became Architect of the U.S. Lighthouse Board in Washington and later achieved prominence as co-designer of the Library of Congress and Healy Hall at Georgetown University. His commission at Antietam, a 1½-story residence with a tall square tower, was in the castellated "Gothic style" and was the only lodge of its kind to be erected in a national cemetery.[51] Constructed of native limestone, the six-room house had three rooms, including the cemetery office, on the first floor and three more rooms on the second. There was a partial cellar under the kitchen, entry, and tower. The gable roof and its four dormers were covered with slate. Cost of construction was $5,955.78. Of this sum, $220.00 was paid to architect Petz for providing the plans and preparing the specifications.[52]

---

[46] Trustees, History of A.N.C., 17.
[47] Index, 1865-69, R.P. 31.
[48] Ibid., R.P. 65.
[49] Ibid., R.P. 31, 32.
[50] R.G. 92, Entry 576. Box 130--Contract and Specifications of Keeper's Lodge for the National Cemetery at Antietam, Md., specifications--9 pp. Original plans (not found in box) consisted of four elevations and two ground plans. This contract was approved by the general board of trustees in the meeting held at Baltimore on September 16, 1867, Index, 1865-69, R.P. 45.

There is considerable documentary evidence that suggests that the contractors, Grant, Jackson, and Company, made a low bid for the construction of the lodge for the purpose of gaining an advantageous position, so that through their contacts with Chairman Selleck, they would win the large $30,000 contract for building the Soldier's Monument. They hoped "to clean up on the latter project." If this were indeed their plan, then as we shall see, they were bitterly disappointed.[53]

---

[51] In some 81 national cemeteries established and developed by the quartermaster corps, the keepers' or superintendents' lodges were built on certain standardized plans. Thus in commenting on an inspection report, the depot quartermaster officer remarked of the Antietam National Cemetery Lodge, "this lodge is distinct and different from any other in the National Cemeteries" (letter dated September 29, 1913. R.G. 92--Entry 84, File 466442).

[52] A considerable amount of data on the construction of the lodge, provided to the quartermaster general in 1882-83 by A. A. Biggs and Thomas A. Boullt is to be found in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

[53] R.G. 92, Entry, Box 130 is filled with documents on this subject provided by President A.A. Biggs and Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt. In a letter dated May 22, 1862, Biggs sent the quartermaster general a written statement by Boullt, then deceased, in which Boullt wrote, "Mr. Grant remarked to me that he expected to get the contract for the monument upon which he would clear $10,000, or the lodge house might have gone to the devil from him." The contractors suddenly became very hostile after the board of trustees meeting of September 16, 1867, when they learned that they would not receive the contract for the monument. The minutes of the board of trustees for May 6, 1868, indicate that a committee was appointed "to take charge of any law suit which may be instituted by Grant, Jackson & Co." - Index, 1865-69, R.P. 65. On the same day the board also ordered the Treasurer "to pay mechanics lien upon Lodge House, for materials furnished Grant

From June 5, 1867, to September 1867, the executive committee, under the leadership of Colonel Selleck of Wisconsin, also worked on the problem of securing plans and designs for the large monument for Antietam National Cemetery. The final meeting on this problem was held at Baltimore on September 16. The Index, 1865-67, indicates that "Designs for a Monument [were] submitted. Col. W. Y. Selleck's design adopted by an informal vote. Col. W. Y. Selleck allowed to withdraw his design. J. G. Batterson's pedestal, and Col. W. Y. Selleck's style of Statuary adopted as the design for the Monument. Committee authorized to contract for the monument."[54]

In a letter to the Quartermaster General in May, 1882, regarding the Grant, Jackson, & Co. claims of losses of $14,305.28 on their 1867 construction of the cemetery lodge at Antietam, President Biggs wrote with regard to this and the monument:

> A few days after the end of September 1867, A. C. Jackson [of the contracting firm] met with me in Hagerstown, and asked leading and searching questions in reference to the proceedings of the Board of Trustees at the meeting of the 16th September 1867, and then informed me that the design of a monument, submitted to the Board by Col. Selleck and by him withdrawn after receiving a majority vote for the adoption, was unfair to his firm, and he thought there would be a law suit about it. That that design was made by the architect of Grant, Jackson & Co. and was the property of that firm. That if they had not expected to get the monument to build they would never have touched that d__M__D little lodge house.[55]

Thus, although the executive committee was granted authority on September 16, 1867, to enter into a contract for the construction of the monument, for reasons presently unknown, four more years were to pass before such an agreement was signed and entered into in 1871.

---

53. Continued. Jackson & Co., the Contractors." Index, R.P. 66, 67. Finally, in May 1882, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives on behalf of Grant, Jackson and Sons seeking $14,305.28 in cost overruns from the United States for losses that they alleged they suffered in the construction of the Antietam National Cemetery Lodge in 1867. They were defeated in 1882 and again in 1886, when they made a second effort.

[54] Index, 1865-67, R.P. 45.

[55] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

In their history published in 1869, the board of trustees remarked of the large monument, which had not yet been erected:

> The design of the monument, which was adopted at a meeting of the Board, held in the city of Baltimore, on the 16th day of September, 1867, seems to meet all requirements in a military, national and patriotic point of view. It is the Colossal Statue of an American Soldier standing guard over the remains of the loyal dead, and when completed, will be the largest work of its kind in the country. The estimated cost is thirty thousand dollars. The Statue alone will weigh eighty-six tons.[56]

By the summer of 1867 Antietam National Cemetery was nearly completed, the enclosing walls, fence, and gates were in place or going up; the grounds had been laid out with roads and walks, most of the Union dead had been interred, and the attractive stone lodge was under construction and scheduled to be completed by November 1, 1867. The decision was thus made to dedicate the cemetery on September 17, 1867, the fifth anniversary of the Battle of Antietam. A committee of arrangements for the dedication was appointed on July 2 to plan and to carry out the preparations for this event. Invited guests included President Andrew Johnson, his cabinet, members of Congress, generals U.S. Grant, William T. Sherman, George B. McClellan, Governor Thomas Swann, ex-Governor A. W. Bradford, and all the governors and ex-governors and legislators of the states having Union dead on the battlefield. Also invited were officers of the army and navy, governors, ex-governors, and legislators of all the states.[57]

> The dedication of the grounds to the sacred purposes for which they were designed, occurred on the 17th day of September, 1867--at which time also was laid the corner stone of the Monument, with appropriate ceremonies.[58]

Full details of the program, the speakers and their speeches, including that of President Johnson, can be found in the trustees' History of Antietam National Cemetery, published in 1869.

---

[56] Trustees, History of A.N.C., P. 21.
[57] Ibid., 1865-1869, R.P. 37.
[58] Trustees. History of A.N.C., p. 21.

3. ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1868-1877

On December 4, 1867, civil engineer John Fraser, after inspecting Antietam National Cemetery, informed Treasurer Boullt that the "measured value of work done... comes to $52,526.80."[59] With the cemetery largely completed, on May 6, 1868, the salary of the superintendent was reduced from $100 to $50 per month and that of the secretary-treasurer from $50 to $25 per month.[60]

On June 17, 1868, the board instructed the superintendent to remove all projecting rocks from the grounds;[61] later on the same day he was then directed "to use all loose rocks for paving the carriage ways";[62] and on December 9 Biggs was "ordered to enclose the outside grounds of the Cemetery."[63] On June 17 a committee was also appointed "to make out and supervise the printing of the history of the Cemetery"[64] and on June 2, 1869, the board appropriated $500 to pay for the printing and distribution of the cemetery history.[65]

From December 5, 1867, to December 1869, the board of trustees received, considered, and tabled without taking any further action various proposals and plans to purchase additional ground for the burial of the ConferERATE dead.[66] Other states, with the exception of Maryland and West Virginia, were apparently not interested in using their taxpayers' money to inter the Confederate dead.

At a meeting held on June 2, 1869, the board ordered Superintendent Biggs "to proceed at once with the purchase of trees and shrubbery, and execute such other work as in his judgement may appear necessary." Coincidentally they also directed him "to repair the Lodge, paint the fences, & c." and appropriated $500 for these purposes.[67]

---

[59] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. May 6, 2868 meeting held at Sharpsburg, Md.
[60] Index, 1865-69, R.P.65. Board to meet in Philadelphia.
[61] Ibid., R.P. 69.
[62] Ibid., R.P. 70,71.
[63] Ibid., R.P. 77.
[64] Ibid., R.P. 70.
[65] Ibid., R.P. 81.
[66] Ibid., see R.P. 56, 67, 68, 69, 72, 79, 83, and 84.
[67] Index, 1865-69, R.P. 81. December 1869 meeting was held in Washington, D.C.

Treasurer Boullt indicated that $4,213.59 had been expended during 1869, leaving a balance of $2,134.84 in the treasury. For 1870 operations there would thus be available $600 for the salary of Superintendent Biggs and $1,534.84 for repairs and improvements.[68] In a second report dated December 9 Treasurer Boullt informed the board, "Since the organization of the Board I have received $63,729.17 and disbursed $61,594.33, all of which has been paid out upon orders of the Board." The "Balance in the Treasury", he reported, "was $2,134.84." In the cemetery, 4,696 Union soldiers had been buried and "there remains little of importance to be accomplished except the erection of the Monument."[69]

The money to pay for the erection of the monument, however, was lacking. The loyal states would have to make additional appropriations if this project were to be executed.

In a joint resolution, approved July 14, 1870, Congress voted

> That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, directed to accept and take charge of the soldiers' national cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and the Antietam National Cemetery at Sharpsburg, Maryland, whenever the commissioners and trustees having charge of said cemeteries are ready to transfer their care to the general government. That when the aforementioned cemeteries are placed under the control of the Secretary of War, that they be taken care of and maintained in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress entitled "An act to establish and protect national cemeteries," approved February 22, 1867.[70]

In his annual report to the secretary of war for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1872, Quartermaster General Meigs reported: "The Gettysburg national cemetery, constructed with the aid of the War Department, by State action, has been transferred to the custody of the War Department...." The transfer was made on April 18, 1872.

"The Antietam Cemetery has not been transferred to the War Department."[71] Indeed, five more years were to pass before the board of trustees turned Antietam National Cemetery over to the War Department.

---

[68] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131 - Report dated December 8, 1869.
[69] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131 - Report dated December 9, 1869.
[70] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 16, p. 390. Act of February 22, 1867, in Vol. 14, pp. 399-401.
[71] Congressional Serial No. 1558, p. 152. The Gettysburg transfer was made under the act of the legislature of Pennsylvania of April 14, 1868, and the resolution of Congress of July 14, 1870. There were 74 national cemeteries in 1872, of which all but one, that at Antietam battlefield, were under the management of the War Department.

The board of trustees apparently failed to take advantage of the Act of July 14, 1870, because it received additional appropriations from the states that amounted to at least $20,000, which could be used toward the construction of the Soldier's Monument.

On September 1, 1871, the executive committee for the board of trustees, comprised of S. Rutledge McNary of Connecticut, George B. Wright of Ohio, Brig. Gen. Erza A. Carman of New Jersey, and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt, entered into a contract with James C. Batterson of Hartford, Connecticut, to "within the space of two years from the first of October next," erect a monument in the Antietam National Cemetery and "finish the same complete entire according to the design hereto annexed and the accompanying specifications for foundations," for the total sum of $30,000. This amount was to be paid as follows:

1. $ 5,000 on approval of contract (1871).
2. $ 5,000 on March 1, 1872.
3. $ 5,000 on September 1, 1872.
4. $ 5,000 on March 1, 1873.
5. $ 10,000 due on completion of contract (Oct. 1, 1873).

$ 30,000 Total.

The foundation for the monument was to be erected and paid for by the Antietam National Cemetery Association.[72] This contract was entered into under the board of trustees resolution of September 16, 1867.

The monument was to be of white granite from the granite works at Westerly, Rhode Island. It was to be 22 feet square at the base and

---

[72] Articles of Agreement for the Soldier's Monument, dated September 1, 1871, between James G. Batterson and Board of Trustees of Antietam National Cemetery Association, 99 pp., and "Plan-Elevation of foundation of Antietam Monument, to be built of rough stone laid in cement, Scale ½ inch to one foot, dated 1867." All in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

44 feet 7 inches in height from the foundation to the top of the statue. The statue itself, 21 feet 6 inches high, was to be of a soldier on guard. The $30,000 included the making, delivery, and erection of the monument, except for the underground foundation. Contractor Batterson was "the same who executed the monument at Gettysburg National Cemetery."[73]

The board of trustees completed the first four scheduled payments in 1871-73, which totaled $20,000, but they were unable to make the final payment--the balance of $10,000 that was due on October 1, 1873. There the matter was to rest for six more years, when the United States government finally paid the outstanding balance (plus interest) in 1879.

Although the sentry, sculptured by James W. Pollette at the Batterson Quarry at Westerly, R.I. in 1871-73, was not placed at Antietam National Cemetery until 1880, the stone giant was not idle during this period. The statue, but probably not the base, was finished on schedule and the soldier sent to the centennial exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. During the exposition it stood at the main entrance to the grounds and when the Centennial was over, the soldier returned to Stonington, Connecticut.[74]

Hiram S. Siess, the first "keeper" of Antietam National Cemetery, had served for three years as a sergeant in Company H, Ist Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade Volunteers during the Civil War. From 1865 to 1867 he served as timekeeper for Superintendent Biggs. From the fall of 1867 to June 1871, Siess was given the new lodge to live in free of charge, thus affording the cemetery some protection, but he received no salary until June 22, 1871, when the board of trustees appointed Siess "keeper" of the cemetery at an annual salary of $500. Siess received his salary and acted as keeper, taking care of the grounds, from June 22, 1871, to December 31, 1875, when his salary ceased because the board ran out of money. Siess continued to reside in the lodge from January 1876 to June 1877, twenty months, without receiving any pay. His presence helped protect the cemetery, but to earn a living he had to work at an outside job and could not take care of the cemetery grounds.[75]

---

[73] Executive Committee to Hon. D. Weise, Hagerstown, Md., September 30, 1871, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[74] Data on the adventures of the soldier's statue, 1874-1876, furnished by park technican Betty J. Otto, see Centennial International Exhibition, Illustrated Volume I (Fine Art) (Philadelphia, Jebbie and Barries, 1876-78), pp. 62-63.

Out of funds and with no appropriations being received from the states, the board of trustees began to show an interest in transferring the care of Antietam National Cemetery to the U.S. Government, as well as in settling the large debt it had incurred in procuring the Soldier's Monument for Antietam.

An Act of Congress, approved March 2, 1877, accordingly directed:

> That for the purpose of discharging the balance of the indebtedness incurred by the board of trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery in establishing the same and improving the grounds thereof and the proper burial therein of the soldiers who fell on the battlefield of Antietam, there is appropriated the sum of fifteen thousand dollars...or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, in the liquidation of such indebtedness; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to hereafter provide for the preservation and superintendence of the said cemetery as one of the national cemeteries of the United States under the laws now in force in regard to such national cemeteries: Provided, That the said sum of fifteen thousand dollars.... shall not be paid until the legal title to the said property shall be vested in the United States.[76]

Following passage of the law on March 2, 1877, Quartermaster General Meigs sent an agent to report on the physical condition of Antietam National Cemetery. O. Cox reported on April 24, 1877:

> The place is in tolerably fair condition but from the fact as I understand it, that the Superintendent gets no pay (simply getting the use of the lodge for taking care of the cemetery) it would be desirable for us to take charge of it as soon as

---

[75] Data from a letter of H. S. Siess to the secretary of war, August 26, 1878, applying for a letter of H.S. Siess to the secretary of war, August 26, 2878, applying for a permanent position as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery under the War Department, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[76] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 19, p. 269.

> possible, otherwise when we do get it we may find a great deal of work necessary . . . all things considered I think it would be well to have us take steps now to have the cemetery turned over to us so we can keep it in proper condition as the [1877] law directs. Some arrangement will have to be made about a superintendent. The [present U.S.] law allows 70 and that number is already in service [at the other national cemeteries].[77]

On June 6 and 7, 1877, the trustees voted to transfer Antietam National Cemetery to the United States under the terms of the Act of March 2, 1877.

On June 27 an inventory of property being transferred, including 11 acres of land, the enclosing walls and gates, lodge, tools, furniture, and the liabilities of the association, was sent to the secretary of war.

The debts of the Board were as follows:

James G. Batterson--for soldier's monument	$10,000.00
To Executive Committee for Monument--travel expenses:	
Dr. S. R. McNary	$ 185.00
Gen. Geo. B. Wright	171.23
Gen. Erza A. Carman	22.50
Estimated total debt:	$ 10,378.73 [78]

Secretary of War G. W. McCrary assumed charge of the Antietam National Cemetery on June 22, 1877, writing to the Quartermaster General:

> I recommend that the Antietam Cemetery be announced in General Orders as a first class cemetery and that until a regular superintendent is assigned to duty there the man who has been employed for some years past [Hiram Smith Siess] as Keeper be hired by the Quartermaster... at a salary of $40.00 per month and the authorized allowance for fuel.[79]

The addition of Antietam by June 30, 1877 brought the number of national cemeteries under the care of the War Department to 79.[80]

---

[78] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. This list did not include interest due on the $10,000 from 1873 and storage charges for the monument. The association was also responsible for contruction of a foundation of the monument.

[79] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[80] Annual Report of Captain A.F. Rockwell, in charge of national cemeteries to Quartermaster General M.C. Meigs, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, in Serial No. 1794, p. 323, also see p. 194.

James Gall, civil engineer representing the Quartermaster Corps, formally visited and took possession of Antietam National Cemetery on behalf of the War Department on September 25, 1877.[81]

The Adjutant General, in General Order No. 68 issued on October 5, 1877, made Antietam National Cemetery a national cemetery of the first class.[82]

The cemetery board of trustees, from 1865 to 1874, had collected and spent approximately $90,261.34 on the establishment, development, and maintenance of Antietam National Cemetery. In addition, they owed $10,378.00 for the construction of the Soldier's Monument and other items.

---

[81] Report of James Gall, civil engineer, for the quartermaster of the Washington Depot, D.C., dated September 26, 1877. R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

[82] Order in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

Record of Expenditures by the Board of Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery Association, Sharpsburg, Maryland

May 25, 1865 - June 27, 1877

Period	Amount Expended	Balance on Hand	Taken in
May 25, 1865 - Dec. 29, 1865	$ 6,428.84	$ 1,571.16	$8,000.00
Dec. 30, 1865 - Aug. 1, 1866	9,492.71		12,459.80
Aug. 2, 1866 -June 5, 1867	14,822.34	11,845.21	22.099.00
SUBTOTAL: 1865-June 5, 1867	$ 30,743.59	$11,845.21	$ 42,588.80
June 6, 1867 - May 6, 1868	23,642.61	1,432.60	13,230.00
May 7, 1868 -Dec. 9, 1868	3,210.99	3,348.43	5,126.82
Dec. 10, 1868 - Dec. 9, 1869:	4,213.59	2,134.84	3,000.00
SUBTOTAL: 1865 - 1869:	$61,810.76	$ 2,134.84	$ 63,945.62
Dec. 10, 1869 - June 21, 1871	2,246.35	2,588.49	$ 63,945.62
June 22, 1871 - Dec. 11, 1872	16,526.14	6,502.81	2,700.00
Dec. 12, 1872 - Dec. 16, 1874	8,158.61	1,524.48	3,180.28
Subtotal: 1865-1874	$ 88,741.86	$ 1,524.48	$ 90,261.34
Dec. 17, 1874 - Feb. 14, 1877	1,254.34	270.14	0.00
Feb. 14, 1877 - June 27, 1877	270.14	0.00	0.00
GRAND TOTAL, 1865 - June 1877:	$90,261.34	0.00	$90,261.34

Cost of Construction:

Iron Gates	$ 880.00
Iron Fence	3,703.40 (607 feet)
Coping on Wall, Stone	7,402.50 (2,115 feet)
Lodge	5,955.78
Land, 11½ acres	1,161.75
Soldier's Monument	32,804.04 ($20,000.00 by Association).
For 1,500 feet drainage tile	1,000.00
Construction stone enclosing wall, about	36,090.80.

Keeper's Salary, July 1871-Dec. 31, 1875: $2,250.00

Salary of General Supt. A.A. Bigg, Sept. 16, 1865 - July 1870: $ 9,375.00.

Salary of Secretary-Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt, Sept. 16, 1865 - July 1870: $ 2,287.50.

Source: Secretary-Treasurer Thomas A. Boullt's Reports, 1865-1877.

CHAPTER II

THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, JUNE 7, 1877-AUGUST 10, 1933

Beginning in 1865, under the able leadership of General Meigs, Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army, the Quartermaster Corps of the War Department had begun the tremendous and difficult task of interring the bodies of Union soldiers who had died during the Civil War in a number of national cemeteries where their remains would receive perpetual care. By June 30, 1877, the Quartermaster Corps had established 77 such cemeteries and with the Gettysburg and Antietam cemeteries included, they were now maintaining 79 national cemeteries. As of June 30, 1878, 310,943 U.S. soldiers, including 165,102 known and 145,841 unknown soldiers, had been buried in these national cemeteries. From 1865 to June 30, 1877, the War Department had spent $5,253,719.95 to establish, improve, and maintain this system of national cemeteries.[1]

1. PERFECTING THE TITLE TO THE CEMETERY AND SETTLING THE DEBTS OF THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION, 1877-1879

On June 24, 1877 the secretary of war directed the quartermaster general to take the necessary action to perfect United States title to Antietam National Cemetery and to protect and preserve the same.[2] This action was required by the Act of March 2, 1877. Once the title had been perfected, then the debts of the Antietam National Cemetery Association, which were estimated to be about $10,378.73, could also then be paid off from the appropriation of $15,000 that Congress had made for that purpose in the Act of March 2. On December 11, 1877, the secretary of war wrote letters to each of the governors of the sixteen states (those which had appropriated money for the development of Antietam National Cemetery and had a trustee on the cemetery board) requesting that each legislature pass an act consenting to the transfer of title to the United States.[3] Two years were to pass before the title could be perfected because it turned out that in three of the states, namely Indiana, Michigan, and West Virginia, the legislatures met only once every two years and the next such meetings would not be until 1879.[4] A large file of correspondence developed on this subject because some states failed to reply to the 1877 letter and it was necessary to remind the governors in other states to ensure that the legislatures passed the necessary laws.[5]

---

[1] Data compiled from the annual reports of the quartermaster general, M.C. Meigs, to the secretary of war for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1871, 1872, 1874, 1875, and 1876, published in Congressional Series No. 1503, p. 136; 1558, p. 151; 1597, p. 198; 1635, p. 213; 1674, p. 283; 1742, p. 290; and 1794, p. 194-195. Total number of dead from No. 1843, p. 390. About 20,000 Confederate soldiers were also buried in these national cemeteries.

[2] Letter of June 24, 1877, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

Each act also had to be reviewed by the attorney general of the United States to make sure that the law did effectively transfer title to the United States. On July 26, 1879, Quartermaster General Meigs was finally able to inform Secretary of War Alexander Ramsay:

> The State of Maryland Act approved March 13, 1878 has transferred title [and also concurrent jurisdiction] to the United States and all other States have authorized the transfer by August 1, 1879. The Department of Justice has accordingly under the date of 26th July 1879 decided that the United States are now clothed with a good and valid title to the premises.

This meant, Meigs reminded the secretary, that the debts of the board of trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery could now be legally settled.[6]

---

[3] Most of the letters are in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[4] Letter of James D. Williams, Governor of Indiana, to the secretary of war, December 14, 1877, explaining the next meeting of the state legislature would be in January 1879, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[5] Quartermaster General M.C. Meigs, July 20, 1878, to secretary of war asking him to write to the governors of Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Vermont as these states had never answered the letter of December 11, 1877, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[6] QMG, to sec. of war, July 26, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

The sixteen "loyal" states transferred title to Antietam National Cemetery to the United States as follows:

1. Connecticut, March 26, 1878.
2. Rhode Island, April 12, 1878.
3. New Jersey, February 7, 1878.
4. New York, January 19, 1878.
5. New Hampshire, August 9, 1878.
6. Wisconsin, March 1, 1878.
7. Pennsylvania, April 24, 1878.
8. Maryland, March 13, 1878.
9. Maine, February 13, 1878.
10. Massachusetts, March 29, 1878.
11. Ohio, May 6, 1869.
12. Vermont, October 18, 1878.
13. Minnesota, March 3, 1879.
14. Michigan, March 3, 1879.
15. Indiana, March 29, 1879.
16. West Virginia, March 11, 1879.[7]

---

[7] Letters and laws mostly in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Park 1, List of papers relating to the title to Antietam National Cemetery, Maryland, transmitted by the War Department to the Interior Department, December 29, 1933, pursuant to Executive Order No. 6166, dated June 10, 1933 (2 sheets).

The outstanding debts of the Antietam National Cemetery Association in 1879, $12,806.04, related to the construction of the Soldier's Monument for the Antietam Cemetery. These debts were paid in 1879 from the $15,000 appropriated by the Act of March 2, 1877, as follows:

1.	To James G. Batterson, contractor, for unpaid portion of $30,000 contract price of monuments	$10,000.00
	Interest of $7,500 thereof from January 1, 1874 to March 2, 1877, 3 years 2 2/3 mos. @ 6% per ann.	1,427.50
	For Storage of monument same period @ $100.00 per ann.	317.18
	For extra work on letters	100.00
	Total paid to James G. Batterson	$11,844.68

To Executive Committee of Board of Trustees for the Monument:

2.	Dr. S. Rutledge McNary, Chairman	$185.00
	Gen. George B. Wright	171.23
	Gen. Erza A. Carman	22.50
	Total to Executive Committee for monument:	$378.73

3.	For construction of the foundation of the monument in 1879:	
	To Krietzer & Bank for building the foundation for the monument	$532.53
	To Urias Knode for hauling earth for the foundation of the monument	50.10
	Total for construction, 1879, of foundation:	$582.63

Grand total of debts of Board of Trustees paid in 1879 $12,806.04.[8]

---

[8] Letter, quartermaster general to Hon. Thomas J. Hunderson, Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, May 13, 1882 -- R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

With this expenditure by the War Department, the total cost of shaping and erecting the Antietam Soldier's Monument came to $32,806.04.

The estimated cost of establishing, developing, and maintaining Antietam National Cemetery from May 25, 1865, to June 7, 1877, was approximately $133,462.38. Of this sum, the Antietam National Cemetery Association, by means of appropriations from 16 states, provided about $90,261.34 and the United States expended a total of $43,201.04; $30,395.00 in 1867 and $12,806.04 in 1879. All further improvements and repairs made after June 7, 1877 were to be the responsibility of the War Department.

2. WAR DEPARTMENT IMPROVEMENTS OF THE CEMETERY, 1877-1889

While the quartermaster general's office was busy from 1877 to 1879 perfecting title to the land and settling debts of the cemetery association, Capt. A. F. Rockwell, in charge of national cemeteries, Office of National Cemeteries, Washington, D.C., was engaged during the same period making physical improvements to the Antietam cemetery.

Following the recommendations of civil engineer Gall of the Washington Quartermaster Depot, $405.34 was spent during the spring of 1878 to replace the roof timbers of the tower of the lodge and to relay the slate roof of the main structure; also a new flagstaff was erected at a cost of $170.[9]

---

[9] For detailed recommendations, see engineer James Gall's report of October 30, 1877, to the depot quartermaster, Washington Depot.

On May 15, 1878, Gall next suggested that the proposed wooden tool house for the Antietam cemetery, which was to cost $200, be replaced by a fireproof stone shed with a slate roof that would cost $310. Gall also provided the plan and specifications for the stone shed. The structure, with 18-inch hammered dressed stone walls laid in good mortar, was to measure 20 by 16 feet and to consist of one story 10 feet in height. The roof was to be of slate and there were to be two windows and one door. Gall had also obtained two bids ranging from $305 to $310 for constructing the stone shed. Gall's plan for the stone tool house was adopted and the contract for the structure was awarded to the low bidder, Wallace Stetson, at $305.[10]

Construction of the stone tool shed got underway in September 1878, and was completed by the end of the year. Stetson was allowed an additional $25 "for extra work done on the Tool House at Antietam National Cemetery," so that the cost of construction came to $330.[11]

The next structure to be erected by the Quartermaster Corps during the spring of 1879 was a rostrum, built on what was known as the General Meigs standard plan then being used in all national cemeteries. The contract between Captain Rockwell and Jonathan Lake, the low bidder, for the rostrum at Antietam National Cemetery was signed on February 8, 1879. The structure was to be erected between February 4 and May 25, 1879, and Lake was to be paid $915.[12] On March 27, however, the original specifications were revised to substitute stone for brick in the foundations, other changes were made, and an extra charge of $485 was approved by the Quartermaster General for the change orders.[13]

---

[10] Engineer James Gall to Capt. A. F. Rockwell, May 15, 1878, together with the plans for the tool house in color, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[11] Engineer James Gall's report of September 30, 1878 to Capt. A. F. Rockwell, indicates construction on tool shed is underway and about half, $150, done. Captain J. M. Marshall to Capt. A.F. Rockwell January 13, 1879, re additional payment of $25, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. Also Serial No. 1903 — "Statement of disbursement of appropriations for national cemeteries during fiscal year ending June 30, 1879 -- p. 368 -- Antietam -- Outbuildings.

[12] Contract, dated February 8, 1879, including the plan of the rostrum, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[13] Correspondence and change in specifications, March 19 and 17, 1879, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

The new rostrum was ready for use on Decoration Day, 1879, and Captain Rockwell so informed Quartermaster General Meigs in his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, also noting that "Vines have been planted around them [the new rostrum] to afford shade and to add to their appearance."[14] The cost of the new rostrum was $1,400 and with the new stone tool shed, $1,730 had been expended on the construction of new structures at Antietam during fiscal year 1879.[15]

On August 1, 1879, the United States secured a title to Antietam National Cemetery, so that the War Department could now settle the outstanding debts owed by the Antietam National Cemetery Association. This meant that the giant Soldier's Monument, contracted for on September 1, 1873, for $30,000 could finally be paid for in full, completed, delivered, and erected at Antietam.

On August 1, 1879, Captain Rockwell notified Contractor Batterson that "The title to Antietam National Cemetery is now vested in the United States and the debts of the Antietam Cemetery Association can now be liquidated."[16] With money available to pay him Batterson resumed work on the Soldier's Monument, probably completing the huge base at this time.

Batterson replied on August 9, writing that the Soldier's Monument would be shipped as soon as the foundation in Antietam National Cemetery could be built. He enclosed a plan for the design of the foundation and gave detailed instruction regarding its construction. Under the contract, the Cemetery Association was responsible for the building of the foundation.[17] On August 14 the Quartermaster General decided that the cost of erecting the foundation could be properly charged to the $15,000 appropriated by the Act of March 2, 1877, to settle the debts of the Cemetery Association.[18]

---

[14] Serial No. 1903, p. 367.

[15] Serial No. 1903, p. 368--Antietam Outbuildings--Statement of disbursements of appropriations for national cemeteries during fiscal year ending June 30, 1879.

[16] Rockwell to Batterson, August 1, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[17] J. G. Batterson, President, The New England Granite Corporation, to Captain A. F. Rockwell, August 9, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[18] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

On September 23 Dr. McNary, chairman of the executive committee of the Antietam National Cemetery Association, informed Captain Rockwell that he had inspected the monument "at the quarry, in Westerly, R.I., and finds it meets the terms of the contract with J. G. Batterson." He further reported that the monument was ready for shipment by water to Georgetown. It would then be sent up the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal by barge to Grover Landing, Maryland. From there it would have to be hauled 1¼ miles by highway to the cemetery. The "weight of the granite soldier," he warned, was "27 tons and the weight of the monument [on which the soldier stood] 212 tons."[19]

On October 15 civil engineer Clarke informed Captain Rockwell that the masonry foundation for the Antietam monument had been completed. "The work was done by Messrs Kretzer and Bark of Keedysville [Md.] for $532.00." Continuing, Clarke wrote "The foundation was built so as to raise the cut stone work of the base profile three feet above the adjoining surface--so that the mound (constructed by Urias Knode at a cost of $50.10] was necessary." The cost of this work, $582.63, was charged against the March 2, 1877, appropriation of $15,000.[20]

On October 24, 1879, Batterson wrote to Rockwell to inform him that a vessel had been secured, that the monument was then loading at Stonington and would sail for Georgetown. The statue, he reported, was being boxed.[21]

On December 19 George A. Haverfield, superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery, informed Captain J. M. Marshall, assistant quartermaster of the Baltimore Depot:

> The work of setting up the monument is progressing slowly - eight stones have been put into position, eight others are on the grounds. The balance are on the landing on the Canal [C&O] except one piece of the Statue which is at the bottom of the River at Washington.[22]

---

[19] McNary to Rockwell, September 23, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. On June 26, 1879, McNary notified Captain Rockwell that he had accepted the statue for the Soldier's Monument but that the balance of the monument was yet to be inspected.

[20] Clarke to Rockwell, October 15, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[21] Batterson to Rockwell, October 24, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[22] Letters Sent Letter Book, Antietam National Cemetery, pp. 21-22, Antietam National Battlefield Museum Catalog No. 1446. Data courtesy of Park Technician Betty J. Otto.

On January 22, Haverfield notified Captain Marshall that the Soldier's Monument "will be ready for inspection and acceptance by Wednesday, [January] 28, 1880," by the War Department.[23]

Thus, seven years after the planned date the giant stone soldier took up his post on sentry duty at Antietam National Cemetery. The monument was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on September 17, 1880, the 18th anniversary of the battle.

Prior to this, on November 29, 1879, the three members of the executive committee of the cemetery association for the monument, McNarry, Wright, and Carman, were paid by the United States the $378.73 due them for their travel expenses.[24] The cost of the Soldier's Monument, from 1871 to 1880, as has been noted, was $32,806.04.[25]

In addition to the new structures, improvements were also made to the grounds. Work began in the spring of 1878. The burial sections were graded, dressed, and seeded with grass. The avenues were also graded and many deciduous and evergreen trees were planted--the deciduous along the avenues and the evergreens in the burial sections. The superintendent was authorized to hire a horse to operate the cemetery-owned horse mower and two men for maintenance work.[26] Additional trees were set out in the following years. In 1880 Civil engineer Gall reported that the trees "are doing remarkably well and already produce a gratifying change in appearance." He also noted that the land around the newly erected Soldier's Monument "has been restored and improved." The enclosing stone wall of the cemetery was also repointed in June 1880 at a cost of $599.50.[27] "The number of visitors to Antietam is large," he reported and "The improvement in the appearance and condition of the Antietam Cemetery since the Government assumed charge of it is great and generally remarked by visitors."28

---

[23] Ibid, p. 26.
[24] Treasurer of U.S., Nov. 29, 1879, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.
[25] See pages 32-33 for details.
[26] James Gall, Jr., civil engineer, report, May 11, 1878, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.
[27] Report of Gall, Jr., June 28, 1880, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130; for cost of repointing see Serial No. 1952, p. 478.
[28] Report of June 28, 1880.

On May 16, 1881, civil engineer Gall next reported after an inspection of Antietam, "I find the place steadily improving in condition and appearance. The sections are now mostly well sodded. Most of the avenues well grassed over, and the lawns between the circular drive and enclosing wall... now in excellent shape and condition."[29] Capt. Foster, assistant quartermaster, Baltimore Depot, inspected Antietam in July and also found the cemetery in excellent condition. He informed the Quartermaster General, in part:

> The wire barbed fence to inclose the strip of ground lying between turnpike and front wall, as recommended by Mr. Gall, will be erected this fall. The unsightly boxes protecting the young trees on this ground will be removed....

Of the Soldier's Monument, he noted: "The sodded circle at the base of this monument presents a rather naked appearance." The suggestion made by Gall "of planting shrubby here is good." He further noted that "an arbor is now being erected over this cistern [located near the lodge] at a cost of $74.75."[30]

The Sharpsburg (Md.) Enterprise also commented on the fine appearance of the cemetery on March 17, 1882, writing:

> Work has again resumed here, and the presently contemplated improvements will greatly enhance its beauty. The grounds outside of the walls have been graded with rich soil, which will be planted with grass seed. On the border of this little plot is a row of symmetrical deciduous trees, just within the handsome barbed wire fence. At regular intervals through the center of the park-the spaces to alternate with the outer row of trees--will be planted a row of evergreens.
>
> The superintendent [Walter A. Donaldson] has been notified that 700 new trees and shrubs will be forwarded early in the season to be placed in the cemetery. Among the rare trees grown there are a half dozen Swiss stone pines and four cedar of Lebanon, the only ones in the States.[31]

Quartermaster Foster again inspected Antietam on May 16, 1884 and informed Lt. Col. William D. Whipple, assistant adjutant general, Division of North Atlantic, in part:

---

[29] Inspection report of May 16, 1881, in R.G 92, Entry 576, Box 130.
[30] Inspection Report to QM General, September 22, 1881, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. He inspected Antietam on July 24, 1881.
[31] Clipping from paper in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

> The office records are better and more systematically kept at this than at any cemetery I have ever inspected. The accounts pertaining to expenditures and the history in detail of every day's operation at the cemetery are so kept that most minute transactions at any past time can be readily referred to....
>
> The Rostrum is in good condition and the vines cultivated for its adornment are tastefully arranged. Also the hedges, especially the box hedges lining one of the avenues and the trees and shrubs throughout the cemetery.
>
> There is no cultivation here of flowering bushes or beds of flowering plants and the cemetery looks all the better for it....
>
> The only ungrassed avenue here is the one leading from the main entrance to the [soldier's] monument near the center of the cemetery. This is in excellent condition, having been recently covered with lime cinder, which makes a smooth and hard road.
>
> The appearance of this Cemetery throughout is highly creditable to the Superintendent [W. A. Donaldson]. The inspector could not find a neglected spot anywhere.[32]

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, $460 was spent making repairs and improvements to the cemetery lodge.[33]

The only other structure erected on the cemetery grounds prior to January 1889 was a brick privy with slate roof, 6 by 10 feet in size. This building was about 75 yards northwest of the lodge, at the northwest corner of the cemetery. For a detailed description of Antietam National Cemetery, including its walls, buildings, monuments, roads and avenues, written by Superintendent George Hess about January 8, 1889, see Appendix No. II.

---

[32] Report of May 16, 1884, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

[33] $375.00 were spent in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888. See Serial No. 2628 590-591, and $85.00 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889. See Serial No. 2715, p. 727. The "Proposals for Repairs to Lodge and Outbuilding at Antietam National Cemetery, Maryland, August 16, 1887" are in R.G. 92, Entry 667--"Specifications, Estimates and Proposals for Road Construction, Earth Work and Buildings at National Cemeteries, 1885-1889," two volumes.

From July 1, 1877 to June 30, 1894, the War Department spent a total (exclusive of the superintendents' salaries) of $16,565.84 for the improvement, repair, and maintenance of Antietam National Cemetery, averaging about $900.00 per year over this 17-year period. The money was spent on the following items:

Repair of enclosing walls and gates	$ 706.50
Repair and improvement of the lodge	1,241.29
For construction and repair of outbuildings	1,806.37
For tools	942.80
Trees and plants	299.89
For seasonal maintenance employees	7,865.74
For repair of drainage system	30.00
For flag staffs and monuments	368.61
For water system, including a new well dug in 1892 for $200.00	285.30
For office furniture	64.50
For interments	72.75
For fuel (1887-94 only)	555.86
For forage (cemetery had no horse)	0.00
For transportation	124.75
For purchase of land recording deed ?, 1878)	5.00
Grand total, July 1, 1877 to June 30, 1894	$16,565.54.[34]
With salary of cemetery superintendent, $900.00 a year included, except for $480.00 for first year	14,880.00
Total expenditures, July 1, 1877-June 30, 1894	$31,445.84
Expended by cemetery association and U.S., 1865-77	133,462.38
Approximate total of expenditures, 1865 to 1894:	$164,908.22

---

[34] A detailed and documented annual breakdown of expenditures from July 1 to June 30, 1894, will be found in Appendix No. 111 of this study.

3. MACADAMIZED ROAD TO ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1888–1928

On January 30, 1888, civil engineer W. H. Owen submitted an estimate of the cost of constructing a macadamized road to be built from Antietam Station on the Shenandoah Valley Railroad to the Antietam National Cemetery by the United States—a distance of 1½ miles. About three-fourths of this way lay through the village of Sharpsburg and in front of the cemetery. The legal width of the road was 60 feet, but he reported that encroachment by farm fence lines had reduced the width to less than 40 feet and generally not over 50 feet. The portion of the road through Sharpsburg and in front of the cemetery was already macadamized to a width of 16 feet in the center. Engineer Owen recommended that the entire road be built to a width of 60 feet.

In the justification for spending federal funds on what might appear to be a local highway, engineer Owen wrote:

> The Antietam National Cemetery, on part of the site of a great battle, is one of the most noted in the country. On Memorial Day it is visited by 15 or 20,000 people and during six months of the year, the number of visitors is very large. A majority come by rail to Antietam Station, thence over this road. Hacks ply regularly between the station and Sharpsburg and take passengers to the cemetery if desired. Often when there is an excursion and especially on Memorial Day, these conveyences are inadequate and many people are compelled to walk. It seems disirable... for the accommodation of visitors that the United States should build a good road from the station to the cemetery, if a proper grant [of the right of way] can be obtained from the Boonesboro Turnpike Road Company.

In his estimate of cost, which came to $15,000, Owen planned:

> From Station to Sharpsburg the road to be properly graded and macadamized, 25 feet wide to a depth of 12 inches. On one side to be a stone gutter and curb and a macadam sidewalk 8 feet wide and 6 inches deep.
>
> From the west end of Sharpsburg to the Cemetery, the present width of 16 feet of macadam to be widened to the existing curbs and stone gutters put in, making a total width between curbs of 40 feet....[35]

---

[35] Owen to Lt. Col. G. B. Dandy, Deputy Quartermaster General, January 30, 1888, in Papers Relating to Macadam Road from Antietam Station to Antietam National Cemetery, items No. 1 to 16, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

Owen also prepared and submitted a "Map showing proposed Government Road between Antietam Station on the Shenandoah R.R. and the Antietam (Md.) National Cemetery, January 30, 1888. Scale: 3½ inches equals I mile."[36]

On March 3, 1888, the board of managers, Boonsboro Turnpike Company, granted the secretary of war permission to occupy and improve "that portion of the road built by said company between the eastern boundary of Antietam National Cemetery on the road leading from Sharpsburg to Shepardstown, including the present main street, to repair, improve..."[37]

The turnpike company formally granted this right-of-way in a legal document dated July 11, 1888.[38]

Before this, on March 12, 1888, the quartermaster general had presented Owen's estimate and plans to the secretary of war.[39]

An act of Congress (sundry civil), approved October 2, 1888, appropriated $15,000 for constructing the road from Antietam Station to Antietam National Cemetery.[40] On October 11, the quartermaster general ordered Lt. Col. G. B. Dandy, the depot quartermaster of the Washington Depot, to advertise for bids to construct this road. Groff and Zimmerman won the contract.[41]

As work progressed, the original project was expanded to include curb, gutters, and sidewalks on both sides of the road. Congress, in an act approved on March 2, 1889 appropriated an additional $10,000 to complete the enlarged project.[42]

---

[36] Ibid., in same material.

[37] Depot quartermaster to quartermaster general, in same material as fn. 35.

[38] Papers Relatings.

[39] Ibid.

[40] U.S. Statues at Large, Vol. 25, p. 538.

[41] QMG to Dandy, October 11, 1888, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. "Specification for a macadam road to be built for the United States from Antietam Station, on the Shenandoah Valley Railroad in Washington County, Maryland, to Antietam National Cemetery," no date, but ca. 1888, are in R.G. 92, Entry 677-"Specifications, Estimates and Proposals for Road Construction, Earth Work and Buildings at National Cemeteries, 1885-1889," two volumes.

[42] February 2, 1889, estimate from QM General to S.J. Randall, Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol 25, p. 915.

The second contract, in the amount of $10,000, was awarded to Adam and Snyder on March 29, 1889. On November 21, 1889, Colonel Dandy reported to the quartermaster general that construction of the road under the two contracts had been completed October 15, 1889.

The road was 9,300 feet in length and was macadamized varying in width from 32 to 40 feet, with stone gutters and sidewalks of brick and curbs on either side. The expenditures were as follows:

For work and material under contract with Groff and Zimmerman	$ 13,545.92
For work and material under contract with Adams and Snyder	9,696.45
For expenses of Engineer and advertising	1,491.71
Total spent	$24,734.08
Unexpended balance	85.92
Appropriations (2)	$25,000.00 [43]

On May 17, 1890, the quartermaster general's office prepared an estimate of $5,000 for an additional appropriation "to complete the road in front of the east half of the cemetery, for additional drainage, and for construction of stone curbing and grading walks along the roads, omitted in the former construction for the want of funds."[44] Congress, in an Act approved August 30, 1890, appropriated the requested $5,000 to complete the road to Antietam National Cemetery.[45]

In his annual report pertaining to national cemeteries for this fiscal year June 30, 1891, Deputy Quartermaster Ludington informed the Quartermaster General that the entire length of the Antietam Road, 9,300 feet, "has been completed at a cost of $5,199.60, which included a portion of the unexpended balance of previous appropriations."

---

[43] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. Report of Dandy, November 21, 1889.

[44] Estimate for $5,000, dated May 17, 1890, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. $3,865 was for stone curbing and sidewalks, $50 for drainage and $585 for work on the road. Statement of purpose from Report of Lieut. Col. M. I. Ludington..to quartermaster general for fiscal year ending June 30, 1890, Serial No. 2831, p. 725.

[45] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, Part I, p. 401.

Total cost of the road, 1889-91 was	$ 29,833.68
leaving unexpended balance of	166.32
Total of appropriations (3)	$ 30,000.00[46]

If the cost of constructing this road is included with the approximate total spent from 1865 to June 30, 1894, of $164,908.22, then the amount expended on Antietam National Cemetery during this period stood at approximately $194,741.90 in 1894.

Three hundred Norway Maple trees, furnished by Hoopes Bro. & Thomas of Westchester, Pennsylvania, were planted along the road in November 1894. The trees were not less than 8 feet in height and they met the requirements of specifications dated October 24, 1894. By 1906 the road was named McComas Avenue to honor Louis E. McComas, successively local judge, U.S. representative, and U.S. senator.

Construction of the road, however, did not end U.S. government expenditures on the highway. The annual reports of the quartermaster general reveal that the War Department made repairs to the Antietam road during the fiscal years ending on June 30, as follows: 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1898, 1899, 1901, and 1905.[47]

In a 1922 report the road to Antietam National Cemetery was described as follows:

Length: 9,300 feet.
Maintained by United States - 9,300 feet
Length within town limits - 4,400 feet
Length without town limits - 4,900 feet
Width of right-of-way 60 feet

Width of roadbed. East of town limits paved the entire width; west of town limit bituminous macadam 16 feet wide, limestone chips pavement to curb.

---

[46] Serial No. 2921, pp. 385-86.

[47] Serial Nos. 3077, p. 363; Serial No. 3077, p. 363; No. 3198, p. 326; No. 3295, p. 294; No. 3370, p. 362; No. 3744, p. 426; No. 3899, p. 215; No. 4270, p. 357; and No. 4943, p. 55. The superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery supervised this annual repairs, 1892 to 1928.

Curb Stones both sides full length of road. Trees: Maple trees planted approximately 50 feet apart on both sides of road. "These trees are about 34 years old and have been well maintained."[48]

The War Department continued to make repairs to the road to Antietam National Cemetery from 1891 to 1928. On July 9, 1922, the Quartermaster Supply Officer in charge of the Washington Depot, D.C., informed the superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery that the War Department had decided that Maryland, under its act of March 13, 1878, had retained jurisdiction of the approach road from Antietam Station and that he was not to interfere with the official activities of the State Highway Commission on this road. The War Department ended its maintenance of the road in 1928. In his quarterly report for the quarter ending December 31, 1928, Superintendent Thomas E. Tobin reported "Approach roadway turned over to State of Maryland."[49]

4. SOME EARLY SUPERINTENDENTS AND THEIR PROBLEMS 1877-1897

As has been mentioned, Hiram S. Siess, who had resided in the lodge since the fall of 1867 and served as "keeper" of Antietam National Cemetery for the Cemetery Association for June 22, 1871 to June 7, 1877, was retained by the War Department in that position in 1877. Siess was paid $40 per month and given allotment for fuel and the free use of the lodge as his residence. Because the number of superintendent positions of national cemeteries was fixed by law, and all of these offices were filled in 1877, Siess was given the title of "Acting

---

[48] Report, June 14, 1922 by quartermaster supply officer, Washington Depot, D.C. in R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 37, File No. 680.44.

[49] Letters Received from the quartermaster by the superintendent of the Cemetery from 6 January 1877 to 9 March 1923, pp. 406-407, Antietam National Battlefield Museum Cat. No. 1440.
R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, March 7, 1923, judge advocate general to secretary of war, re roadway jurisdiction. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 600.912--Quarterly reports of superintendent. Permit dated July 5, 1922, from Secretary of War to the State Roads Commission of Maryland, to construct and maintain approach road. Deed, executed by the secretary of war, dated August 24, 1928, conveying the government's interest in and to approach road to the State of Maryland. U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 43, p. 1104. Also File 602, Letter, July 28, 1928.

Superintendent" to solve this problem until the law could be changed to increase the authorized number of "superintendents." Siess, as had been noted, had served a three-year enlistment during the Civil War as a sergeant in Company H, First Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade Volunteers.

The greatest crises tha occurred during Siess' term of office took place in the fall of 1878. Stetson, the contractor who was erecting the stone tool house at the cemetery, was given a certificate for partial payment in the amount of $150 for the work accomplished and the building material that he had delivered to the site. On September 30, however, a former partner of Stetson obtained a judgement against the contractor and threatened to come and take the lumber that Stetson had delivered to the goverment.[50]

An excited Acting Superintendent Siess wrote to Captain Rockwell on October 2, explaining developments and the $32 judgment. A Maryland state law officer, he feared, would come and take the lumber and slate intended for use in the new tool house. "The lawyer for the plaintiff in the case came here and told me that the State in ceding of this land to the United States, reserved the right of concurrent jurisdiction."[51]

On October 5, Rockwell informed Siess, "The question of jurisdiction has nothing to do with the matter. The property mentioned having been inspected and accepted by the Engineer and a certificate of payment issued, belongs to the United States and is not liable for Mr. Stetson's debt and you will not allow it to be taken from the cemetery."[52] On October 8 Siess sent Captain Rockwell another message from the front, writing

> I told the state officer yesterday evening in the presence of Mr. Charles G. Biggs, attorney to client in suit against Mr. Stetson, that I would hold the property in case. Biggs replied that the property was not under my custody, but under the control of the officer, he having laid an execution thereon under process of state law. The property to be sold off October 16.

---

[50] Report of civil engineer James Gall, Jr., to Captain A.F. Rockwell, in charge of national cemeteries, September 30, 1878; also telegram of Capt. J.M. Marshall, Baltimore to QM General, October 10, 1878, stating that Stetson had received his check for $150.

[51] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131.

[52] Ibid.

Siess reported that he had locked the gate to the cemetery to protect the lumber--but what should he do? He concluded by stating that he would defend the property with his life if necessary![53]

Responding on the following day, the Quartermaster General ordered Siess to make formal protest to the seizure of the material, but to use no violence to stop the State officer.[54]

Meanwhile help was on the way to the embattled Siess. The secretary of war had referred the problem to the attorney general of the United States. The Justice Department sent the case to the U.S. district attorney for Maryland, who engaged Albert Small, an attorney of Hagerstown, "to resist the proceeding to attain and sell certain property belonging to the U.S. at Antietam National Cemetery." On October 23 Attorney Small advised the U.S. district attorney for Maryland, at Baltimore: "I stopped sale under Maryland Act 1870, Chapter 84." The U.S. lumber and slate was saved and Mr. Siess did not have to risk his life.

The act of February 22, 1867, required that superintendents of national cemeteries be appointed from the honorably discharged disabled soldiers of the United States. They are required to pass an examination by a board of officers and serve six months on probation at some cemetery. If during this time they prove to be capable, industrious, and sober, they are appointed to fill vacancies as such occur.[55]

On August 26, 1878, Siess made application for the permanent position of superintendent at the Antietam National Cemetery. After describing his Civil War service and honorable discharge from the Union Army, he wrote: "I received no material wound although struck several times with spent balls." He was aware that wounded soldiers were preferred for this job, but as a result of his military services, he believed that he had developed " a severe case of hemmorrhoids, caused by constantly wearing a belt to which was attached his heavy military equipment." He hoped that "this problem could be counted in lieu of a wound."[56]

---

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid. Telegram, October 9, 1878.

[55] U.S. Attorney General Charles Devin to Secretary of War George W. McCrary, October 25, 1878, R.G. 82, Entry 576, Box 131.

Unfortunately for Mr. Siess, his ailment did not qualify as a "wound," and he was replaced on April 7, 1879, by George A. Haverfield as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery. Born in Ohio, Haverfield served as a private in the 126th Ohio Volunteers. His first appointment to the national cemetery service was dated May 4, 1876, and he served as Superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from April 7, 1879, to March 13, 1880, when he left to take up the position of superintendent of the national cemetery at Natchez, Mississippi. His pay at Antietam was $75 per month, or $900, plus free quarters and an allowance for fuel, per year.[57]

The next superintendent, Walter A. Donaldson, was born in England and served as a captain in the 71st New York Volunteers during the Civil War. His first appointment in the national cemetery service was dated August 2, 1878. He served as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from March 13, 1880, to July 1887. His first position had been superintendent of the national cemetery at City Point, Virginia.[58] Captain Donaldson found the Antietam National Cemetery being used as a nighttime love nest. He described his law enforcement problems to Major Foster on July 23, 1883:

> When I took charge of the National Cemetery in March 1879 [sic-1880] certain improper practices were carried on in the cemetery--but which were subsequently broken up. I believe that these practices may brake [sic] out again and I desire now to make a capture of some offending partyies [sic] and punish them to the full extent of the law. To do this I shall have to be on watch the principal portion of the night and require a retainer or [?] man to relieve me part of the watch. This officer to be paid from maintenance....
>
> In a P.S., Captain Donaldson provided some of the lurid details:

---

[56] From Annual Report of Quartermaster General M.C. Meigs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, Serial No. 1843, p. 263, U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 14, p. 400, for act of February 22, 1867.

[57] Data from "Record of superintendents of national cemeteries in service, June 30, 1881." Serial No. 2091, p. 442.

[58] Data from "Record of superintendents of national cemeteries in service, June 30, 1882." Serial No. 2091, p. 442.

> His suspicion--a prostitute from Washington has been living in Sharpsburg by the name of Martha Young--Her example has prompted others and that the area of the National Cemetery is chosen for their vile proceedings.

Foster referred the question of hiring an assistant to enforce the law to the quartermaster general, who informed the major on August 1, 1883:

> It is not deemed expedient to authorize the employment of a special police officer for duty at this cemetery. Under the act of February 22, 1867 Superintendents of national cemeteries are fully empowered to make arrests for certain specific misdemeanors committed within the limits of these cemeteries...

To solve this problem, the quartermaster directed Captain Donaldson to ask the local law authorities for assistance in ending this problem.[59]

The next superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery was George Hess, who held that office from August 15, 1887, to January 1, 1897. Hess had been born in Pennsylvania and served as a private in the 28th Pennsylvania Volunteers during the Civil War. He had received his first appointment in the national cemeteries on June 30, 1879, and served as superintendent of the national cemetery at Memphis, Tennessee, from February 23, 1882, to probably 1887.[60]

Drawing heavily for his information from the Antietam National Cemetery Association's excellent History of Antietam National Cemetery, published in 1869, George Hess wrote his History of the Antietam National Cemetery Including a Descriptive List of all the Loyal Soldiers Buried Therein Together with the Ceremonies in laying the Corner Stone of the Soldiers' Monument, September 17, 1867, 128 pages. This was published by the Daily Independent, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1890 and sold in Sharpsburg to visitors.

---

[59] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

[60] Record of superintendents of national cemeteries, June 30, 1882, Serial No 2091, p. 442; Also Serial No. 2831, p. 727. June 30, 1890 list. This latter list indicates he received his appointment to Antietam as of July 2, 1887, but he did not report for duty at the cemetery until August 15, 1887.

Superintendent George Hess had trouble controlling visitors on Memorial Day. The depot quartermaster informed the quartermaster general on May 28, 1889:

> Superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery states in former years it was customary at that cemetery for the G. A. R. to perform their Decoration ceremonies at the large monument, instead of at the Rostrum constructed for that purpose. About 100 feet from the monument is a circle avenue lined with a hedge of assorted choice roses, and the interior of the circle around the monument is laid off in flower beds filled with beautiful flowers. While the G. A. R. ceremonies are being performed it would require a company of soldiers with muskets to keep back the crowd of people and from trampling the roses, etc. to the ground.
>
> He has kindly asked the G. A. R. Post of Sharpsburg to perform their ceremonies at the Rostrum while they still persist in holding them at the monument. Will this practice be allowed to continue....

After carefully considering the matter for four months, the quartermaster general's office informed Superintendent Hess on October 2, 1889, that "The ceremonies should be held at the rostrum." No troops, however, or suggestions were offered to help Hess effect this desirable change in custom.[61]

The next superintendent, Frank Barrows, who served at Antietam from March 23, 1897, to May 16, 1904, was born in New York. He served in the 30th United States Colored Infantry as a second lieutenant during the Civil War. His first appointment in the national cemeteries was dated November 9, 1877. On November 25, 1881, he was made superintendent of the national cemetery at Alexandria, Louisiana.[62] On October 11, 1886, he had been appointed superintendent of the national cemetery at Fort Scott, Kansas, and was serving in that post in June 1890.[63]

---

[61] R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

[62] Serial No. 2091, p. 442. Record of superintendents of national cemeteries in service June 30, 1882.

[63] Serial No. 2831, p. 727. List of superintendents, June 30, 1890.

CHART NO. 1

ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY
SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND

RECORD OF BURIALS OF UNION SOLDIERS

Year	Total No. of Interments	Known	Unknown	Source
Sept. 12, 1867	4,695	2,903	1,792	(1)
Aug. 15, 1882	4,676	2,854	1,822	(2)
June 30, 1889	4,688	2,858	1,830	(3)
June 30, 1895	4,736	2,872	1,864	(4)
March 6, 1909	4,754	2,924	1,830	(5)
1913	4,758	2,910	1,848	(6)
				(7)
1931	4,826	2,975	1,851	(8)
1934	4,833	2,981	1,852	(9)
1940	4,860	3,008	1,852	(10)
Nov. 1952	5,135	3,283	1,852	(11)
				(12)

(1) Report of James M. Moore to Genl. D. H. Rucker, quartermaster, Washington Depot, September 12, 1867. National Archives R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131. Board of Trustees of Antietam National Cemetery, History of Antietam National Cemetery, published in 1869, page 17, gives the total number of dead in Sept. 1867 as 4,667.

(2) Inspector General to Assistant Adjutant General, August 15, 1882. Nat. Arch. R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. Inspection Report.

(3) Congressional Serial No. 2715, p. 718. Annual Report of the Quartermaster General to Secretary of War, June 30, 1889.

(4) Congressional Serial No. 3370, p. 365. Annual Report of the Quartermaster General for fiscal year ending June 30, 1895.

(5) Letter of March 6, 1909, Assistant Superintendent, Antietam, to Quartermaster, 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

(6) Record Book of Letters sent by the superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from 4, January 1887 to 6 July 1928, Antietam NB Museum Catalog No. 1442-1913 letter.

Superintendent from June 2, 1904, to March 30, 1905, was J. M. Bryant, who had been a private in the 37th Wisconsin Volunteers during the Civil War.[64]

The last Civil War soldier to serve as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery was probably Joshua V. Davis, who held the position from April 10, 1905, to February 2, 1909. He had served as a private in the 66th Pennsylvania Volunteers, joined the national cemetery service in January 10, 1872, and served two terms as superintendent of the national cemetery at Alexandria, Virginia, the first beginning in August 18, 1874, and the second on November 28, 1887. Where he worked in between is unknown.[65]

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, the quartermaster general remarked regarding the Civil War superintendents:

> These cemeteries are kept in excellent condition, but it must be noted that the superintendents are generally becoming too old to efficiently perform their duties. They are appointed from applicants having service in the civil war, who were wounded or disabled in the line of duty, but not to such extent as to incapacitate them from this work, and many of them were not exactly young men at the beginning of their war service.[66]

The policy regarding the filling of superintendent positions was changed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911. The quartermaster general reported to the secretary of war:

> It has been the custom of this office, with a few exceptions, to give preference to Civil War veterans, in making these appointments. This is not, however, required by law, and due to the advancing age of these veterans it has become advisable to make a departure from this custom, and to appoint younger men to these positions.[67]

The pay for superintendents of first class national cemeteries, such as Antietam, was still $75 per month plus fuel and lodging, the same has it had been in 1877.[68]

---

[64] Serial No. 2091, p. 442. Bryant had been born in Maine. Joined the cemetery on February 10, 1879. Appointed superintendent of the national cemeteries at Fayetteville, Ark., on February 14, 1879, and at Andersonville, Ga., on May 29, 1880. Serial No. 2831, p. 727.

[65] Serial No. 2091, p. 441. Serial No. 2831, p. 727.

[66] Serial No. 4943, p. 54.

[67] Serial No. 6197, p. 302.

[68] Ibid., p. 301.

A list of names and terms of service of the 17 men who served as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from June 7, 1877, to April 5, 1942, is found in Appendix No. IV. The position of cemetery superintendent was abolished in April 1942 by assigning the duties of this position to the superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site.

5. REPAIR AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE CEMETERY, 1898-1933

The development of Antietam National Cemetery by the War Department during the last decade of the 19th century and the second decade of the 20th century is illustrated in detail on the two following Quartermaster Corps maps of the cemetery:

(a) "Map of National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland. Office of the Quartermaster General General, U.S. Army, April 20, 1892."[69]

(b) "Map of Antietam Battlefield and the U.S. National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland. Office of the Depot Quartermaster, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., October 1914." Scale of cemetery map: one inch equals 50 feet.[70]

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, the lodge was repaired and two rooms were added to the east end of the stone outbuilding or tool house. A new wooden flagstaff 100 feet in height was also erected.[71]

The two rooms added to the tool house were a kitchen 12 feet wide by 12 feet 9 inches long, and a dining room of the same size. These were 9 feet 3 inches high and erected for the use of the superintendent. The enlarged tool house thus formed a building 16 feet wide, 46 feet long, and 10 feet 6 inches high. A frame passageway 6 feet wide, 30 feet long, and 7½ feet high was soon erected to connect the enlarged tool house to the

---

[69] National Archives R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130. A blueprint. This copy has been marked in red to show the additions that had been made from 1892 to 1909. The revised map was then submitted to the quartermaster general on March 6, 1909.

[70] R.G. 79 - National Park Service Records - Central Classified, Files 1933-49, Box 2606, Antietam, File No. 630.

[71] Annual Report, Serial No. 3744, p. 427.

[72] R.G. 79, National Park Service Central Classified Files, 1933-49, Antietam Box 2699, File 031. War Department Building Records 1923-1931. Sheet for Bldg. No. 2, Annex to Lodge.

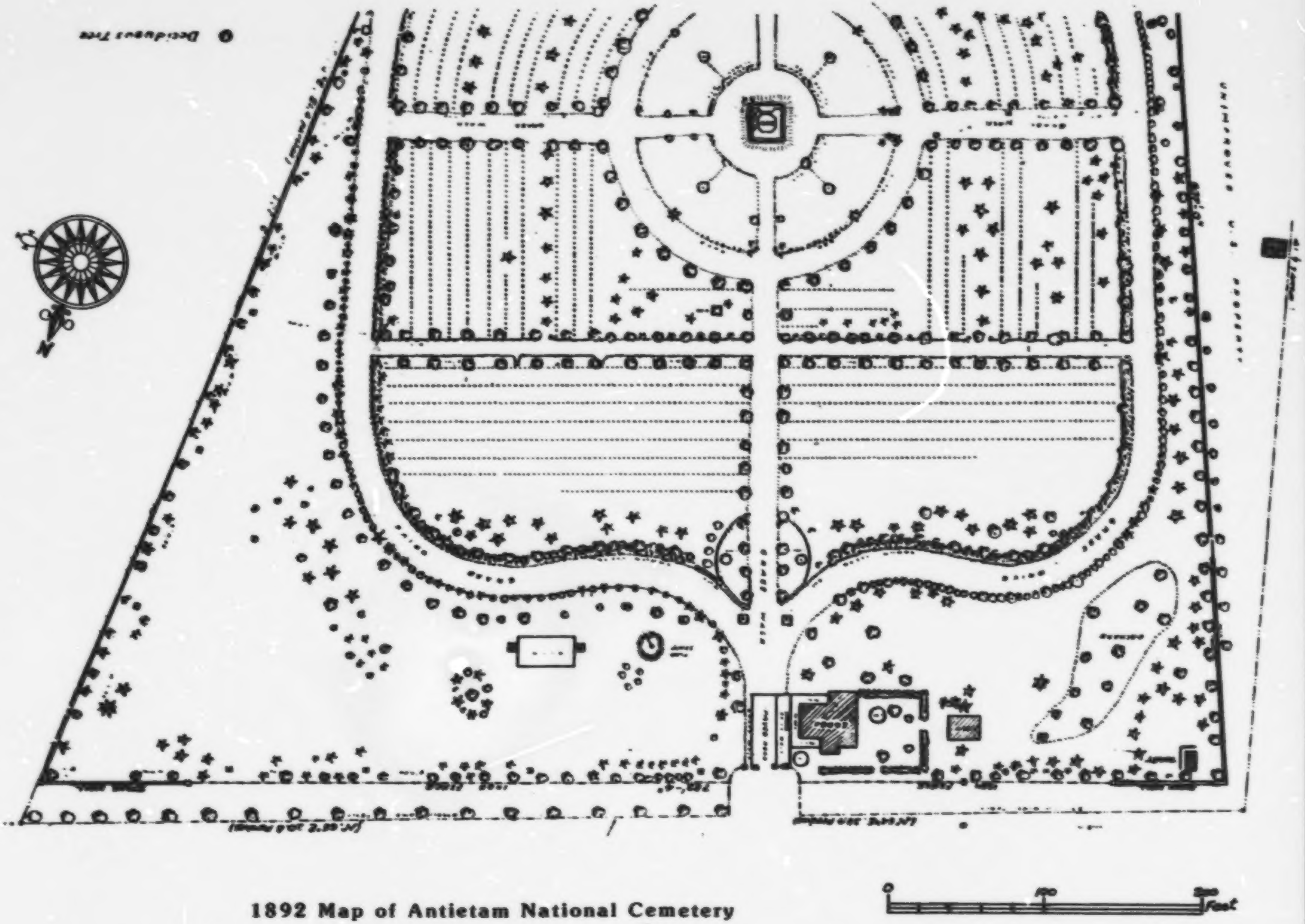
[73] Total expenditures for repairs and improvements were $1,145; normal cost of operations was about $700 a year. Serial No. 3744, p. 429 gives the total amount spent.

1892 MAP (p. 56)

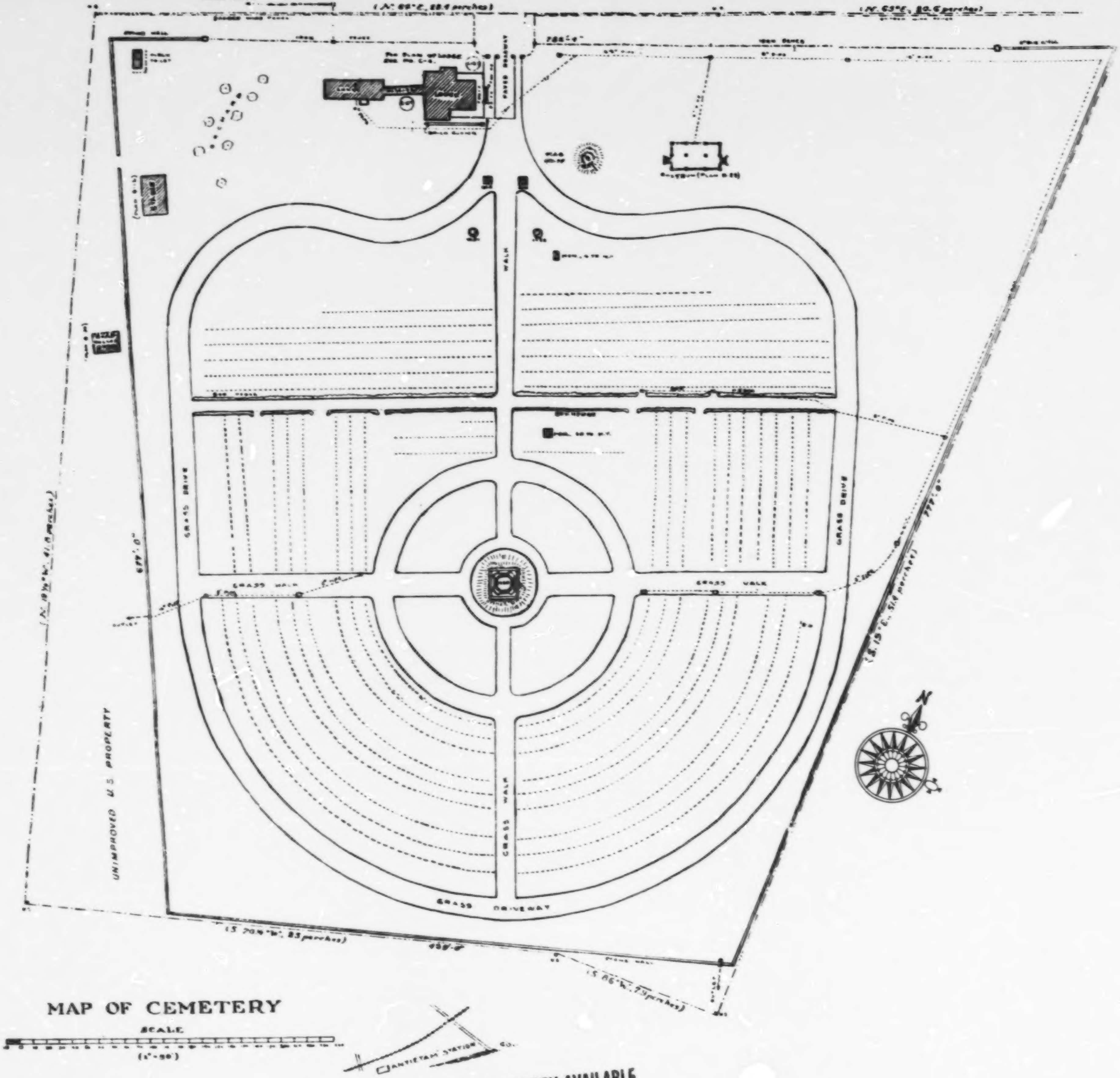
1892 Map of National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland: Office of the Quartermaster General, U.S. Army (Cemetery additions from 1892 to 1909 were marked by stars). Submitted to Quartermaster General, March 6, 1909, National Archives Records Group 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

1914 MAP (p. 57)

Map of U.S. National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland: Office of the Depot Quartermaster, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., October 1914. National Archives Record Group No. 79 — National Park Service Central Classified File, 1933-1949, Antietam, Box 2606, File No. 630. Scale: 1 inch = 50 feet.


Deciduous Tree
N
0
100
200
Feet

1892 Map of Antietam National Cemetery


(N. 69°E, 28.4 perches)
(N. 65°E, 80.6 perches)
PAVED ROADWAY
IRON FENCE
WALK
GRASS DRIVE
GRASS DRIVE
GRASS WALK
GRASS WALK
GRASS WALK
GRASS DRIVEWAY
677'-0"
(N. 19½°W. 41.0 perches)
UNIMPROVED U.S. PROPERTY
(S. 19°E. 51.9 perches)
717'-0"
(S. 70½°W. 85 perches)
658'-0"
(S. 86°W. 79 perches)
N
ANTIETAM STATION
CO.
SCALE
(1"=50')

MAP OF CEMETERY

west or rear elevation of the lodge. The addition became Bldg. No. 2 and was known as the "Annex to the Lodge."[72] The cost of these improvements was about $400.[73]

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, a brick stable with slate roof was erected within the cemetery, but near the west enclosing wall. A gateway was opened in the wall to the north of the stable, leading out to the enclosed pasture lot owned by the United States immediately to the west of the west cemetery wall. The stable was 29 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 12 feet high to the eaves. The building contained one stall, including a coal bin, 6 feet wide and 16½ feet long, a shop 16½ feet by 21 feet, with a loft over the two rooms.[74] The cemetery also acquired its first horse in 1901.

In his description of the cemetery, dated March 6, 1909, Superintendent John L. Cook provided the following data (in part) on the physical plant of the cemetery:

> Entrances: Two. Two iron gates. Located on north side fronting on Pike and (second) on pasture lot. West side of wall (pasture lot) enclosed by wire.
>
> Buildings: Two story lodge, 3 rooms on first floor, 3 rooms on second floor. Limestone wall. Annex built to Lodge in 1901 or 1902, one story with two rooms.
>
> Outbuilding: 18 by 30 brick bulding built in 1901--one story plus loft. Used as stable, tool room, and coal bin.
>
> Two privies, each 6½ by 10 feet, one public.
>
> Rostrum, yes. Drives are all grassed over and kept cut short. No driving is allowed in cemetery grounds.
>
> Flag Staff -- 75 feet high, wood, double. Last staff erected about 1900.
>
> Water Supply: Water from two cisterns, one in front of lodge, and one in rear.
>
> Lights: ordinary carbon oil lamps.

---

[72] Annual Report, Serial No. 3744, p. 427.

[73] Total Expenditures for repairs and improvements were $1,145; nonnal cost of operations was about $700 a year. Serial No. 3744, p. 429 gives the total amount spent.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

He further reported that the cemetery had one old horse, one public wagon, and one water cart; also that there were 15 iron historical tablets erected by the Antietam National Battlefield Commission on cemetery land.[75]

In the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, the quartermaster general noted that cast-iron tablets, 56 inches tall by 33 inches wide, containing the words of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address had been placed in position on lodges of 75 national cemeteries. This action was taken through congressional authorization. These tablets were mounted on iron standards. By 1910 one of them was placed on the Antietam National Cemetery lodge.[76]

Seven cast-iron plaques in Antietam National Cemetery contain stanzas from Theodore O'Hara's poem "Bivouac of the Dead," written in 1847. No evidence found to date can verify the installation date of these plaques. Current Veterans Administration staff believe the "Bivouac of the Dead" plaques were placed in national cemeteries across the nation at approximately the same time as the tablets bearing Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 1910.

In an inspection report dated June 13, 1913, Maj. Gordon G. Heines, Coast Artillery, reported that Superintendent Cook had a addition became Bldg. No. 2 and was known as the "Annex to the Lodge."[72] The cost of these improvements was about $400.[73]

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901 a brick stable with slate roof was erected within the cemetery, but near the west enclosing "Cabinet filled with old muskets, shot and war relics" in the lodge office. He noted that: "This is in violation of Par 60 Regulations for government of national cemeteries." The quartermaster depot officer,

---

75. March 1, 1909, request of the quartermaster general to the superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery for a report on his cemetery. Answered March 6, 1909, in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130, File 252830. Burials numbered 4,756. No land had been added to cemetery since its establishment. Letter A on the 1892 map he sent with his report represented the Soldier's Monument, erected in 1880. Letter B was the monument of the 20th New York Vol. Infantry, erected in 1887. Letter C "is the 4th New York Vols. It is about 10 feet high and is credited to the 4th N.Y."

76. Serial No. 5717, p. 39; Serial No. 5955, p. 296.

supervising Antietam, backed up Cook, writing to the quartermaster general:

> The cabinet in the office at Antietam is filled with relics picked up from the battlefield and in view of the fact that the Antietam cemetery is really in the center of what was the battle of Antietam, it is recommended that the cabinet with its contents be permitted to remain in the office....

On October 6, 1913, however, the quartermaster general ordered that the cabinet and relics be removed from the office of the lodge.[77]

Annual expenditures on Antietam National Cemetery from 1895 to 1918,.including the superintendent's annual salary of $900, ranged from $1,650 to $2,100 per year. Detailed figures for the period July 1, 1904 to June 30, 1913 (in Appendix No. V) reveal that $24,633.25 were spent for the following purposes:

For labor	$7,828.50
For fuel	1,082.68
For forage for horse	2,056.70
Others	384.30
For shoeing horse	85.50
Total of allotment	11,437.30
Superintendent's salary	12,735.00
Fiscal years 1905-18:	$24,633.25[78]

Expenditures on the cemetery from May 25, 1865 to June 30, 1918 were as follows:

May 1865 - June 1877:	$131,930.21
QMC - 1877 - June 30, 1904	25,082.83
QMC - 1905 - 1918	24,633.25
Total, 1865-1918:	$181.646.29

---

[77] Telephone interview with Dottie Braskie, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., July 12, 1983.

[78] Data from record book of purchasing, receipt of funds, and dispersement of funds for Antietam National Cemetery, 1904 to 1921, Antietam NB Museum Catalog No. 1948. Book includes record of allotments made for fiscal years 1910 to 1924. See Appendix No. V.

By 1922 the cemetery lodge was 55 years old and in 1922-24 a series of extensive repairs were made to the structure. The tower and porches were worked on in 1922.[79] A cesspool was constructed and completed in March 1924.[80]

The exterior and interior of the lodge were painted in 1924, 26 new window shades were purchased in 1923, and a bathroom was completed in November 1924.[81] Roof leaks had to be repaired in 1926.[82]

In 1927 the Quartermaster Corps decided that Antietam Cemetery needed a new lodge. In May the site for the new lodge was to be selected and the first plan included the idea of tearing down the 1867 lodge.[83] On June 2, 1927 the quartermaster general approved the site for the new residence (that occupied by the present lodge) and decided to tear down the 1878 stone tool house with its 1901 additions that adjoined it to the old stone lodge. He opted, however, to preserve the 1867 lodge.[84]

On August 17, 1927, the quartermaster general next approved the plans and specifications. Bids were opened on September 9, but the quartermaster depot supply officer reported that the lowest bid of $12,109.39 exceeded by $3,609.39 the $8,500.00 that had been allotted to construct the new lodge. On September 10 the quartermaster general instructed the supply officer to reject all bids and to modify the plans to lower the cost to $8,500.00. On September 30, the quartermaster supply officer reported that the second round of bids, on the modified plan, had resulted in a low bid of $10,288.00. It was decided to accept the bid at $9,244.00. Certain items in the amount of $1,288.00, such as hot water heat and a water softener system necessary to complete the lodge, were deferred and included in the estimates for the 1928 fiscal year. The contract was awarded to Beston-Long Company on October 12, 1927.[85]

---

[79] Record book of letters sent by the superintendents of Antietam National Cemetery from 4 January 1887 to 6 July 1928: Antietam NB Museum Catalog No. 1442, June 21, 1922, p. 405.

[80] Cat. No. 1442, p. 299, 303, 306. Work began in 1923 and was finished by March 10, 1924.

[81] 1923-24 work on Lodge, Cat. No. 1442, pp. 289, 290, 291, 293, 296, 311, 312-13, 317, 321, 322, 323, R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56-File 333.1 Inspection report of October 1, 1924.

[82] Cat. No. 1442, p. 333, 334.

[83] R.G. 92 - Entry 1891, Box 57, File 624, Letter of May 18, 1927.

[84] Ibid. Letters of June 1 and 2, 1927.

Construction on the stucco and concrete bungalow-style lodge got underway in October 1927 and under the terms of the contract was to be completed by January 1, 1928. The contractor, however, chose to halt work and did not deliver the completed structure until April 1, 1928. The War Department deducted $350 from the amount paid to the contractor for this delay; Beston-Long Company thus received $8,874 out of the price of $9,224 that had been agreed upon. Construction at Antietam National Cemetery during this period was supervised for the War Department by civil engineer Mitchell.[86]

Other work was also underway at the cemetery in 1927; on October 12, a contract was let with H. L. Moser to drill a well for a new lodge at a cost of $453.70.[87] On February 18, 1928, Acting Superintendent George B. Alexander reported that the plans for a new steel flag pole had been received.[88] The 1867 lodge was being converted into a public comfort station in 1926-28 and was completed on May 31, 1928.[89] In his quarterly report for the quarter ending June 30, 1928, Thomas E. Tobin, the newly-arrived superintendent reported: "New lodge completed. Public comfort station open to public. New flag-staff erected. New drinking fountain installed. New screen doors and windows furnished for new lodge. Approach roadway repair complete."[90] As has been mentioned, the annex of 1901 connecting the 1867 lodge to the 1878 tool house was demolished in 1927.

---

[85] Ibid., the quartermaster general approved the change on October 4, 1927. Contract No. W950-QM-44, dated October 12, 1927, U.S. and Beston-Long Co.

[86] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 624. Detailed report of E.G. Mitchell, C.E., to QM Depot Supply Officer, dated May 19, 1928. The $376.67 deduction included a $350 fine for being late and $26.67 for the cost of the extra inspection trip made necessary in April 1928. Also report of July 19, 1928, inspection charge dropped.

[87] R.G. 92-Entry 1891, Box 57, File 671. Contract No. W950-QM-45-October 12, 1927.

[88] Cat. No. 1442, p. 352. Superintendent George L. Fisher, who had died on December 24, 1927, was reported by the inspector general on October 18, 1927 to be over 80 years old. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 333.1-inspection report, October 18, 1927.

[89] Cat. No. 1442, p. 353, 358; R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 600.912, Quarterly Report of Superintendent on Condition of Antietam National Cemetery for quarter ending March 31, 1928. R.G. 79, Box 3 War Department Records, May 3, 1928 inspection report.

The brick public privy in the northwest corner of the cemetery was probably demolished in 1928.

M. L. Moser, who had drilled the well, also received the sewer contract for the new lodge. This amounted to $1,064, which with the $9,224 contracted for construction of the building, brought the cost to $10,288.

A total of $14,987.48 was spent from March, 1927, to September, 1928, making repairs and improvements at the cemetery as follows:

Painting 1867 lodge and 1878 tool house	$ 175.00
Repairing downspouts on old lodge	6.48
Drilling well for new lodge	453.70
Construction of new lodge	10,288.00
Deep well pump for new lodge	223.15
120 ft. 2½" pipe	37.61
Installing hot water heating system, etc.	2,425.00
Electrical fixtures, new lodge & comfort st.	40.30
Shades for new lodge	33.45
Work in comfort station (old lodge)	296.00
For new 75 ft. steel flag pole & installing	798.00
For new drinking fountain	33.79
For door and window screens for new lodge	170.00
For painting rostrum	7.00
Total: 1927-28:	$ 14,987.48[91]

---

[90] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56-File 600.912-Quarter ending June 30, 1928. Four additional data on drinking fountain, see Cat. No. 1442, p. 356-May 22, 1928, and p. 362-June 23, 1928.

[91] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031, Building Records, 1923-1929. An additional $840 was also spent in repairing the roadway in front of the cemetery to make a total of $15,827.48 spent for physical improvements during 1927-28.

As in 1877-78, the physical plant of the cemetery had been almost completely renewed in 1927-28.

In 1928 the War Department fought and won a battle with the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company to protect the beauty of the trees planted between the north or front wall of the cemetery and Boonesboro Pike. On August 24 the telephone company requested permission to erect ten poles. "The poles will be erected along the road about the cemetery, also permission to trim the trees along the proposed route."[92]

Lt. Col. Charles G. Mortimer, quartermaster supply officer in charge of the Washington depot, inspected the situation at Antietam and reported on September 8 "that the electric company has overbuilt the telephone company's present pole line and the three wire power lines paralleled the telephone wire and created trouble on the line by induction." He recommended the rejection of the proposed new line because it would damage the beautiful cemetery trees.[93]

The cemetery superintendent was notified on September 26, 1928:

> The Quartermaster General desires you to be advised that permission cannot be given for the erection of the poles for the reason that if the trees along the edge of the National Cemetery were trimmed, their beauty would be permanently marred, and it would be detrimental to the Government to place the poles on the side in front of the cemetery.

He also suggested "that the telephone company could put a piece of cable along that road, thereby overcoming the dangerous and unsafe [condition] caused by the overbuilding of the telephone company's present line by the electric company."[94]

In his quarterly report for the period ending December 31, 1928, Superintendent Tobin provided the only estimate of travel, reporting that an "estimated 36,000 visitors had visited the cemetery during the 1928-29 fiscal year."[95]

September 1929 saw the end of an era. The cemetery's old mule, no longer able to work, was surveyed and shot by a major who made

---

92. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 68-.44. Letter of August 24, 1928.
93. Ibid., September 26, 1928 report.
94. Ibid., September 26, 1928.
95. R.G. 92, Entry 1891. Box 56, File 600.912.

the trip from Washington for this purpose on September 26. Animal power was replaced by a gasoline powered mower on that date.[96]

On November 4, 1929, the quartermaster general granted permission to install the telephone at the cemetery. The instrument was placed in the office of the new lodge.[97]

A six-page report on the trees in Antietam National Cemetery, prepared in 1929, indicates that there was a total of 281 trees. These included 137 deciduous and 144 evergreens.[98]

In 1930 the concrete steps and pillars of the new lodge, which had developed cracks, were repaired at a cost of $20.[99] In November 1932 the new lodge was weatherproofed at a cost of $132.06.[100]

The ceilings of the comfort station (the old lodge) were plastered at a cost of $80 in 1932.[101] Also, in 1932, $85.50 was spent to install an Ideal Arco round hot water heating boiler in the comfort station.[102] For $130.25 in May 1932, 175 feet of soil pipe from the comfort station clogged up by tree roots, were replaced.[103]

In 1931 $2,159.36 was expended drilling a well 347½ feet deep to provide 300 gallons per hour. This price included the pumping outfit.[104] In May 1933 a water softening system was installed for $327.50.[105]

The superintendent in 1932 was also granted permission to store his Ford touring car "in the brick tool house."[106]

---

[96] 96. R.G. 79-Box No. 3-War Dept. Records, Antietam--Letters of Sept. 3 and September 26, 1929.
[97] 97. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57. File No. 676.1.
[98] 98. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57.
[99] 99. R.G. 79, Box 3--War Dept. Records--Antietam--Letter of September 22, 1930, and File 600.912--Quarterly Report of Supt...for Quarter Ending December 31, 1930.
[100] 100. R.G. 79, Box No. 3--War Dept. Records, November 29, 1932.
[101] 101. R.G. 79, Box 3, July 9, 1932.
[102] 102. R.G. 79, Box 3, File 687, May 7, 1932.
[103] 103. R.G. 79, Box 3, May 6, 1932.
[104] 104. R.G. 79, Box 7--War Department Records-Antietam. Contract 10-12-801-31, Specifications for Well and Pumping Station, 2 pp., May 11, 1931, in File 688--contract let to Jos. M. Hoffman of Williamsport.
[105] 105. R.G. 79, Box 7, File 687--Contract No. W53-QM-277.
[106] 106. R.G. 79, Box 3, War Department--Roads and walks, 1932.

In early 1933, when rumors reached the field that the Interior Department was going to take over a number of national battlefields and national cemeteries, Superintendent Clarence L. Nett of Antietam National Cemetery wrote to the quartermaster general requesting a transfer to a cemetery that remained under the War Department, in the event the Interior Department took charge of Antietam.[107] As a result of a government reorganization, Antietam National Cemetery was transferred by executive order from the War Department to the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior on August 10, 1933.[108] Antietam was one of eleven such national cemeteries transferred to the National Park Service on that date.

Superintendent Nett was destined not to be transferred to a War Department national cemetery in 1933. Instead, he was to have a distinguished career as a superintendent in the National Park Service until his death on June 1, 1945.

---

107. R.G. 79, Box 3, War Department Records, File 687.

108. By Executive Order No. 6166, June 10, 1933 and Order No. 6226, June 23, 1933.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR DEPARTMENT'S ANTIETAM BOARD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE, 1890-1898

1. BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT TO PRESERVE CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELDS BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, 1866-1895

Beginning in 1865, the nation had begun the task of interring the bodies of 321,623 Union soldiers in a system of 82 national military cemeteries where their remains would receive perpetual care.[1] By June 30, 1895, the War Department had spent a total since 1865 of $8,165,636.47 on national cemeteries.[2] In the late 1880s, Civil War veterans, both North and South, began to think about commemorating the events in which they had participated and preserving forever the fields of battle on which they had fought from 1861 to 1865.

In his annual report to Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont summarized the history of the movement to preserve Civil War battlefields:

> Soon after the close of the war the principal fields were carefully surveyed and mapped. These maps have been printed with the appropriate records and widely circulated, and for historical purposes they furnish the information required for the intelligent study of these battle grounds. About the same time associations of patriotic citizens were formed which purchased large tracts of land on the field of Gettysburg and smaller tracts at Antietam, comprising the military cemeteries and sites for monuments on positions held by the troops. In some instances the States made liberal contributions to these worthy undertakings. At Gettysburg these expenditures amounted to about $1,500,000, while at Antietam they were much less [about $90,000].
>
> The first specific appropriation by Congress for work upon a battlefield was made in 1880, when $50,000 was granted for a detailed survey of the field of Gettysburg and a special compilation of data concerning the movement of troops in that battle. In 1887 an appropriation was made to mark the positions there held by the Regular Army. In 1890 a like appropriation was made for Antietam, and the battlefields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga were created national military

---

[1] Figures from the Annual Report of the Quartermaster General for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, Serial No. 2277, p. 325.

[2] Annual Report of the Quartermaster General for fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, Serial No. 3370, p. 278.

> parks, to which Gettysburg and Shiloh were added by vote of Congress during the present year. The expenditures on these fields up to October 31 have amounted to $952,359.65, with an unexpended balance of $189,209.06. The Government has purchased approximately 6,000 acres of land at Chickamauga, and owns 1,000 acres at Gettysburg. At Shiloh no purchases of land have yet been effected, and the sum available for that purpose is limited to $20,000.[3]

Historically speaking, Antietam was the second of the first two Civil War battlefields to be preserved by the War Department. The first, authorized by an Act of Congress approved August 19, 1890, was a "National Park" known as "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park or Military Park." Antietam, authorized by an Act of Congress approved August 30, 1890, was to become known as "Antietam National Battlefield Site."[4] By 1895 Chickamauga and Antietam were each to represent and illustrate two widely diverging methods of preserving battlefields that were soon to be extended to battlefields of the Revolution, the War of 1812, as well as those of the Civil War. These two philosophies will be considered later in this chapter.

2. ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE 1890-1894

The legislative history of Antietam National Battlefield Site began on May 18, 1890, when Acting Secretary of War Louis A. Grant sent an appropriation estimate of $5,000 to the secretary of the treasury for the completion of the road from the Antietam (Sharpsburg) railroad depot to the Antietam National Cemetery. William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, transmitted the Secretary of War's estimate to Congress on May 20, 1890.[5]

On June 7, 1890, Representative Louis McComas, Republican from Maryland, introduced H.R. 10830 into the House. The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed. H.R. 10830 called for surveying, locating, and preserving the lines of battle at Antietam. The purchase of sites for tablets to mark positions of the Army of the Potomac and of the Army of Northern Virginia and the expense for driveways thereto, was estimated at $15,000. All the lands acquired by the United States for this purpose were to be under the care and supervision of the secretary of war[6]. This bill has no further legislative history.

---

[3] From Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont's Annual Report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895. (Congressional Serial No. 3370, pp. 31-32.)

[4] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, p. 401--Antietam.
Chickamauga & Chattanooga National Military Park, Tennessee and Georgia, Act of August 19, 1890, in U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, Part 7, pp. 333-336.

[5] U.S. Cong., H. Ex. Doc. 388, 51st Cong., 1st session. Serial set Vol. 35, 2750.

Requests with the same wording as Grant's request and McComas' bill for appropriations for both finishing the roadway and marking the lines of battle appeared in a sundry civil appropriations bill in the House on June 11, 1890.

The wording of the bill H.R. 10884, pertaining to Antietam, is as follows:

> NATIONAL CEMETERY, ANTIETAM, MARYLAND: For completing the road in front of east half of cemetery, additional drainage works constructing stone curbing and grading walks along road, and for engineering and contingencies five thousand dollars.
>
> For the purpose of surveying, locating and preserving the lines of battle of the Army of the Potomac and of the Army of Northern Virginia at Antietam, and for marking the same, and for locating and marking the position of each of the forty-three different commands of the Regular Army engaged in the battle of Antietam, and for the purchase of sites for tablets for the marking of such positions, fifteen thousand dollars. And all lands acquired by the United States for this purpose, whether by purchase, gift, or otherwise, shall be under the care and supervision of the Secretary of War.

The request for funds for Antietam was included among fund requests for maintaining and improving national cemeteries and for paying the superintendents of the cemeteries. Headstones were to be furnished for unmarked Union graves; burial provided for indigent soldiers, and various right-of-ways, tablet sites, and repairing of roadways required for cemeteries at Hampton, Virginia; Fredericksburg, Virginia; Marietta, Georgia; Culpeper, Virginia; and

---

[6] H.R. 10830, 51st Cong., 1st session, June 7, 1890.

Brownsville, Texas. A House report accompanied the appropriation bill. Report No. 2407 did not mention Antietam specifically but gave total amounts of funding needed for all the cemeteries and headstones.[7]

The House of Representatives debated the bill on June 13, 16, 17, 1890; amended and passed the bill on June 17, and referred it to the Senate Committee on Appropriations on June 17. The bill was reported back with amendments on July 9, 1890, accompanied by Senate Report Nos. 1396, 1466.[8]

The Senate debated the bill on July 14, 15, 16, 18 and 19. On July 19, 1890, the bill was amended and passed. Back in the House, the bill was referred to the House Committee on Appropriations with the Senate amendments on July 23.[9]

Debates spanned several days, from July 25-August 2. Since H.R. 10884 was an appropriation bill, debate did occur concerning several different provisions. However, none of the debate focused on the appropriations for Antietam's roadway, or on marking the lines of battle. After the House concurred or non-concurred with the Senate amendments, conferences were appointed on August 2 in both chambers to discuss the disagreeing votes.[10]

Both the House and Senate conference reports were debated and disagreed to between August 7-11, 1890. Second conference committees were appointed by both chambers on August 8 and 11, and their conference reports made, debated, and agreed to on August 25-26. The Senate and House both examined and signed the bill on August 28. President Benjamin Harrison approved it on August 30, 1890.[11]

Through the myriad of congressional law-making, the wording for Antietam's funding did not change from the original June 11, 1890, bill to the final act of August 30, 1890. There is no historical evidence found to date which can verify any veteran support for the establishment of Antietam. The National Tribune of Washington, D.C., a weekly newspaper which recounted war experiences and followed items of interest to veterans, made no mention of Antietam during the summer of 1890. The paper followed the progress of H.R. 10884 through the law-making process because it was an appropriation bill, but the fact that money for establishing Antietam Battlefield Site was being appropriated was not discussed.[12]

---

[7] H.R. 10884, 51st Cong., 1st session, June 11, 1890, p. 70; Report No. 2407, House of Representatives, 51st Cong., 1st Session, June 11, 1890, serial set 2813.

[8] Congressional Record, 51st Cong., 1st session, Vol. 21, pts. VI & VII, pp. 6043, 6139, 6183, 6184, 6192, 7050.

[9] Congressional Record, 51st Cong., 1st session, Vol. 21, pt. VIII, pp. 7229, 7268, 7317, 7319, 7393, 7442, 7496, 7487, 7643.

[10] Ibid., pp. 7715, 7765, 7817, 7861, 7927, 7978, 8027, 8070, 8071, 8074.

[11] Congressional Record, 51st Cong., 1st session, Vol. 21, pt. IX, pp. 8270, 8309, 8386, 8426, 8332, 8432, 9137, 9138, 9145, 9249, 9283, 9615.

Additionally, indexes to letters sent by the secretary of war relating to military affairs in 1889, and indexes to letters received by the adjutant general in 1887-89, reveal no entries concerning Antietam. Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Potomac's annual reunions for the years 1890-94 also do not mention the battlefield's recognitition and status.[13]

The State of Maryland, in an act approved April 7, 1892, gave its consent

> to the acquisition by the United States, of such tracts of land in the neighborhood of the battlefields of Antietam and Monocacy in the State of Maryland as may be selected by the Secretary of War... for the purpose of erecting monuments or tablets for the proper marking of the positions of each of the several commands of the Army of the United States engaged in the Battles of Antietam and Monocacy, for opening and constructing roads and avenues in connection with the positions occupied by the Federal or Confederate forces engaged in said battles, for the preservation of the grounds covered by said battlefields for historical or other purposes and for making such other improvements in connection with said battlefields as the Government of the United States may from time to time deem proper....

The State of Maryland also retained concurrent jurisdiction of the lands acquired by the United States.[14]

---

12. The National Tribune, Washington, D.C., June 19, July 17, 24, 31, August 28, 1890.

13. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, Part I, p. 401. Record Group 107, M-420, Indexes to letters sent by the secretary of war Relating to Military Affairs; Record Group 94, M691, Indexes to letters received by adjutant general; Society of the Army of the Potomac, Annual Reunions, 21st-1890, 22nd-1891, 23rd-1892, 24th-1893, 25th-1894 (New York: Macgowan & Slipper Printers, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894).

14. Maryland Laws for 1892, Chapter 638. Copy of law in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Cemeterial Files for Antietam.

These two laws provided the legal basis for Antietam National Battlefield Site.

The Committee on Military Affairs, in a report published on February 27, 1891, further explained the purpose of the Antietam Act as follows:

> A nation should preserve the landmarks of its history. The bill under consideration proposes to preserve and properly mark with plain, enduring tablets the field of Antietam, on which was fought, September 17, 1862, the bloodiest battle of the war of the rebellion.
>
> To a clear understanding of the field and illustrate for historical purposes, the unparalleled deadly fighting which distinguishes it above all others, it is absolutely necessary that the lines of both sides to the persistent struggle should be marked.
>
> The field on which the battle took place is practically unchanged from what it was on the day of the action, save the cutting down of some trees, and presents to-day, as it did in 1862, the most open field on which was fought any of the great battles of the rebellion--a field of which the eye at one sweep can take in all points. It is proposed to maintain the field in the same condition as to roads, fields, forests, and houses, and the sum appropriated by the bill will be ample for all purposes specified in it.
>
> The purpose is to have each State which had troops engaged on the field provide the monuments for marking the positions of the troops, after the general plan heretofore pursued at Gettysburg by the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, and proposed by the Chickamanga Memorial Association for like purposes on the fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga. The sole expense to the United States for monuments will be those for marking the positions for the regular regiments and batteries, being 42.

The committee stated that "The Regular Army had 16 regiments and 26 batteries on this field," while the District of Columbia and 19 loyal states had troops in the Union Army at Antietam. General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, they reported, was composed of troops from 11 Confederate states.

"More men were killed on that one day [September 17, 1862, at Antietam] than on any other one day of the war." The committee reported that Union losses at Antietam totaled 12,410, including 2,108 killed, 9,549 wounded, and 753 missing. Confederate losses, including those at Harpers Ferry, South Mountain, and Antietam, aggregated 12,601 and included 1,886 killed, 9,348 wounded, and 1,377 missing.[15]

The February 27, 1891, Committee on Military Affairs report accompanied H.R. 11966, a bill Representative Louis McComas introduced into the House on September 5, 1890. The bill provided for marking the lines of battle and the positions of troops of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia at Antietam, Maryland. Further provisions were for the Secretary of War to appoint three commissioners to have general charge of the work, to approve negotiations for land, to approve construction of avenues and driveways, to make contracts, and to disburse money. McComas' bill asked $150,000 for this work, but the House Committee on Military Affairs cut this figure to $50,000.

The amended bill was reported out of the military affairs committee on February 27, 1891, and referred to the Committee on the Whole House on the state of the Union. No further legislative history of this bill is known. On February 28, 1891, a joint resolution, H. Res. 295, directed the secretary of war to furnish certain information touching the battlefield of Antietam to the Committee on Military Affairs. Further action occurred in the form of estimates of appropriations being passed between departments, and Antietam received money in appropriations bills over the next several years.

On August 1, 1891, the secretary of war appointed Colonel John C. Stearns of Vermont (who had served in the Union Army), and Maj. Gen. Henry Heth of Virginia (who had served in the Confederate Army) as agents for the Antietam Board for the period of one year after this date. The two retired soldiers were to proceed to the battlefield as soon as possible to collect data. They were to survey and mark the lines. They were informed that sites could be purchased on which to erect the tablets. To this end, they were to prepare a map of the land that would be needed for erecting the tablets. Each agent was to receive a salary of $250 per month, but they had to pay office rent, carriage hire, and other travel expenses from their salaries. The government, however, would provide them with free stationery.

---

[15] Serial No. 2890, Report No. 4019, U.S. House of Representatives, 3 pp.
In a memo to the Hon. L. E. McComas, dated June 16, 1890, the War Department reported that 43 units of the regular army had been engaged at Antietam. These included 11 infantry and 5 cavalry regiments and 27 batteries of artillery. R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

On October 20 Quartermaster General R. N. Batchelder granted the two men constituting the "Antietam Board" the authority to purchase temporary wooden markers to mark troop positions and also to employ a team and driver "to plant them in position."[16]

In a report to the quartermaster general dated January 18, 1892, the Antietam Board summed up the first 5½ months of its operation:

> The Board . . . has the honor to report that it has marked with temporary stakes the positions of the forty-three different commands of the Regular Army engaged in the battle of Antietam.
>
> This work had been accomplished by a careful study of the reports and documents published in Series 1, Vol. XIX, Official Records of the Rebellion, through extensive correspondence with survivors of the several organizations, which participated in the engagement, and from minute examination of the field of battle, aided by maps prepared by the War Department, and also from valuable assistance rendered by Mr. Clarence F. Cobb, a clerk in the Paymaster General's Office, who has devoted years of study to this battle field. The Board has encountered serious difficulties from the absence of reports in many cases from officers commanding separate organizations, and from the natural influence of a period of twenty-nine years. We believe, however, that the work has been accomplished with all the accuracy of which it is now susceptible.
>
> The line of battle of the Army of the Potomac on the 17th of September, 1862, as the attack was made by that Army, was of course not continuous, and its several parts occupied different positions as the engagement progressed. The Army of Northern Virginia, being on the defensive, its lines may be more easily located, and it may be said to have maintained a line continuous, though differently located, as well on the morning of the 17th as the evening of the 17th, when the conflict ended . . . .

To enable the secretary of war to continue to carry out the provisions of the Act of August 30, 1980, the Board recommended that an additional appropriation of $16,810 be requested from Congress. They calculated that the money would be used as follows:

---

[16] R.G. 92 -- Entry 706, Box 227. Letter of October 20, 1891.

Cost of 114 tablets--transporting and setting up of same	$13,110.00
For the purpose of 114 sites for the tablets	5,700.00
	$18,810.00
Salaries of Board, including office rent, hire of vehicles, mileage, etc.	6,000.00
Condemnation of land and acquiring title for	1,000.00
	$ 25,810.00
On hand, unexpended	9,000.00
Additional appropriation required	$ 16,810.00[17]

Quartermaster General Batchelder sent this report to the secretary of war on February 17, 1892, also supporting the request for additional funds.[18]

On August 5, 1892, Congress appropriated $16,310 of the $16,810 that had been requested.[19]

On June 10, 1892, the Antietam Board submitted a progress report covering about ten months of work. They reported:

> The work has not progressed as rapidly as we could have desired, owing to unavoidable causes, sickness on the part of each member of the Board has retarded the work. We have succeeded however, in accumulating a large amount of information, from a careful study of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, and from other sources, which will enable us to complete a series of maps illustrating the great battle of Antietam, and when completed will give to the military student a complete history of this battle, from the time the first attack was made until the battle ended.
>
> The positions of the forty-three commands of the Regular Army...were temporarily marked with shingles some months since. Finding that such markers were being destroyed or obliterated during the cultivation of the fields, we deemed it best to replace them by more permanent wooden markers--these to be replaced by stone tablets as soon as a title to the land can be obtained.
>
> The line of battle and positions occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia, on the morning of the September 17th,

---

17. R. G. 92--Entry 706, Box 227.
18. Ibid.
19. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 27, pp. 377-378, called "Battlefield of Antietam."

> 1862, has been very definitely settled, but it will be impossible to locate many of the brigades of this Army by name. This is due to the absence of reports of officers commanding these organizations and the very indefinite descriptions as to the localities of officers making reports; the best we can hope to do will be to locate divisions and the general line of battle.
>
> Officers visiting the battlefield today find it difficult to recognize localities, thirty years having elapsed since the battle of Antietam, and the general features of the country much changed by the disappearance of bodies of wood, now cultivated fields or orchards.
>
> We hope to secure much additional valuable information, as officers high in rank of both armies who participated in this battle have promised to accompany us to the battlefield....

Quartermaster General Batchelder, using the above data, made a detailed report on the progress of the Antietam Board to the secretary of war in the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892. Total expenditures of the Board to that date amounted to $5,502.53, leaving a balance of $25,807.47 from the total of $31,310.00 appropriated in 1890 and on August 5, 1892.[20]

On July 20, 1892, the secretary of war directed that Colonel Stearns and General Heth be retained as members of the Antietam Board, and on the same terms ($250 per month) effective July 8, 1892 until otherwise directed.[21] Col. John C. Stearns' health failed him in July 1892.[22]

On September 26, 1892, the Antietam Board wrote:

> We have the honor to report that, since our last report, we have located the Confederate line of battle as it existed on the morning of September 17, 1862, before the battle of the 17th commenced. During the coming months we will locate the Union line as it existed at the same time of the day. The two lines thus located will be indicated on Map No. I, being the first of a series of maps. The second map will show the extreme advance of the Federal troops during the battle; the

---

[20] Serial No. 3077, p. 261; also see pp. 363-364, report of deputy quartermaster M. I. Ludington to the quartermaster general for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892.

[21] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Box 227.

[22] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Box 277; Letter of August 27, 1897. He also apparently received leave from June 14 to July ?, 1982.

third map will show the positions occupied by the two armies at the close of the Battle of Antietam.[23]

On December 9, 1892, Quartermaster General Batchelder presented the secretary of war with an estimate requesting an additional appropriation of $23,750 for work on the Antietam Battlefield, to be used as follows:

For the purchase of fifty additional tablets and transporting and setting up the same	$ 5,700
Purchase of fifty additional sites for tablets	2,500
Salaries of board, including office rent, hire of vehicles, etc.	6,000
Condemnation of land and acquiring title to same	500
Pay of engineer for surveying land and pay of draftsman for making maps of battlefield	1,000
For the purchase of land for roadway, from a point on the Sharpsburg and Hagerstown turnpike to a point on the Sharpsburg and Boonsboro turnpike, said land being known as the "Bloody Lane," or "Sunken Road," and fencing and repairing same	8,000
Total:	$23,750[24]

Reducing this request by $8,750, Congress in an Act approved on March 5, 1893, appropriated the sum of $15,000 to accomplish the six objectives listed above. The act also provided "That the Secretary of War is authorized to supply at Antietam such number of cannon and cannon balls as his judgement may approve, and which can be spared, for the purpose of marking the positions of the different commands engaged in the battle of Antietam."[25]

On April 18, 1893, the Antietam Board paid A. W. Hodgkins $20 for his services in preparing maps. On April 24 the Board stated that "their work is now sufficiently progressed to require the services of a clerk" and requested permission to hire one for one month at U.S. expense. The Quartermaster General authorized the expenditure at the rate of $100 per month. Carey S. Heth was employed as the clerk until

---

[23] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Box 227. September 26, 1892 report, 1 p. On September 22, Heth requested and received permission to purchase 100 wooden markers for use in marking positions of the Union Army. On September 28, he asked and received permission to spend up to $18 employing two men to help mark positions. This authority granted on September 30, 1892.

[24] Serial No. 3103, Document No. 123, p. 2. This estimate was sent to Congress, via the secretary of the treasury on December 12, 1892. Secretary of War was S.B. Elkins.

[25] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 27, p. 599.

May 31, 1893, and was paid a total of $123.33.[26]

In their fourth progress report, dated June 27, 1893, Colonel Stearns and General Heth of the Antietam Board wrote that the work of locating the lines of battle of the two armies at Antietam "has progressed favorably."

> The lines of battle of both armies have been marked on the first map, and a second map, of a series of three maps, is under way. The positions of the batteries of both armies have been generally determined upon, and a map of same is now being made.
>
> We have interviewed a number of the farmers owning land upon which tablets are to be placed. We find that these parties are unwilling to sell directly to us, preferring that their land be condemned and appraised by a commission appointed by the United States court, which we think will be the most satisfactory manner for the Government to acquire land in this locality.
>
> We beg leave to call your attention to the fact, that thousands of persons annually visit the Antietam battlefield. As the work we are engaged in progresses the number of visitors to this battlefield will increase. On some of the fields, notably, those in the vicinity of the Dunkard Church, East Woods, and the Bloody Lane, a large number of tablets will be located. In justice to the farmers owning these fields, we think roadways should be constructed to enable visitors to this battlefield to view and inspect these tablets without trampling upon and injuring growing crops, gardens, orchards, etc. Having this in view, we shall estimate for funds to construct such roadways, as from time to time may become necessary.[27]

Quartermaster General Batchelder conveyed this information to Secretary of War Lamont in his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893.[28]

In July 1893 the Antietam Board paid A. F. Dunnington $120 for making maps and the Norris Peters Company $159 for printing maps.[29] In August Norris Peters lithographed and printed 1,000 copies of Map No. 1 in black on two colors on Mt. Holly linen paper.[30]

---

[26] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Box 2277-Letter re Hodgkins, April 17, 1893; Letter of April 24, 1893 regarding clerk. Details on services in "Financial Statement of the Appropriations-Disbursements, August 1891-October 1, 1894," dated October 8, 1894.

[27] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Box 227--Letter re Hodgkins, April 17, 1893; Letter of April 24, 1893 regarding clerk. Details on services in "Financial Statement of the Appropriations-Disbursements, August 1891-October 1, 1894," dated October 8, 1894.

[28] Serial No. 3198, pp. 222-223; also Deputy Quartermaster General M. I. Ludington to quartermaster general, June 30, 1893, p. 327.

On August 22, 1893, the Antietam Board requested permission to employ one engineer, R. S. Mitchell, to prepare maps giving metes and bounds of lands to be acquired for erection of tablets or monuments at $150 per month. This team would also include one flagman at $40 per month and one axman at $37.50. The quartermaster granted this authority on August 24.[31]

The engineers worked at Antietam from September to about December 8, 1893 and received $609.85 for their services.[32] On September 21, 1893, General Heth reported that the Ordnance Department was about ready to deliver a number of cannons to Antietam and he requested permission to hire two men to help handle the guns.[33]

On September 30, having read a copy of War Department Circular No. 14, dated September 15, 1893, in which the secretary of war outlined the mileage and other allowances paid to the Gettysburg National Battlefield Commission and the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Commission, General Heth raised the question of equal pay for equal work, noting that the duties of the Antietam Board were the same as those of the two commissions. He was informed "under law of March 1893 making appropriation for Antietam, your request [for pay of mileage, etc.] cannot be complied with."[34]

---

[29] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Financial Statement of Appropriations, October 8, 1893. Dunnington was paid $120 on July 24, working 20 days at $6 per day. The Morris Peters Company was paid $70 on September 7 and $89 on December 29, 1893 for printing maps. Also Letter of Gen. Heth of July 17, 1893 re-employment of map maker.

[30] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter of Antietam Board of August 23, 1893 to QMG. The 1,000 copies of Map No. 1, delivered September 7, 1893 cost $70.

[31] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter of Board, August 22, 1893. Also Letter of Board September 12, 1893 - from Gen. Heth, requesting permission to purchase 800 stakes 2½ by 2 inches and two feet long to mark squares on ground to be condemned on the battlefield.

[32] R.G. 92, Entry, Financial Statement, October 8, 1894. Entry 706.

[33] R.G. 92, Entry 706.

[34] Ibid.

In December 1893 the Norris Peter Company printed 1,000 copies of the Antietam Board's Map No. 2. The board was permitted to employ the services of a clerk from mid-December to January 31, 1894 at a cost of $166.67.[35]

On January 8, 1894, Colonel Stearns and General Heth submitted their fifth progress report to Quartermaster General Batchelder. With regard to the surveying, locating, and preserving of the battle lines, they reported:

> On entering upon the duty indicated...the Antietam Board referred to such maps of Antietam battlefield as already had been published. The map known as the "Michler Map" made by the direction of the Secretary of War, in 1867 we found to be splendid map topographically.... We found two lines drawn on this map purporting to give the position of the Confederate Army on the morning of Sept. 17th and the evening of the Sept. 17th, the day on which the battle of Antietam was fought... There was nothing on this map giving the positions of the Union Army. We found those lines incorrect in every particular. In order to carry out the instructions in the several Acts..., and also to correct this error, the Antietam Board determined to illustrate the Antietam battlefield by a series of maps, the first of the series showing the position of the two Armies on the morning of September 17th before the battle began; the second showing the extreme advance of the Union forces during the contest; the third showing the positions occupied by the contending armies after the battle terminated....
>
> In order to carry out that part of the Act, "preserving the battle lines" we prepared to mark the positions of the several Brigades of each Army with suitable monuments or tablets of stone. The positions of batteries we proposed to mark by cannon, which by Act of March 3rd, 1893, the Secretary of War was authorized to furnish. Some fifty cannon have already been delivered at Antietam Station, Maryland. In order to "preserve the battle lines" by permanent markers of stone and cannon, it will be necessary to acquire possession of the land on which they are to be placed. The Board have seen the owners of the land upon which the battle was fought and all refused to sell isolated pieces or plats of ground; they are willing to sell their entire farms.
>
> To acquire possession of this land, if squares, say 20 by 20 are purchased it will be necessary to resort to condemnation under the Act "to establish and protect National Cemeteries, approved Feby. 22nd, 1867."

---

[35] Ibid. Letter of Board, December 13, 1893; Also Financial Statement, October 8, 1894. The cost of the maps was $80.

The Board then formally submitted two maps; one showing the positions of the armies on the morning of Sept. 17th before the battle; "the second shows the positions of the different commands of the Regular Army engaged in the battle, and especially called for by the Act approved Aug. 30th, 1890."

"The second map," they reported, "showing the extreme advance of the Union forces during the battle is now well under way. This will be the most important of the series to the Military Student and the historian of the future."

With regard to the acquisition of land, the Board reported:

> No land has been acquired so far, nor do we think it advisable to acquire land by purchase, or condemnation, until we are ready to have condemned, or to purchase the land which those maps contemplate.

As to markers, the commissioners noted:

> The Board have placed temporary wooden markers, generally nailed to trees, indicating the positions of the Brigades and Batteries marked on these maps; in all, some two hundred sites have been located. To locate these sites much diligent study of the Rebellion Records was necessary.

On the difficulty of the historical research being conducted, the Board commented:

> It must be remarked that the battle of Antietam was fought thirty-one years ago, that most of the prominent leaders in that battle have passed away, that many of the reports of Officers holding important commands, at this time are missing, or never were made, and that a large number of reports are so meager as to give us no information which would enable us to locate their commands.
>
> The meagerness of reports and the missing reports has necessitated a vast amount of correspondence. Letters and circulars have been sent over the Country (to the Governors and Adjutant Generals of the various States that had units in the battle) seeking information essential to our work, and it is a fact worth mentioning that diaries kept by enlisted men and sent us, materially assisted us in fixing the positions of their organizations, which could not be obtained from the official reports. The Antietam Board has been badly handicapped by not being able under the Acts of Congress appropriating money for this work, to have the benefit of the presence on the field, of Officers holding important positions during this fight. The Chickamauga Commission has had the benefit of the presence of Chickamauga of many Officers from both Armies and their expenses have been paid out of the

> appropriation for carrying on this work. The Antietam Board has had to defray the expenses of all persons who visited the field for the purpose of giving it information, as well as their own.

With regard to land, the Board estimated "that five hundred acres of land in different fields, more or less, must be acquired to carry out the provisions of the Acts of Congress. The cost of this land we cannot give as it must be acquired by condemnation...."

The Antietam Board estimated that two more years of "diligent work" would be required to complete the work on the Antietam Battlefield.[36]

During the spring of 1894 the Antietam Board employed a draftsman for several weeks at a cost of $70.[37] On July 2, 1894, General Heth took a month's leave of absence; on July 19, the secretary of war wrote to Col. John C. Stearns at Bradford, Vermont and ordered him to return to Washington immediately to resume his duties and "to explain on what authority he was absent."[38] Colonel Stearns resigned on July 26, effective July 31, 1894, apparently because of reasons of bad health. In his report to the quartermaster general, dated August 1, General Heth explained the matter:

> In closing this report I beg leave, in justice to my late Associate Col. John C. Stearns, to say when his health permitted he was a valuable adjunct to the Antietam Board, a man of fine business capacity, hard working and energetic, he took great pride in his work. Unfortunately, for the past 18 months his health was very bad, until finally it gave way altogether. It was hardly necessary to add that in consequence of Col. Stearn's bad health, the work has not progressed as rapidly as it would otherwise have done.[39]

In a sixth progress report dated August 1 General Heth reviewed the past work of the Antietam Board, which was now reduced to one member. He repeated much of the data included in the January 8 report of the same year, but did include the following new information.

---

[36] R.G. 92-Entry 706, Report of January 13, 1894.

[37] R.G. 92-Entry 706, letters of Board, March 12, 1894, and April 20, 1894; Financial Statement, October 8, 1894. Draftsman was paid $15 on March 31 and $55 on May 31, 1894.

[38] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letters of July 2 and July 19, 1894.

[39] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Heth's progress report of August 1, 1894.

In addition to studying Vol. XIX, War of the Rebellion, Official Records, which contained "the official reports treating of this battle," they had used "the several histories of the battle of Antietam, notably those of General [Francis W.] Palfrey and Colonel [William] Allen, and such articles published in the various magazines as seemed to throw light on the battle of Antietam."

With regards to making the series of maps marking troop positions, he commented:

> The Board found this work--making a map indicating the position of the brigades of the two Armies in the morning of September 17th, must be first done tentatively, distributing the maps to officers and others who were present in the battle, and obtaining their criticisms on the same. This map, the Board knew, was only approximately correct, but it hoped by obtaining the views of different survivors, to finally publish a correct map of this phase of the battle of Antietam. The Board then commenced to work on a second map to show the extreme advance of the Union Army on the 17th of September; or in other words, to show how far the Confederates were driven from the positions they held on the morning of the 17th. In order to complete this part of the work satisfactorily, the Board wrote to the Governors of the several States having troops in this battle, and requested them to send delegations from their states, composed of intelligent Officers who participated in the battle, with instructions that they accompany the Antietam Board to the battlefield and locate the extreme advance of their commands and where they did their hardest fighting.
>
> Favorable replies have been received from most of the Northern States; Massachusetts has already sent on a large delegation who visited the battlefield and gave the Board the desired information. North Carolina has done the same. Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maine, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New York will send delegations to mark their positions and will come to Sharpsburg as soon as advised. Maryland, Virginia and Texas will send on delegations for the purpose above mentioned. It is very essential that the information to be obtained from these delegations should be had before the map, or maps, showing the extreme advance of the Union forces, is completed....
>
> A vast amount of correspondence has been done by the Board. We obtained from the Pension Office a list of all the Regiments of the Union Army present at the Battle of Antietam. From the same we selected a number of survivors and wrote to these for such information in reference to the positions of their commands as we required. Some of the reports of Officers holding high rank and commanding Divisions are missing from Vol. XIX, Rebellion Records;

> these reports were never made, or lost if made. Many of the reports contained in Vol. XIX are so meagre as to throw little or no light on the positions they occupied during the battle. The information obtained by correspondence and from circulars sent out has been of great value to the Board. It would have been impossible to have done the work contemplated by Congress, without the aid afforded by letters obtained from outside sources. The Board has availed itself of every opportunity that offered to visit the battlefield, accompanied by officers who held important commands in both Armies, notably Generals William Franklin, W. F. Smith, John Gibbon, John G. Walker, James Longstreet, Robert Ransom, and many others of lesser rank....
>
> The Board proposes to visit the battlefield, accompanying the State delegations. After this, Map No. 3 will be speedily completed.

General Heth noted that the monuments or tablets could not be put into place until the land had been acquired. He now estimated that 800 acres [rather than 500 acres as in January] would be required and that $56,000 would be needed to purchase this property. He further estimated that $15,000 would be necessary to construct "Avenues or roads leading from the main turnpike to monuments." After the proper amount of money had been appropriated, he calculated "it would require one year, or 18 months to complete the work."

A total of 232 positions had been marked with temporary wooden markers and "The Government has furnished the Board with condemned cannon sufficient to mark the positions of the batteries of each Army."[40]

Quartermaster General Batchelder conveyed most of the information in Heth's report in his own annual report to Secretary of War Lamont for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894.[41]

On July 30, 1894, Brig. Gen. Erza A. Carman of New Jersey, who had served as a trustee of the Antietam National Cemetery Association from 1866 to 1877 and had unsuccessfully applied for a position on the Antietam Board in May 1891, made a second application for a job, understanding "that one of the gentlemen then elected has tendered his resignation."[42] On October 8 Secretary of War Lamont

---

[40] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Report of August 1, 1894, 5 pp.

[41] Serial No. 3295, p. 255.

[42] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Letter of July 30, 1894.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

appointed Carman to the position of "historical expert" for the Antietam Board at a salary of $200 per month. General Carman took the oath of office on October 12.[43] Thus the Antietam Board was reconstituted to its full strength of two members in October 1894. The Board, however, was about to be expanded and to strike out in new directions and for new objectives. These changes will be considered in the following section.

Operations of the Antietam Board, as comprised of Colonel Stearns and General Heth, from July 1, 1891, to October 1, 1894, can be summarized as follows: Of the total of $46,310 appropriated by Congress from August 30, 1890, to October 1, 1894, the Antietam Board had expended $20,253.73 for these purposes:

Salary to J.C. Stearns, Aug. 8, 1891-June 31, 1894	$8,750.00
Salary to Henry Heth, July 8, 1891-Sept. 30, 1894	9,691.67
Subtotal, salaries:	$18,441.67
For engineers	649.85
For clerks	490.00
For drawing and printing maps	389.00
For wooden markers	266.85
For travel expenses	14.20
For mailing tubes	1.26
For moving cannon	0.90
Subtotal, other expenses:	$ 1,812.06
Grand Total:	$20,253.73

This left a balance of $26,056.27 available for further work on the Antietam battlefield as of October 1, 1894.[44]

3. SECRETARY OF WAR'S OFFICE TAKES OVER AND THE GEORGE B. DAVIS PHILOSOPHY OF BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION, 1894-1895

On October 15, 1894, in response to the secretary of war's instructions of October 8, Quartermaster General Batchelder turned all of the correspondence, records, and accounts of the Antietam Board over to the chief clerk of the War Department.[45]

---

[43] R.G. 706, Index to letter and reports of the Antietam Board to the Secretary of War, 1894-1898. Letter No. 4, October 8, 1894.

[44] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Financial Statement of Appropriations, Antietam, 1891-94, October 8, 1894, 3 pp.

[45] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Letter of October 15, 1894 to Chief Clerk.

On October 13, as has been mentioned, the secretary of war appointed General Carman to serve as "historical expert," together with General Heth on the Antietam Board. The secretary enlarged the Board by adding two members: Jed. Hotchkiss as "expert topographer" on October 13, and Maj. George B. Davis, Judge Advocate, as president of the Antietam Board on October 20.[46]

Davis's selection as president of the Antietam Board was probably based on the new ideas that he had suggested to the secretary of war in a letter dated October 4, 1894.

After reviewing the legislative acts regarding the marking of the Antietam Battlefield, Davis wrote:

> It is apparent to my mind that the sums hitherto appropriated are quite inadequate to carry into effect so extensive a scheme as that outlined above. Judging from the experience gained at Chickamauga and Gettysburg,—and I cannot think that land can be purchased more reasonably at Sharpsburg than at either of those places, an expenditure of considerably

---

[46] R.G. 92, Entry 706, letters of October 13 and 20, 1894. Hotchkiss took his oath of office on October 20, 1894. Davis apparently selected Carman and Hotchkiss for their positions. On October 19, 1894, the Norris Peter Company was paid $20 for printing 300 copies of "Map No. 2." George Breckinridge Davis was born at Ware, Massachusetts, on February 14, 1847. During the Civil War he served as sergeant and quartermaster sergeant, 1st Massachusetts Cavalry from June 17, 1865 until he was honorably mustered out on June 26, 1865. Davis was a cadet at the U.S. Military Academy from July 1, 1867, until June 12, 1871, when he graduated, at which time he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 5th Cavalry. Throughout the 1870s he served on various western frontier posts and taught at the military academy. He was promoted to first lieutenant, 5th Cavalry on May 9, 1878; to captain, 5th Artillery on August 21, 1888; and to major, staff — judge advocate, U.S. Army on December 10, 1888. Davis served on special duty in the secretary of war's office, Washington, D.C., from January 19 to May 4, 1889, and was in charge of the Publications of the Records of the War of the Rebellion starting May 4, 1889. He became lieutenant-colonel, staff--deputy judge advocate-general on August 3, 1895; colonel and judge advocate on May 22, 1901; and brigadier-general and judge advocate general on May 24, 1901. Davis served as professor of law at the U.S. Military Academy from August 20, 1895 and as head of the department of history from January 1896. He retired as major-general, U.S. Army, on February, 1911, and his death followed three years later, on December 16, 1914 at Washington, D.C., Cullum, Biographical Register, vol. III (Boston 1891), pp. 170-71; vol. IV (Boston 1901), p. 208; R.G. 97, ACP File, NA, Military Order of the Loyal of the United States, in Memoriam, Companion George Breckinridge Davis, December 17, 1914, Circular No. 42, Series of 1914, Whole No. 808.

more than a hundred thousand dollars will be necessary to carry out the scheme of land purchase and line marking which is suggested in the statutes above referred to.

I am as clearly of opinion that the work of marking the lines at Antietam will be very much more difficult than at Gettysburg or Chickamauga. At both these places there were some strong natural positions, which were defended by the Union forces against Confederate assaults. These defensive positions formed the key points of the battles, and now furnish a basis for accurate and intelligent marking of the lines of the opposing forces. At Antietam there were no such positions. The battle was a long, obstinate, and, for the most part hand to hand contest between the forces engaged. The woods, cleared land, fences, wheat and corn fields, which constituted points of reference, at the time of the battle, have been modified and changed in the intervening years so as to make it a matter of extreme difficulty to identify them in any case; while in some, if not many cases, such identification is impossible.

Major Davis then suggested:

1. That the Board recognized in the statute be continued in force.

2. That so much of the acts of August 30, 1890, August 5, 1892, and March 31, 1893, as can be carried into effect, with the means at hand, be executed without delay.

3. That a correct map of the battle be prepared, printed, and distributed among surviving participants in the operations, with a view to collect and make of permanent record, all obtainable knowledge of the positions occupied by the Union and Confederate Armies during the two days of battle.

4. That points of general historic interest, which can be marked without acquiring land, be marked immediately.

5. That a report be prepared for submission to Congress, covering the entire case, including the difficulties involved in identifying and marking positions, and the probable expense of the undertaking.

It is believed that the course above suggested will result in a prompt execution of the existing statutes, and will place Congress in possession of a full knowledge of the case, from which future policy in reference to this matter can be intelligently determined.[47]

---

[47] R.G. No. 92, Entry 706. Letter No. 2, 4 pp.

Secretary of War Lamont was undoubtedly further impressed by Major Davis's thinking, when, on November 7, the judge advocate presented for his consideration a detailed plan of development for the Antietam Battlefield in which the previous estimates for necessary land to be acquired were reduced from 800 acres to 10 and the additional appropriations from $50,000 to $9,260.[48]

The thoughts presented in Major Davis's memorandum of October 4 and November 7, 1894, appear to have influenced the secretary of war's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, which was being drafted in the fall of 1894. Instead of paraphrasing the quartermaster general's annual report on the progress of work at Antietam, as was the normal custom, Secretary of War Lamont submitted an essay to Congress on the question of whether the United States should acquire lands to preserve Civil War battlefields and of the high future costs of maintaining such lands. He wrote:

> ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD
>
> The work of determining and marking the positions of the Union and Confederate armies on the battlefield of Antietam has been carried on throughout the year, and is now believed to be drawing to a close. Congress has charged the Department with the duty of "preserving and marking" certain lines of battle of Antietam, in order to preserve the field, in all its physical aspects, as nearly as possible in the condition in which it was in September, 1892. This duty can best be performed by leaving the land in the hands of its original owners or their successors, who by continuing to use it for farming, will preserve its topographical features as they existed in 1862.
>
> The portion of Maryland in which the battlefield is situated has always been an agricultural region and bids fair to continue so indefinitely. So long, therefore, as the land remains in the hands of private owners, so long will it be to their direct interest to continue to use it for farming purposes and thus preserve the field as it appeared to the combatants. Were the Government to acquire large holdings of land on the battlefield or in its vicinity, it would be compelled, by its own exigencies, to simulate the operations of agriculture--a task clearly outside the ordinary and usual scope of government endeavor, and involving large expenditures.

---

[48] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 45. This plan will be considered in detail in the following section.

> It is the purpose of the Department, if the necessary land can be bought reasonably, but not otherwise, to acquire several lanes or avenues along which the most severe fighting occurred, and upon the sites thus acquired to erect such tablets and markers as will clearly describe and explain the positions and operations of the several origanizations of the armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia which were engaged. It is not believed that the first cost of this method of marking will be great or that the expense of maintenance will be considerable.[49]

One year later, in his annual report to Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, Secretary of War Lamont returned to this subject. He noted that since 1890 Congress had appropriated $1,141,568.71 for marking and preserving four Civil War battlefields. These included the Antietam National Battlefield Site and three national military parks at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Gettysburg, and Shiloh. The United States had acquired 6,000 acres at Chickamauga, 1,000 acres at Gettysburg, and the land acquisition program at Shiloh, which had just been established, was not yet underway.

Secretary of War Lamont warned Congress that developing and maintaining some 50 Civil War battlefields made up of many acres of land would be expensive. He wrote:

> It is important that Congress should early adopt and consistently pursue a fixed policy in regard to the marking of the battlefields of the civil war. If the plan of creating battlefield parks is to be impartially pursued on the scale adopted at Chickamauga and Gettysburg, it must embrace fifty places where important actions were fought, and will involve an expenditure of at least $20,000,000, with additional expenditures for maintenance that may reach $1,000,000 yearly.

Having observed the operations of the various battlefield commissions for a period of some two years, the Secretary of War was now convinced that policy of preservation followed at Antietam was the best and cheapest method of preserving the 46 unmarked Civil War battlefields.

Secretary Lamont explained his opinion:

> The policy pursued at Antietam, where absolute discretion was lodged in the Department, has been radically different, and if adopted in other cases it is believed that an

---

[49] Serial No. 3295, p. 29.

Expenditures for Military Parks, 1890-June 30, 1896

Projects	1890 Antietam	1895 Gettysburg	1890 Chickamauga	1894 Shiloh
Salaries, Commissioner, Experts	$24,523.33	$27,001.13	$67,010.00	$19,733.33
Office expenses	927.95	5,560.36	14,390.88	3,890.75
Traveling expenses	141.70	3,060.98	12,879.02	1,512.87
Land and legal expenses	3,311.78	9,779.00	233,004.73	6,851.80
Labor, material	25,831.79	98,657.60	351,642.53	14,070.73
Markers, Mons.	6,268.28	24,382.17	62,613.70	40.91
Miscellaneous	1,709.03	1,151.31	10,035.43	--
Total under Commissions	62,713.86	169,592.55	751,576.29	46,100.39
Expended under				
GRAND TOTAL	62,713.86	251,219,46	758,876.29	46,100.39
Grand total of all = $1,119,910 (1)				
Acres of Land Acquired	22.00	845.32	5,568.25	266.70
Total Acreage	22.00	3,874.00	8,000.00	5,800.00

(1) 313.65 acres purchased and 521.77 acres donated.

Source: Congressional Serial No. 3478, pp. 44 and 43-Annual Report of Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1896.

> expenditure of $100,000 would suitably and permanently mark all the remaining fields of importance and provide for the early completion of a work of national interest. The work there was practically begun and finished this year. About 17 acres of land was purchased in strips, conforming closely to the actual battle lines and embracing the principal features. Along these, 5 miles of substantial metaled roads were constructed, and 200 iron tablets have been erected, recording the movements of the various commands. The tablets enable even the layman to read accurately the story of the shifting changes of the battle, and the field, instead of being converted into a park, is substantially in the same condition as when the battle was fought, and is likely to remain so for years. The total cost of this completed work has been about $40,000, including purchase of lands and construction of roads. Omitting the latter, the total cost would have been approximately $10,000. The cost of maintenance will be small.
>
> It is earnestly recommended that Congress authorize the marking of remaining important battlefields in the manner adopted at Antietam, which can be completed in a few years at a moderate cost, while the project of more national military parks, of thousands of acres bought by the Government, involves the expenditure of millions of dollars and an indefinite lapse of time before completion.[50]

The secretary's point is further illustrated by data drawn from his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896 (see chart preceding page), which presents comparative figures regarding the costs of developing the four Civil War battlefields.

U.S. Expenditures, 1890-June 30, 1896 were:

Antietam	$62,713.86
Chickamauga	751,576.29
Shiloh	46,100.39
Gettysburg	169,592.55

The two methods of preserving battlefields, here called the Chickamauga and Antietam methods, adopted by the War Department in the 1890s reflect the thinking of Major Davis and Secretary of War Lamont.

---

[50] Serial No. 3370, pp. 31-32. Final actual cost of work at Antietam, finished in March 1898, was $78,031, rather than $40,000.

National military parks preserved by the War Department utilizing the "Chickamauga" plan, acquiring much of the land of the battlefield, include the following areas:

1. Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Georgia and Tennessee (August 19, 1890).
2. Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania (February 11, 1895).

   (At Gettysburg the War Department accepted some 532 acres that had been purchased by other organizations, bought about 314 additional acres, and then marked the battlefield on the "Antietam Plan.")
3. Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, North Carolina (June 2, 1926).
4. Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina (March 3, 1931).
5. Moores Creek National Military Park, North Carolina (June 2, 1926).
6. Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee (December 27, 1894).
7. Vicksburg National Military Park, Mississippi (February 21, 1899).

(Development at Vicksburg represented a compromise between the Antietam and Chickamauga plans. The War Department was forced by veterans' lobbying efforts to acquire considerable amounts of land, thus changing the original Antietam method of preservation.)

National battlefield sites preserved by the War Department using the "Antietam" plan, acquiring relatively little land, included the following areas:

1. Antietam Battlefield, Maryland (August 30, 1890).
2. Appomattox, Virginia (June 18, 1930).
3. Brices Cross Roads, Mississippi (February 21, 1929).
4. Chalmette Monument and Grounds, Louisiana (March 7, 1904).
5. Cowpens, South Carolina (March 4, 1929).
6. Fort Donelson National Military Park, Tennessee (March 26, 1928).

7. Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battle Fields Memorial, National Military Park, Virginia (February 12, 1927).
8. Petersburg National Military Park, Virginia (July 3, 1926).
9. Stones River National Military Park, Tennessee (March 3, 1927).
10. Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, Wharton County, Pennsylvania (March 4, 1931).
11. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Site, Georgia (February 8, 1917).
12. Tupelo National Battlefield Site, Mississippi (February 8, 1929).
13. White Plains National Battlefield Site, New York (established before August 10, 1933).

The above listed battlefields were transferred by the War Department to battlefields were transferred by the War Department to the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior on August 10, 1933.

4. DEVELOPMENT AND COMPLETION OF THE BATTLEFIELD, 1894-1898

On November 7, 1894, after consulting with General Heth, Major Davis presented a detailed plan for the future development of Antietam Battlefield, together with an estimate of the additional funds that would be required, to the secretary of war. The next day, Davis also sent a copy of this paper to Carman and Hotchkiss, who were working at Sharpsburg, for their information, review, comment, and suggestions.[51]

---

[51] Carman to Davis, November 10, 1894, states he and Hotchkiss have reviewed the estimates and paper. Carman suggested that the roads should be 20 to 25 feet wide, of which only 12 feet would be macadamized. He also noted that the cost of constructing the observation towers had not been included in the estimate. Also Davis to Carman, Nov. 12, 1894--all in R.G. 92--Entry 706--File 45.

In his letter to the Secretary, Major Davis explained that

there remains on hand unexpended, about $25,000; and the question is of determining upon a scheme of marking which will not greatly exceed that sum. The state of the appropriation does not seem to warrant considerable expenditures for such a purpose, at this time, and the board has, therefore, given the greatest weight to considerations of economy.

The several acts of appropriation require the Department to preserve and mark the general lines of battle of the Union and Confederate Armies at Antietam, and to further mark the positions of such organizations of the regular army as participated in the battle. This marking may be done in two ways:

1. By acquiring the entire area upon which the battle was fought and erecting markers or monuments thereon.

2. By acquiring a minimum of land, in the shape of lanes and avenues crossing the principal positions, and erecting thereon such tablets as are necessary to mark the principal movements of both armies during the battle.

The battle was fought on three roads leading out of the town of Sharpsburg, in three different directions, at right angles to each other. Two of these are turnpikes, owned by corporations, the third is a poor and badly kept county road, leading from Sharpsburg by the Burnside Bridge, to the Antietam Iron Works and Harpers Ferry. These roads, which radiate from Sharpsburg, are not connected by any system of cross roads, or lanes, and a visitor desiring to go over the field must now make three separate starts from Sharpsburg and, in each case, must return to the town before starting again in a new direction. To make the field accessible, some communications should be opened between the turnpikes by which its different parts are now reached. It so happens that this can be accomplished in such a way as to open such communication, and make the entire field accessible and, at the same time, enable the principal lines of battle to be so marked as to convey a clear idea of the several phases of the engagement. It will involve the purchase of less than ten acres of land, and will not commit the United States to the perpetual care and maintenance of a large area of ground.

The centers of heavy fighting, during the battle of September 17, 1862, were three in number: 1. The vicinity of the Dunkard Church on the Hagerstown Pike. 2. The Bloody Lane, lying between the Hagerstown and Boonsboro Pikes, but not now accessible from either of them. 3. The vicinity of the Burnside Bridge. The 5th Army Corps, the Cavalry Division, and the Reserve Artillery, which composed the reserve of the Army of the Potomac and contained most of the organizations of regular troops which participated in the battle, were stationed on the Boonsboro Pike near the point where it crosses Antietam Creek. It has been seen that the centers of fighting above referred to are situated on different roads, no two of which communicate with each other. To make them accessible and, at the same time, to secure sites for the location of tablets, which will explain the tactical maneuvers of the battle, the following suggestions are submitted:

1. To acquire the fee of the land constituting the Bloody Lane and to convert it into a practical road joining the Hagerstown and Boonsboro Pike. A part of this land has very great historical importance and should not be disturbed, as to its general outline, which are now in substantially the same condition that they were during the battle. It is only proposed to metal the road-bed, or bottom, of the lane.

2. To acquire the fee of a small strip of land (about 12 feet wide) leaving the Hagerstown Pike near the Dunkard Church, passing in rear of the Confederate Lines, and returning to the Pike at D. R. Miller's house. It is proposed to make a road of the strip above described, upon which to erect tablets to explain the operations of Jackson's corps of the Confederate Army.

3. To acquire a small strip connecting the Hagerstown Pike with the Smoketown Road, near J. Poffenberger's house, and construct thereon a road, connecting the above roads, and furnishing sites for tablets explanatory of the operations of the 1st, 2nd and 12th Corps of the Army of the Potomac.

4. To acquire a narrow strip of land extending from a point on the Boonsboro' Pike east of the National Cemetery, to a point near the Sherrick House on the road leading from Sharpsburg to the Burnside Bridge.

5. Upon the lands thus acquired it is proposed to construct roads, not exceeding 12 feet in width, to facilitate movements about the field and to furnish sites for the tables which will explain the different phases, or epochs, of the battle. It is proposed to use, for this purpose, tablets of cast iron, similar to those now furnished the Chickamauga Commission, by the Chattanooga Car and Foundry Company under its existing arrangement with the War Department. This source is recommended because it has been found, after considerable inquiry, that no iron foundry in the vicinity of Washington, or Philadelphia, is prepared to furnish tablets, of similar size and weight, at as low a price as the above establishment. The same concern furnishes a cast iron guide board, which can be extensively used in marking the routes of corps.

> 6. To convey to a visitor's mind an idea of the position of the opposing lines of battle, it is proposed to mark them by painted balls, placed on the tops of iron poles, about 300 yards apart. It is believed that the general lines of battle can be marked in this way at a minimum expense and still in such a way as to impress an observer with the length and position of the lines of battle and magnitude of the military operations.
>
> 7. To issue a map showing the positions and operations of the several commands of the Union and Confederate Armies during the entire battle. This map is now in rapid course of preparation, and will be ready for delivery to the lithographer by the end of December of the current year.

Major Davis then proposed a schedule of development for the battlefield, writing:

> It is suggested that the work outlined above be undertaken in the following order:
>
> 1. That the owners of the land, in the lanes which it is proposed to acquire (covering less than ten acres), be invited to submit the prices at which they will dispose of their holdings to the United States. Land in the vicinity of Sharpsburg, as elsewhere in the State of Maryland, is now lower than it has been for many years. The present price, in that vicinity, seems to be about fifty dollars per acre. If the bids are, at the rate of, fifty dollars per acre, or less, it is proposed to accept them at once. If higher than that figure, in view of the delay and expense of condemnation proceedings, it is proposed to offer $100 per acre as a maximum price. If that price is not accepted, it is suggested that so much of this project as involves the purchase of land be abandoned without delay. The land which it is proposed to acquire has little or no commercial value. Such historical or patriotic importance as attaches to it, is due solely to the fact that American citizens fought and died there. The owner of the land, as such, has in no way contributed to this result, and it is difficult to see how the shedding of blood can be converted into an interest or estate in his favor.
>
> 2. If the necessary land is acquired, it is proposed to begin work, at once, upon the roads heretofore referred to, viz. (a) The Bloody Lane, (b) The Lane near the Dunkard Church, (c) The Lane at J. Poffenberger's, and (d) The Lane connecting the Boonsboro Pike with the road to Burnside's Bridge. These connecting roads, or lanes, are shown on the enclosed map.[52] Mr. Schneider, the contractor for

---

[52] The map enclosed was Map No. 2 of the Battlefield of Antietam, drawn under the direction of Antietam Board, Col. John C. Stearns, Gen. H. Hess, 1894, Scale 4½ inches = 1 mile, with existing and proposed roads marked on map. National Archives Record Group No. 92, Entry 507.

repairing the road from Antietam Station to the National Cemetery, offers, informally, to do this work at $7,800 per mile (about 37 cents per square yard), and is willing to begin operations at once. With ordinarily open winter weather, it is believed that the greater part of the work of road construction can be completed during the coming winter.

3. To proceed, as rapidly as possible, with the casting and erection of the iron tablets. The legends for a great many of them have already been prepared. The rest can be completed and the tablets cast and erected at an early day.

4. To proceed with the construction of the line of iron marking poles so soon as permission has been obtained, from land owners, to erect the poles on their premises. It is not anticipated that there will be any special objection encountered to the scheme of erecting poles upon private property. If objections are advanced, or if compensation is demanded, the scheme should be abandoned.

5. To erect at convenient points two low wooden observation towers from which the lines of battle, of both armies, can be seen. Suitable tablets should be placed in these towers describing the positions of the lines.

Major Davis estimated that the cost of the above program would be:

Land for roads and grading	$ 2,000.00
Macadamizing road, 28,000 sq. yrds. at 37¢	10,360.00
Fencing 42,000 linear feet	10,000.00
200 cast iron tablets	4,000.00
100 cast iron guide posts	300.00
Iron markers	600.00
Salaries (of Antietam Board)	6,000.00
Total	$ 33,260.00
On hand	24,000.00
To be estimated for	$9,260.00

Say $10,000.

Major Davis concluded by suggesting "that the above amount, $10,000 be submitted to Congress, instead of $50,000, as originally estimated."[53]

---

[53] R. G. 92, Entry 706. Letter of November 7, 1894, to Secretary of War. Gen. Henry Heth, in his progress report of August 1, 1894, assuming that 600 acres of land would have to be acquired, had estimated that an additional appropriation of $50,000 would be required. This same figure of $50,000 was also included in Quartermaster General R.N. Batchelder's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894; see Serial No. 3295, p. 255.

Secretary of War Lamont immediately approved Major Davis' November 7 plan.[54] The estimate was presented to Congress and in an act approved March 2, 1895, the legislature appropriated $9,421 to be used at Antietam for the following purposes:

> for properly marking with tablets, each bearing a brief historical legend compiled without praise and without censure the positions occupied by the several commands of the Armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia on that field, and for opening and improving avenues along the positions occupied by troops upon those lines, and for fencing the same....

> Congress also provided:

> That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to supply fifty unserviceable wooden field gun carriages, of the type used during the civil war, for the purpose of marking the positions occupied by batteries of artillery on the said field.[55]

With an approved plan and monies available, the Antietam Board prepared to execute the plan. On December 14, 1894, the secretary of war appointed Elmore E. Piper as engineer in charge of fencing projects.[56] By January 12 the specifications for macadamizing the roads and erecting gates had been drafted.[57] Specifications for post and fences were ready by January 10.[58]

Bids for material and labor were accepted as follows:

January 4, 1895	for hydraulic cement.[59]
January 24, 1895	for iron tablets from R. W. Grove, Josiah Hill.[60]
Janaury 24, 1895	for 2,000 stones 2" x 3" x 3'.[61]
January 29, 1895	bid of James Snyder to build 7,000 lin. feet of 6 inch road at 38½ cents per lin.

---

[54] Lamont signed but did not date the November 7 memo. In a letter to Carman, dated November 12, 1894, Davis states the secretary has approved the plan.
[55] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Letter No. 77.
[56] Ibid., Letter No. 123.
[57] Ibid., Letters 110 and 111.
[58] Ibid., Letter No. 151.
[59] Ibid., Letter No. 150.
[60] Ibid., Letter No. 152.
[61] Letters No. 163 and 218, Ibid. Also see letter no. 286, April 3, 1895.

	foot and 4,000 lin. feet of 4 inch road at 32½ center per lin. ft. This contract for macadamizing the road was approved on February 20, 1895.[62]
February 18, 1895	Contract for erection of wire fencing.[63]
March 27, 1895	accepted bids for fence and post caps: 1,200 rods of fencing and 2,000 post caps. The contract was approved on April 3, 1895.[64]

The task of acquiring land, in narrow strips, so that the roads or avenues could be constructed and fenced and tablets erected was also underway. Between April 10 and June 28, 1895, the United States acquired title to 15 small parcels of land. Four more deeds were recorded in 1896 and on January 18, 1898, when work on the battlefield was almost done, the Antietam Board held title to 23 pieces of land.[65]

As of June 30, 1896, the United States owned 22 acres of land on the battlefield (exclusive of 11 acres in the National Cemetery), which had been acquired at a cost of $3,311.78.[66]

On August 2, 1895, Major Davis drafted a report for the secretary of war on the history of Antietam Battlefield, writing:

> The work on this field, save for a little in the way of embellishment, is practically finished. Gen. Carman will throw off the entire pay roll, except the masons and helpers who are at work on the [stone observation] tower in Bloody

---

[62] Letter No. 205, Ibid.

[63] Ibid., Letters No. 271 and 285.

[64] R.G. Box 2606, File 630. "Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and Military Parks. Title, jurisdiction, etc., Revised edition 1916--Antietam Battlefield," 4 pp. R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 455, June 30, 1895, recording 10 deeds, and Letter No. 543, March 31, 1896, reporting recording of 15 deeds.

[65] Serial No. 3478, p. 43. Annual report for June 30, 1896. The cost averaged out to $115.20 per acre.

[66] Serial No. 3498, p. 43, Annual report for June 30, 1896. The cost averaged out to $115.20 per acre.

Lane, and who will be utilized to set up the tablets and guide boards which are now being cast in Chattanooga. The one thing awaiting to be done is to prepare a base map, and to locate upon it the positions of the troops at the different phases of the battle.

My attempt to utilize Major Hotchkiss has well nigh proved a failure. He seemed to have just the qualities that were needed, not to make a survey of the field, but simply to correct the fence lines of the Michler map, (which was made in 1867, five years after the battle) and to bring out the precise topography of the field a little more clear than was done on that map. He has given us a correct drawing of that part of the field in the vicinity of the Dunkard Church and the Bloody Lane, and that is about all; and Mr. Bien is embodying the Hotchkiss corrections, and a number of Gen. Carman's also, on the map he is now making.

The Bien map will be drawn on tracing cloth to a scale of about 400 inches to the mile, (twice the scale of the Michler map), at a cost of $85. The use of this scale will greatly facilitate the location of the troops, and will give a map that can be reduced by photography, to the scale of the War Records Atlas for reproduction by photolithography, should enough of the appropriation remain to authorize such a publication. The cost of it should not exceed $400.00 for an edition of one thousand.

Whether the maps are reproduced or not, it will give Gen. Carman a large sized base map, of which blue prints or white prints can be made, upon which to locate the movements of troops. In doing this Gen. Carman will make the length of the rectangle, which represents a command on the map, form a fixed proportion of the strength of the command in the battle, when that strength can be accurately or even approximately ascertained. This is an innovation in map drawing and is calculated to give a very satisfactory result. It is also necessary as the brigades varied in strength between 86 and over 3,000 men.

No positions of troops will be shown on the base map, blue or white prints, or photographic enlargements, being used for that purpose, but Gen. Carman will locate each tablet on it, using reference numbers for that purpose, which will refer to the book of tablets, and will enable the location of any tablet to be verified at any time. Gen. Carman and I will prepare the legends for these maps, so as to have them ready for publication, should the way to that result appear clear at any time in the future.

Gen. Carman's work at Sharpsburg has been the highest character, both in point of accuracy and economy. He has no opinions in opposition to the desire or policy of the department and never for an instant loses sight of the

> Government interest. He has been of the greatest assistance to me and has carried out the details with tact and discretion, and with an accuracy to truth which is rare as it is desirable. Composed as the Gettysburg Commission is, I believe it will be to the public interest if his service can, at the proper time, be transferred to that field. He will work in perfect harmony with Col. Nicholson and will powerfully assist him in securing immediate and accurate results.
>
> I will also write the report of the Antietam Commission [for the Secretary of War]. It will save you some trouble and I can easily do it, as I am familiar with the details. I enclose my resignation as President, to take effect on August 10th, as I am at too great a distance to direct the work to advantage. I will date back the report and other papers which should be properly signed by me, and which are not completed by that time.[67]

On August 3, 1895, Secretary of War Lamont appointed Maj. George W. Davis to be the second president of the Antietam Board.[68] On August 10 the new president was informed that it would cost approximately $3,629.73 to build the stone observation tower on the Bloody Lane Road. (The plan for two wooden towers had been changed to one stone tower.)[69] On August 17, 1895, the acting secretary of war notified Generals Carman and Heth that they were discharged as members of the Antietam Board because the appropriations for the battlefield had been exhausted.[70] This meant that $55,731 had been expended by mid-August 1895; $300 were also spent to repair roads, as Congress appropriated this amount on June 8, 1896, to pay for work that had already been completed.[71]

---

[67] R.G. 92, Entry 706. Letter No. 483--August 2, 1895. Copy of this memo was apparently sent to the secretary of war, even though the memo is not addressed to him.

[68] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 484. R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 484. George Whitefield Davis was born in Thompson, Connecticut, on July 26, 1839. He received education at Nichols Academy, Dudley Massachusetts, and at State Normal School, New Britian, Connecticut. He served as quartermaster sergeant of the 11th Connecticut Infantry from November 27, 1861, to April 5, 1862, and Ist lieutenant with the 11th Connecticut Infantry. At the time of his appointment to the Antietam Board Davis was being promoted through grade, to reach brigadier general of U.S.A., by May 4, 1898. He later became brigadier general of U.S.A. on February 2, 1901, and major general on July 21, 1902. He retired on July 26, 1903. Davis was involved as engineer in the completion of the Washington National Monument from 1878-85. He saw service in Puerto Rico and the Philipines, and was general manager and vice president of Nicaragua Canal Construction Company from 1900-1903. General Davis also served as a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission in 1904-05; was governor of the Panama Canal Zone 1904-05; chairman of the board of construction engineers on the Panama Canal 1905-06; and special agent for the Department of State to the government of Guatemala 1913. He died July 12, 1918. Who Was Who in American History-The Military (Marquis 1975), p. 126.

Total expenditures on the battlefield, 1890 to June 30, 1896, thus amounted to $56,031.

The Antietam project thus lay dormant for 10½ months, from mid August 1895 to the end of June 1896, when Congress appropriated additional funds.

Meanwhile, President Davis had thoughts on improving and widening the work at Antietam. Davis had probably drafted much of Secretary of War Lamont's general statement, previously referred to, on the costs of developing and maintaining Civil War national military parks that appeared in the secretary's report to Congress for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895.[72]

In a letter to former president George B. Davis, who had been promoted to lieutenant colonel and transferred to West Point, New York, Major Davis set forth his thinking on Antietam, writing:

> There seems to be no doubt that the roads we have built there should be improved by increasing the thickness of the macadam. This autumn's hauling has been considerable over portions of these roads, and it seems to me certain that the spring hauling over the same roads and the wear and wash of traffic and rains when the ground is wet and soft will prove their inadequacy. Such is my opinion from the examination I have been able to make, and this is concurred in by General Carman.
>
> It also appears that Pennsylvania will during the next season erect some forty monuments on that field--of this I am

---

[69] Ibid., Letter No. 491. R.G. 92, Drawer 7, Cartographic Division of National Archives, Alexandria, Va., has two drawings, "Plan of a Stone Observation Tower at Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland," both dated July 1896.

[70] Ibid., Letters No. 497 and 498.

[71] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 29, p. 284.

[72] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter no. 523: "I would remark that the Secretary has asked me to prepare a memorandum on the general subject of such [battlefield] parks. This involves going over the figures and legislation concerning these four places upon which the Government has been recently making expenditures."

> assured by Col. Nicholson [of Gettysburg] and others. Ohio will erect monuments there, it is said, for regiments that have monuments on no other field.

Davis then explained his plan to broaden the marker program to include the other battles that were fought in September 1862 directly related to the battle of Antietam, writing:

> Crampton's Gap and Harper's Ferry were so closely related to Antietam that they, in effect, became a part of it, and it has been suggested that tablets be erected along the roads passed at these several battlefields, as well as at Shepherdstown [W.Va.]. It is also desirable to complete the tower in the Bloody Lane, that had to be discontinued before completion on account of lack of means, and it would be well to erect another tower on the southern portion of the field.
>
> One Confederate division, Anderson's,--has now no tablet; it was thought impossible to determine its position, but General Carman has finally worked this out, he tells me. There ought to be therefore, a few more tablets at Antietam, a few towers completed, roads improved, and for these five or six thousand dollars will be needed. About $1,500 would be required to make and erect the tablets in the closely allied fields of South Mountain, etc.
>
> With respect to the [troop movement] map, - a computation has been made that for one general map representing Antietam Field on the scale of the original Michler map, four inches to the mile, supposing that there be eight plates in all, representing the successive stages of the battle, for a map of South Mountain operations and Harper's Ferry surrender,--about $1,500 would be required, supposing that 1,000 copies of each map be printed. I have therefore decided to put in an estimate for these several things at Antietam. Whether the Secretary will concur with me or not, I am not yet sure....

Major Davis also reminded Colonel Davis "it was our understanding that you should prepare the final map at Antietam."[73]

The secretary of war supported Major Davis's proposal and on March 24, 1896 the president of the Antietam Board transmitted an estimate to the Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, James G. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, requesting $17,053.20 to be spent at Antietam as follows:

---

[73] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 523. The letter also indicates that there was a dispute being carried on in the secretary's office on whether Shiloh should be limited to 200 acres at Pittsburg Landing, plus strips of land at other points; also whether Gettysburg could not be developed on the same plan used at Antietam.

At Antietam

Federal Battery Tablets	21	
Federal Infantry Tablets	28	
Confederate Tablets	17	
	66 at $20.60	$1,372.80
Putting up tablets, cement, sand, labor and freight		257.00
Shell monuments for Genls. Mansfield, Richardson, Rodman, Starke, Anderson, and Branch, 6 at $30.00		180.00
Completing towers in Bloody Lane and on extreme right of Confederate line		1,350.00
Additional guide posts		150.00
Improving, deepening, and guttering roads, 4-2/3 miles at $1,500		7,000.00
	Total for Antietam:	$10,309.80

For Turner's and Fox's Gaps

Federal and Confederate Tablets, 32	$665.60
Cost of erecting same	100.00
Cannon Ball monument to Gen. Reno	50.00
Total	$815.60

At Crampton's Gap:

Federal and Confederate Tablets, 10	$208.00
Cost of erecting same	30.00
	$238.00

At Harper's Ferry:

Tablets, 6	$124.80
Cost of erecting same	15.00
Cannon Ball Monument to Col. Dixon H. Miles	50.00
Total:	$189.80

Aggregate for related battlefields	$1,243.40

For Maps of Antietam Battlefield

Engraving and publishing	$ 2,000.00
Topographer, Draughtsmen, etc.	1,000.00
Total, Map	$ 3,000.00

For Expert Services and contingencies	$ 2,500.00
Grand Total	$17,053.20[74]

---

74. R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 540.

In an act approved on June 1, 1896, Congress accepted Major Davis's proposals and appropriated $17,000 for the Antietam battlefield and related projects.[75]

On June 27, 1896, Major Davis wrote to the secretary of war recommending that Generals Heth and Carman be reappointed as members of the Antietam Board to serve from July 1 to December 31, 1896 at salaries of $200 per month.[76] Secretary of War Lamont appointed Carman and Heth to the Board on June 30, 1896.[77] Also on June 30, James Snyder was named superintendent of road repairs at a salary of $3.50 per day for a period not to exceed three months.[78]

In his approved proposed plan of operations dated June 27, Davis planned to spend $4,000 to repair existing battlefield roads. One new road, 2,800 feet long and joining Confederate Avenue and Smoketown Road, was to be built. The land for this road, 80 feet wide and 2,900 feet long, containing about 4 1/8 acres, he thought, could be purchased for about $450; the road, 2,800 feet long, built for $1,400; and fenced 5,600 feet, for about $500. The repairs to the roads and setting of tablets and monuments ($2,600 for 90 cast iron tablets and $200 for six cannon ball monuments) was to be done by day labor.

The completion of the observation tower (estimated at $2,000) and the construction of the new road were to be accomplished by contract after public advertisement.[79]

About $2,100 was also to be spent on a new map, as follows: $300 for drawing new map and $1,800 for engraving and printing new maps, 7 sheets, 100 copies of each map.[80]

---

[75] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 29, p. 443.
[76] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 561, 5 pp., to Secretary of War presenting detailed plan of operations to December 31, 1896.
[77] Ibid., Letters of June 30, 1896, Nos. 562 and 563.
[78] Ibid., Letter No. 564. Synder had built the roads under contract in 1895.
[79] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 559. The road to be built "extends from the new road that traverses the ground occupied by the left of the Confederate Army, across the Hagerstown Pike and the 'Bloody Cornfield', to the Smoketown Road which was traversed by the Union advance," about one-half mile long.
[80] Ibid.

fenced on both sides, had been completed; that the field guns marking artillery positions were in place; and that the masonry observation tower "that overlooks the whole field," was nearly completed. Expenditures since the last report amounted to $6,683.07, making a total of $62,617.86 expended.[81]

On July 10, 1896, the specifications for the iron tablets were ready[82] and the specifications for the new tour road and its fencing were issued on July 28.[83] On December 21, 1896, the contract for the construction of the Observation tower was awarded to Jacob Snyder for $2,700, plus $109 for other work he was to do.[84]

On May 2, 1897, President Davis requested permission from Secretary of War Russell A. Alger "for the temporary employment of the Gettysburg Battlefield Commission on the Antietam Battlefield in connection with the preparation of a Map of the Antietam Battlefield." These men were to be paid from Antietam funds while serving at Antietam for about 90 days. Col. E. B. Cope, the engineer of the Gettysburg Commission, was to receive $45 per month; his assistant engineer H. W. Mattern was to be paid $75 monthly. Their aides, E. M. Hewitt and Jno. E. Cope, were to receive $45 and $40 per month respectively. The four men were to be removed from the Gettysburg payroll during this work. The secretary approved this plan.[85] On May 28 Davis reported that the topographical work at Antietam Battlefield was almost done. "Will keep Mr. H. W. Mattern on for a few weeks longer but the rest of the Gettysburg Commission map makers will not be needed after May 31."[86]

---

[81] Serial No. 3478, p. 45. This is also the report that contained the detailed comparative figures, probably worked up by Major George W. Davis, on the cost of developing four Civil War battlefields, see pp. 43-44.

[82] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 568.

[83] Ibid., Letter No. 584. A report on the construction of the battlefield roads, dated May 2, 1896, will be found in letter no. 549.

[84] Ibid., Letter No. 595. For two plans of tower, 1896, see footnote 69.

[85] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 635, Box 229.

[86] Ibid., Box 229, Letter of May 28, 1897.

On July 26 Major Davis had General Heth reappointed "as a member of the Antietam Board for five months, beginning August 1, 1897 at salary of $200 per month."[87]

Prior to this, by act approved July 19, 1897, Congress made what turned out to be the final appropriation for the development of the Antietam Battlefield in the amount of $5,000.[88] This additional money brought the total appropriations for the battlefield from August 30, 1890 to July 19, 1897, to $78,131.

At the secretary of war's request, President Davis summitted a progress report on the operations of the Antietam Board on October 15, 1897, writing is part:

> The work on the Antietam battlefield, that was commenced under authority of the act of Congress approved August 30, 1890, is practically finished, and available appropriations will suffice for its completion.
>
> The marking of the battle lines of the two armies consisted in--
>
> 1. Careful studies of the field and of the movement of the troops thereon during the several stages of the action fought on September 17, 1862.
>
> 2. The erection of iron tablets bearing brief historical descriptions of the movements of troops.
>
> 3. The acquirement of strips of land upon which these tablets could be erected and that would afford roadways for all the important points of interest.
>
> 4. The erection of simple monuments marking the places where general officers were killed.
>
> 5. The erection of a masonry tower giving an elevated platform that affords a commanding view of the whole field.
>
> 6. The establishment at prominent points on the field of a few pieces of field artillery of the type used in the battle.
>
> 7. The careful survey of the field and of the preparation of accurate maps showing the position of the troops in the different stages of the action.

---

[87] Ibid., Letter No. 672.

[88] U.S. Statues at Large, Vol. 30, p. 120-21. This was to complete the work.

> The survivors of a few military organizations that fought at Antietam have purchased and have erected on suitable sites permanent monuments marking positions and bearing inscriptions recording the services of the organizations. Twelve such monuments have been erected, and others are contemplated. In a few instances deeds of the land whereon these structures stand have been tendered as gifts to the United States, and have been accepted by the Secretary of War under authority of the act of August 30, 1890.
>
> Under authority of the act of June 1, 1896, historical tablets have been erected at South Mountain, Cramptons Gap, Sheperdstown, and Harpers Ferry.
>
> The completion of the map, expected by December 31, 1897, will close the work committed to the board.

Davis reported that Congress had appropriated $78,031 from August 30, 1890, to October 15, 1897; and that $74,081 had been spent, leaving a balance of $3,949.31 to complete the task.

The $74,081.69 had been spent by the Antietam Board as follows:

Salaries of civilian members of the board	$ 26,223.33
Surveys and maps	5,916.24
Land	3,323.88
Roads and fencing	24,330.76
Observation tower	3,327.11
Tablets, markers, etc.	7,865.98
Miscellaneous	3,094.39
Total Expenditures	$74,081.69[89]

On January 31, 1898, Major Davis informed the acting secretary of war that

> At the present time the [Antietam] Board consists of myself only. I have the services of two employees of the War Records Office, who were formerly the two civilian members of the Antietam Battlefield Board, for the purpose of locating the positions of troops upon a map of the battlefield. These are Generals Carman and Heth.

He also reported that the balance of the $78,031.00 appropriation left on hand as of December 31, 1897, was $2,709.69 and that its intended use was to finish the troops movement maps.[90]

---

[89] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter 686. Report is also published in Serial No. 3630, pp. 57-58, as part of Secretary of War R.A. Alger's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897.

[90] R.G. 92, Entry 706, Letter No. 693, Box 227.

On March 18, 1898, Major George W. Davis submitted the final report of the Antietam Board, in which he listed the specific accomplishments of the Board as follows:

(1) Cast Iron Tablets, erected on iron stands

	Historical Tablets	Locality Tablets	Guide Tablets	Total
Antietam	213	20	150 (about)	383
Harpers Ferry	5			
South Mountain	6			
Cramptons Gap	9			
Shepardstown	5			
Total:	238	20	150	408

Cost about $6,400.

These are set at points convenient to the localities or movements described, and bear legends or descriptions cast in raised letters on the face of the iron plates, which are painted black, while the surface of raised lettering is painted white. With occasional repainting at small expense they will endure for centuries. All stand upon land owned by the United States or upon pubic highways.

2. Monuments to mark the place of death or mortal wounding of general officers in the two armies. These consist of a masonry foundation or base of rubble in cement mortar. Set in these bases, inverted, are bronze 12-pr. guns, the chase of each gun for about 18 inches of its length being built into the masonry. Bolted upon each gun near the breech is a bronze plate bearing an inscription, giving the name of the general officer whose death is thus recorded. These monuments should stand for centuries without repairs.

3. Means of communication: The four public highways radiating from Sharpsburg supply this in part. These have been supplemented by highways made by the United States upon land purchased for that purpose. The area of land acquired is slightly more than 22¼ arces, and the total length of right of way, 9,150 yards or slightly more than 5 miles. The plan of road construction adopted, provided for a width of lime stone macadam of 12 feet and thickness of 7 inches, and a part have paved side gutters. The water passes were usually vitrified earthenware pipes. At a few points wherever the road intersected a considerable water course, stone culverts were pointed.

The general surface of the Antietam field is so uneven, that as the roads follow straight lines generally, their grades are in many places quite abrupt. The erosion from rain-water is therefore considerable, which will require annual repairs to these highways. Their usage by the public is considerable, which increases the wear and tear. About $3,400 had been spent to purchase the land.

4. Fences: Along each side of all roads is a fence. Jones' Locked Wire Fence was adopted. The posts are of sawed locust and chestnut, all painted with asphaltum paint and surmounted with ball ornaments of cast iron. Suitable gates have been provided for industrial use of the abutting land owners. These fences will of course require annual repair. Cost of constructing the roads and fences was about $24,600.

5. Observation Tower: At a commanding point on the field there has been erected a tower of limestone masonry, 15 feet square and about 60 feet high. It is ascended by means of an iron stair of easy rise. The observatory is surrounded by a parapet wall covered with a heavy stone coping, and this covered by a bronze plate upon which are inscribed in raised letters, guide arrows and directions to notable localities on the field and in the neighborhood. The tower will never require any repairs save painting of iron work. Cost of the tower was about $3,800.

6. Cannon Monument: In front of the railroad station at Antietam Station, and within the right-of-way of the [approach] road [to the National Cemetery], is a monument composed of eight field guns, set breech down on a block of granite nearly 3 feet cube. These guns lean against each other at the muzzle, and are held by a cast-iron plate upon which is a pyramid of cannonballs. The base of this monument was donated and set by the Norfolk and Western Railroad. The guns were of a lot furnished by the Ordnance Department for marking the field. The structure will never need any repairs, save painting of iron work. The National Park Service negotiated in 1942 with the Norfolk and Western Railroad to acquire the eight ten-pounder Parrotts, but no evidence uncovered to date documents exactly when Antietam's staff obtained them. A December 7, 1960, letter to Antietam's superintendent from the superintendent at Gettysburg states "If those guns [the Parrotts] are considered desirable for use on the field, it would likely be necessary to reopen negotiations with the [railroad] Company." This implies the Parrotts were not yet at Antietam. However, two additional facts further confuse the issue. 1. A Sharpsburg resident who photographed the cannon monument in front of the Sharpsburg station remembers the monument being dismantled in the late 1940s. 2. On Antietam's museum catalogue records, the date of acquisition is listed as August 10, 1933, having been transferred from the U.S. War Department. This is obviously

> incorrect. The catalogue record's filing date is May 5, 1961, so Antietam's staff had acquired the Parrotts by that time.
>
> 7. Monuments to organizations: Fourteen or fifteen battle monuments have been erected by associations or states for marking positions, etc. Two regimental monuments were erected several years ago within the National Cemetery; others stand on ground acquired by purchase, and three of these plats have been conveyed to the United States and titles have been accepted by the Secretary of War. It is probable that the deeds of the other monument sites will also be transferred. The area of land donated to the Government is a little more than 10.25 acres. The total area owned is therefore about 32.50 acres.[91]
>
> 8. Field Guns: Besides the pieces used as monuments to mark the place of death of general officers, there are eight other field pieces, mounted upon carriages of cast-iron of same pattern as those used in 1862. These are placed on commanding artillery positions. The carriages will require painting from time to time but no other repairs. Cost of the Gun Monuments and field guns was about $1,500.
>
> When the proposed maps of the field are completed, the functions of the Antietam Board will have ceased, but the need of official supervision and care-taking will continue....

Davis then offered suggestions for the care of the battlefield that will be considered in the following chapter.

Total cost of the physical improvements made on the Antietam Battlefield he estimated to be about $39,700. Also enclosed was a sketch upon which the important roads are shown, also monuments, etc., owned by the United States and by regimental or other associations.[92]

---

[91] Donated lands: (1) Hawkins Zouaves Association of New York, Dec. 21, 1895; deed to U.S., May 17, 1897 for 3,600 sq. ft; (2) 16th Connecticut Regiment Veteran Association, July 18, 1891, to U.S., Sept. 17, 1897, 10 acres; (3) Association of Survivors of 11th Regt. Connecticut Veteran Vols., Dec. 26, 1895, to U.S. January 1898, 49.50 square perches.

[92] R.G. 92, Entry 707, File 697, Box 230. Map entitled: Sketch showing Principal Highways on Antietam Battlefield, areas colored red owned by the United States, 32 acres, 2 roods 35.47, 2 roods 35.47 perches. To accompany Letter of Major Geo. W. Davis to the Secretary of War, dated March 18, 1898, 0-110. National Archives Record Group No. 92, Entry 707, Box 230. File 697.

Later, in 1898, a detailed map prepared for the Antietam Board by the mapmakers of the Gettysburg Battlefield Commission was also submitted. This was entitled:

> Map of the Battlefield of Antietam, Published under the direction of Daniel S. Lamont and Russell A. Alger, Secretaries of War, by the Antietam Board, Major Geo. W. Davis, U.S.A., President; General E. A. Carman, Late Union Army; General H. Heth, Late Confederate Army. Surveyed and drawn by Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer, and H. W. Mattern, Ass't. Engineer, both of Gettysburg National Park. 1898. Contour interval = 10 ft.[93]

In 1904 the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, published the troop movement maps for Antietam National Battlefield Site in 14 sheets. A revised edition was issued in 1908. The title of this map was as follows:

> Atlas of the Battlefield of Antietam (1862), Prepared under the Direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board... Surveyed by Lt. Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer. Drawn by Charles H. Ourand, 1899. Published under direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1904.

(Also revised 1908 edition of similar title, Cover, Organization lists, and plates No. 1 to 14. Size of plates 34" by 38".)[94]

The historical data collected by the Antietam Board from 1891 to 1897 to prepare the troop movement maps can be found as follows:

1. National Archives Record Group No. 92, Office of the Quartermaster General, Entry 705-Correspondence and Maps of the Antietam Battlefield Site Board, 1893-1894.

   One box containing 25 envelopes, one per State, with maps, and letters relating to troop positions of regiments from that State.

2. National Archives Record Group 94--Records of the Adjutant General's Office, The General Erza A. Carman Papers, three or four boxes of correspondence 1895-97, consisting of letters sent and received by General Carman regarding troop positions at Antietam.

---

[93] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031.

[94] Copies of the 1904 and 1908 editions are in R.G. 77, Officer of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, Cartographic Division of National Archives, Alexandria, Va.

3. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Ezra A. Carman Papers, in 8 boxes. Seven boxes contain a manuscript "History of the Maryland Campaign," and one has notes and maps for this unpublished history.

This work in 1898 ended research on and changes to the text of battlefield markers for the next 40 years, with one exception. In February 1904 General Carman was permitted to make changes to 18 cast-iron tablets in the interest of improved accuracy, based on additional historical research.[95] On March 10, 1906, Carman was also permitted to make changes in Tablets No. 3 and 6; the cost of these two alterations was $110.[96]

---

[95] R.G. 92, Entry 84, Box 14. File 109863. February 15, 1904-Carman proposes making changes to Tablets No. 11, 324, 330, 59, 122, 108, 308, 38, and 42.

[96] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File No. 220405. Letter of November 10, 1906.

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE

APPROXIMATE RATE OF EXPENDITURES, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1891-1898

Years	Board Salaries	Markers & Tablets	Land & Legal Expenses	Clerks	Travel	Labor and materials	Miscel-laneous	Map and Surveying	Total
6/30/1892	$5,441.65	$ 59.60	—	—	—	—	$1.26	—	$ 5,502.51
6/30/1893	6,000.00	187.25	—	$123.33	$14.20	—	—	$20.00	6,344.78
10/1/1894	7,000.02	20.00	—	366.67	—	—	.90	1,018.85	8,406.44
Subtotal:	$18,441.67	$ 266.85	$0	$490.00	$14.20	$0	$2.16	$1,038.85	$20,253.73
8/17/1895	6,081.66	6,001.34	3,311.78	437.95	127.50	25,531.79	1,706.87		29,094.20
6/30/1896	—	—	—	—	—	300.00	—	—	6,683.07
10/15/1897	1,700.00	1,597.[illegible]9	12.10	—	—	1,826.08	329.91	4,877.39	18,050.69
Subtotal:	$26,223.33	$7,865.98	$3,323.88	$927.95	$141.70	$27,657.87	$2,038.94	$5,916.24	$74,081.69
6/30/1898	500.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,449.31	3,949.31
Grand total	$26,7223.33	$7,865.98	$3,323.88	$927.95	$141.70	$27,657.87	$2,038.94	$ 9,365.55	$78,031.00

Costs of Construction:

Five miles of roads, fenced on both sides	$24,330.76
Stone Observation Tower	3,327.11

CHAPTER IV

THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE, 1898-1933

In his report of March 18, 1898, to the secretary of war, Major Davis, president of the Antietam Board, noted that the work of the board would soon be done when the final troop movement maps of the battle had been completed, but, he wrote, "the need of official supervision and care-taking will continue" for the developed battlefield. He explained:

> Road repairs will be continually necessary if these highways are to be maintained in a serviceable condition. While they are a great advantage to the community as supplying shorter and more convenient farm roads, the assumption of a charge for repairs would probably be declined by the local authorities, since they feel that a road on public land and constructed by the United States would also be kept in repair at the charge of the public.
>
> As the Antietam Board will soon have no legal existence, and as no means have been provided for maintaining these roads under any of the Government Departments, it would seem to be necessary that steps be now taken to provide for the care of the public property on the Battlefield.
>
> .... the original appropriation was made under the heading of "National Cemeteries," and this appropriation is disbursed under the supervision of the Quartermaster General. It is respectfully suggested that this officer be instructed to exercise a supervision over the public property on the Antietam Field, and to make provisions for necessary repairs. Near the center of this historic spot is now located a National Cemetery, where are buried some 4,700 Union soldiers. This is connected with the nearest railroad station by a fine wagon road, 9,300 feet long, that was made in pursuance of law by the Quartermaster General at a cost of $30,000. A cemetery superintendent resides at this place, who is presumed to be able and competent to take charge of the five miles of additional highways, the tablets, tower and monuments.
>
> Nearly all the roads were constructed in 1894-5, and they have had very little attention since. They now require somewhat extensive repairs. I have taken pains to make some enquiries respecting the extent and cost of the work needed, and would state that for the coming year an expenditure of about $3,000 in road repairs and general care will be

> needed. Thereafter an expenditure of $1,000 per annum will suffice.[1]

Davis's recommendations were approved by the secretary of war; on March 30 Antietam National Battlefield site was returned to the control of the quartermaster general and placed under the care of the quartermaster officer in charge of the Washington Depot. On the same day Quartermaster General Ludington submitted an estimate to the secretary of war asking for $3,000 for repairs at the battlefield.[2]

In an Act approved July 1, 1898, Congress appropriated $3,000:

> For repair and preservation of monuments, tablets, observation tower, roads, and fences and so forth, made and constructed by the United States upon public land within the limits of the Antietam battlefield, near Sharpsburg...[3]

In his annual report to the quartermaster general, Col. James Moore, assistant quartermaster general, noted that $2,999.65 of the appropriation had been spent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899.[4]

In 1898 the quartermaster general asked for an appropriation of $1,000 for repairs at the battlefield, which Congress voted in an act approved on March 3, 1899.[5] Of this sum, $999.78 was expended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900.[6]

On April 21, 1900, Major Davis inspected Antietam National Battlefield Site and reported to the secretary of war:

> All (Antietam Battlefield, Harper's Ferry, Crampton's Gap, and Shepherdstown) are now under the immediate care of the superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery. That this work, in addition to his duties at the cemetery, is much more than the superintendent can properly attend to....

It was "recommended that the superintendent be relieved from all duties except those relating to the National Cemetery and that the battlefield be placed under the care of a suitable person as superintendent, to be paid a salary commensurate with the importance of the post." Congress must make a special appropriation for the position of battlefield superintendent and Davis suggested that the person be a soldier who had served in the U.S. Army during the Civil War, and that the salary be $125 per month or $1,500 per annum.[7]

---

[1] R.G. 92, Entry 707, File 697, Box 230.

[2] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 109863. The quartermaster corps had charge of the battlefield from 1891 to October 15, 1894.

[3] U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 30, p. 634.

[4] Serial No. 3900, p. 214.

[5] U.S. Statutes At Large, Vol. 30, p. 1105.

[6] Serial No. 4071, p. 301.

In the appropriation for the 1901 fiscal year, approved June 6, 1900, Congress voted $1,500 for the maintenance of the battlefield and $1,200 as the salary for the new position of superintendent.[8] The following year the salary was increased to $1,500 per year and continued at this figure until 1929.[9]

After clearing the choice with U.S. Senator Louis E. McComas of Maryland, the secretary of war appointed Charles W. Adams as the first superintendent of the Antietam National Battlefield Site on June 14, 1900, effective from July 1[10]. In the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, the quartermaster general reported that $1,499.70 of the total of $1,500 appropriated had been expended to resurface several of the avenues, to paint tablets, and to repair bridges.[11]

In a letter dated November 19, 1903, Superintendent Adams reported that the four wooden bridges "constructed eight or nine years ago on Branch, Rodman, and Richardson Avenues" were in poor condition and "will have to be replaced at an early date." He also noted that the farmers' "tractor engines" were destroying Rodman Avenue.[12] A total of $2,999.97 was spent on repairs during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904.[13]

---

[7] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File No. 109863-April 21, 1900.
[8] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 31, p. 630.
[9] Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 1172. Also see Appendix No. VIII for annual appropriations for salary of superintendent of battlefield, 1900 - 1933.
[10] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 1522827. Letter of June 14, 1900. On May 6, 1901, Adams was notified that his salary was being increased to $1,500 per annum.
[11] Serial No. 4270, pp. 356-357.
[12] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 10986. In a letter dated December 9, 1903, Adams estimated that a stone arch bridge could be built for about $400.
[13] Serial No. 4782, p. 24. Another $1,500 was also spent for Adams' salary. R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 109863.

After advertising, the contracts for constructing stone bridges to replace two of the four original wood bridges were let during the summer of 1904.[14]

In the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, the quartermaster general reported "Two stone bridges were built to replace wooden bridges no longer considered safe." Of the total of $3,000 appropriated for repairs, $1,480.40 was spent on the construction of the two stone bridges during the 1905 fiscal year.[15]

Contracts for replacing the two remaining wooden bridges with stone ones were let during September 1905 and the structures were completed at a cost of $1,250 by April 6, 1906.[16] An additional $15 was spent to repoint the old wing walls of these bridges.[17] On August 10, 1906, a heavy storm struck the Antietam National Battlefield and high water damaged the new bridges. On August 16 civil engineer S. G. Brosius reported to the depot quartermaster that he had spent an additional $362 on work to the wing walls of the bridges on Rodman, Branch, and Richardson avenues to prevent them from being washed out.[18]

In 1907 the roads known as Branch, Richardson, and Mansfield avenues were resurfaced at a cost of $1,188.[19]

The position of superintendent of the Antietam National Battlefield Site appears to have had more political attributes than that of the superintendent of the Antietam National Cemetery. On May 24, 1905, it was recommended to the acting secretary of war that "Charles W. Adams, the present superintendent, unable to take charge of erecting some 40 Pennsylvania monuments, be discharged at the end of this month and that Gen. E. A. Carman be made superintendent in his place." The acting secretary issued the orders for Adams' discharge, to be effective May 31, on May 27. Fortunately for Superintendent Adams, the secretary of war returned to Washington on May 31 and revoked the discharge of Adams.[20]

---

[14] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 109863. Stone Bridge No. 1, located on Rodman Avenue, contract awarded to George F. Kiefman & Son for $727.90. Contract approved September 10, 1904, having been awarded on August 31, 1904. For stone bridge No. 2, located on Branch Avenue, contract for $752.50 awarded to William H. Lewis. Contract dated August 20, 1904.

[15] Serial No. 4983, pp. 54-55.

[16] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405. Contract for stone bridge on Rodman Avenue awarded to John T. Clark for $585; stone bridge on Richardson Avenue awarded for $665. Contracts let on September 9, 1905, and approved on September 27, 1905.

[17] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405. Letter of February 6, 1906--repointing wing walls; Letter of April 6, 1906, completion report of two bridges.

[18] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405--Report of August 16, 1906.

[19] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405--Contract in the amount of $1,188 awarded to Samuel S. Stoeffer, dated January 17 and approved on January 25, 1907.

On October 15, 1902, John Bemer, a landowner and farmer, conveyed to the United States a right-of-way leading from the Burnside Bridge to the McKinley Monument. This deed also included the land (30 feet square with 900 square feet) on which the monument itself stood.[21] Ohio had erected this monument to the memory of Commissary Sergeant William B. McKinley of the 23rd Ohio Infantry Regiment, who later became 25th President of the United States. In 1905, Civil Engineer Owens recommended that the McKinley Monument be surrounded by a fence and that the approach road to the monument from the Burnside Bridge be graded. He estimated that the cost of these improvements would be about $2,500.[22] The Bemer deed provided for a 16-foot-wide right-of-way from the bridge to the monument, which widened to 22 feet about the monument. In October 1906 civil engineer Brosius was sent to Antietam to study and prepare plans to improve the approach road to and the area about the McKinley Monument.[23]

Brosius prepared a plan entitled "Plan of Improvement to the site of the McKinley Monument and a new road from Burnside Bridge to Monument Site," A1-23-2, Depot Quartermaster Office, Washington,

---

[20] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 109863. Letters of May 24, May 27, and May 31, 1905. Gen. Erza A. Carman, of course, had served as a trustee on the Antietam National Cemetery Association Board from 1866 to 1877 and as an "historical expert" and member of the War Department's Antietam Board for Antietam National Battlefield Site from 1895 to 1897.

[21] Land Record of Washington County. Liber No. 118, folio 14.

[22] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 109863 - Report of July 11, 1905.

[23] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405. Engineer Owens had died.

D.C., dated January 1907.[24] He estimated the cost at $3,000. There would be a stone wall and iron fence on three sides and a wall 30 inches high on the front or road side. The approach road was to be graded and surfaced with 6 inches of macadam; there was to be a stone gutter on one side and both sides of the avenue were to be enclosed by wire fences.[25]

The contract was awarded to the low bidder for $2,798 on March 19, 1907.[26] This project was completed during the summer of 1907.

Major Davis, former president of the War Department's Antietam Board, 1894-98, visited the Antietam Battlefield in June and reported on the 15th of that month, 1908:

> the original plan contemplated the construction of durable stone or metal fences on both sides of the roadways, also the completion of the observatory tower with a suitable tiled roof or canopy, but the funds alloted were not sufficient. The fences erected consisted of wire supported by light wooden posts.... also the roof was omitted from the tower, it being expected it would be added later. The necessary cementing of the interior of the tower and the construction of drainage of rain water from the upper platform was also omitted.

On his recent visit Davis

> noticed that these omitted items have never been carried out and the fence along the roadway is failing. The posts are rotting off and the wires are being broke by persons climbing over the fence. The aggregate length of the fence is about 10 miles, and it ought to be renewed with stone or with iron posts set in concrete and connected with galv iron pipe. There are many farm gates which are now in bad condition which should be replaced. The United States assumed charge of fencing the land when it was bought.[27]

Davis believed that about $20,000 would complete the project.

He suggested that a blue glazed tile roof be placed on the tower to harmonize with the blue limestone walls of the structure. In commenting on the major's letter, the quartermaster general wrote that the roof could be placed on the tower during the 1909 fiscal year and he directed civil engineer Brosius to submit an estimate of the cost of fencing the Antietam battlefield.[28]

---

[24] Blueprint in R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405. Copy of plan also in R.G. 79, War Department Records--Antietam, Box 4, File 688--1925--McKinley Monument File.

[25] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405. His report dated February 1, 1907.

[26] Ibid., Contract given to S. Walter Stovffer, dated March 19, 1907, and approved March 25, 1907.

[27] R.G. 92, Entry 84. File 220405, June 15, 1908, letter. He also enclosed the original drawing of the tower.

The engineer submitted his study in October 1908, presenting data on three types of fencing. One, a stone wall constructed of local limestone, with coping and wrought iron gates could be built for about $185,000; a galvanized iron pipe fence with 2 feet of woven wire at bottom and gates would cost about $32,000; and, a woven wire fence, La Page American, or equal, on reinforced concrete posts, and with gates could be erected for about $22,000. Brosius recommended that the third type of fencing be built.[29]

Congress, however, failed to appropriate the large sum of money that was necessary to replace the original battlefield fencing. In his annual report for this fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, the quartermaster general wrote regarding this subject:

> The fences, which are composed of wire strung on wooden posts, inclosing the 5 miles of roads on the battlefield are in bad condition. The posts are rotting, and the wire is rusting and breaking. Substantial fences composed of galvanized piping supported by iron or concrete posts are needed. An estimate for $22,000 for this purpose has been included in the cemeterial branch estimates for the fiscal year 1912. With the exception of the fences, the battlefield is in good condition.[30]

The money was not provided and in his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, the quartermaster general again noted that the battlefield was "in good condition, with the exception of substantial new fencing which are greatly needed."[31]

One problem resulting from the poor state of the U.S. fencing was that livestock broke through and wandered about the battlefield. On April 12, 1912, Superintendent Adams reported that cattle "are running on the reservation and the avenues are being used by

---

[28] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405, Letter of July 8, 1908.

[29] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 220405, Report dated October 1908. In File 107863, there is a blueprint of a proposed iron bridge, dated 1908. This structure was apparently not built at Antietam.

[30] Serial No. 5955, p. 294.

[31] Serial No. 6197, p. 303.

[farmers'] tractor engines regardless of weather conditions," thus damaging the battlefield roads.[32] On May 15, the superintendent was instructed to impound the cattle.[33] Nineteen more years were to pass before the War Department received sufficient funds to completely replace the original fencing with substantial fencing.

The battlefield had no office, no comfort station for visitors (with the result that the stone observation tower was utilized as a substitute for this necessity); no guide or information services were provided for visitors to the battlefield; and the superintendent was completely absorbed in repair and maintenance problems. No record of visitors was kept. The superintendent of the battlefield, unlike the superintendent of the national cemetery, was not provided with government housing or fuel allowances. This difference probably accounts for the battlefield superintendent receiving an annual salary of $1,500 compared with the salary of $900 per year received by the cemetery superintendent.

In the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, the quartermaster general noted that "A road roller and sprinkling wagon were purchased for use on the great length of road traversing the battlefield, and a shed was constructed for their shelter."[34]

This structure was erected on the fenced area of national cemetery land immediately outside of and to the west of the main cemetery enclosure wall. The location of the new "Road Roller Shed," the battlefield roads, property lines, monuments, and the observation tower during this period (1914) are shown in detail on the map entitled:

> Map of Antietam Battlefield and the U.S. National Cemetery, Antietam, Maryland.: Office of the Depot Quartermaster, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., October 1914.[35]

In an inspection report dated December 11, 1911, it was reported:

---

[32] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 362360. Letter of April 6, 1912. The cattle were grazing along the battlefield roads. Also letter of April 1, 1912.

[33] Ibid. Letters, May 15 and 24, 1912.

[34] Serial No. 5955, p. 294.

[35] The map is located in National Archives Record Group No. 79, -National Park Service Central Classified File 1933-1949, Antietam, Box 2606, File No. 630.

> Since 1898 numerous tablets, monuments, and about 20 acres of additional area have been added. Roads constructed in 1894-96 are needing repair, and the necessary work has kept expenditures on other items to a minimum.

It was recommended that $5,000 be expended in the next seven fiscal years annually for road work and in addition $2,000 for the maintenance of fencing.[36] This plan also failed to pass Congress and the annual amount appropriated for maintenance of the battlefield remained at $3,000 from 1903 to 1917.

On June 6, 1912, the depot quartermaster in charge of the Antietam National Battlefield Site received the stunning news that Charles W. Adams, the first superintendent of the battlefield, had been assassinated. John L. Cook, superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery, wrote on that date: "I have the honor to inform you of the death of C. W. Adams being shot on roadway about 9:30 o'clock [a.m.] in a murderous brutal manner by a man [of] the name of "Benner (Bemer), who later shot himself to death."[37]

The data in the files of the quartermaster general on the death of Adams are slight, but he was killed by a young man by the name of John Bemer, who shot himself later the same day as the posse closed in on the murderer. The reasons for the tragedy are thus unknown. From evidence that emerged over the next 25 years it seems possible that his death was related, at least in part, to a feud that arose from the construction of the McKinley Monument. John Bemer, the father of the young man who was to kill Adams, sold the land for the McKinley Monument to the state of Ohio. In 1931 a representative of the quartermaster general's office, after several unsuccessful attempts, finally obtained an audience with Miss Fannie Spong, the granddaughter of John Bemer, who then owned the property surrounding the McKinley Monument. He reported:

> During the conversation with her, it developed that the owner [her grandfather] had never received any money or other consideration for the land including the right-of-way to the [McKinley] Monument; that it was understood they were to receive the sum of $750 from the State of Ohio, or the Association sponsoring the McKinley Monument; that these

---

[36] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 346, 538.
[37] Antietam NB, Museum Cat. No. 1442, letters sent, p. 240.

> representatives visited her grandfather with legal transfer papers, who being illiterate, signed by his mark, which was witnessed by two of the visitors. The contents of the papers were unknown to the owner, but were represented as a transfer of the property in consideration of $750.00. The money never came...[38]

The hostility generated by this experience was apparently transferred to the United States Government and its representatives when the United States obtained title to the right-of-way and monument site on October 15, 1902; this ill feeling exhibited by the Bemer-Spong families was still in evidence in 1931.

In an earlier report on the McKinley Monument, dated July 30, 1926, C. E. Swift had remarked:

> John Benner [or Bemer] sold the right-of-way to the monument to the United States. His son caused the Superintendent of the battlefield [Charles W. Adams] much trouble from the time work of constructing the road [from the Burnside Bridge to the Monument] was started [1907]. This trouble terminated when young Benner killed the Superintendent, and when about to be captured killed himself.[39]

Local newspaper accounts of the assassination have not been investigated.[40] Cemetery Superintendent Cook served as acting superintendent of the battlefield until a new custodian could be appointed.

George H. Graham of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, applied for and was appointed by the secretary of war as superintendent of the Antietam National Battlefield Site in July 1912. Graham reported for duty on August 5. He had been mustered into the service as a corporal in Company E, 144th New York Infantry, on September 27, 1862, for a three-year enlistment. He had served as a second lieutenant of Company A, 144th New York Infantry from May 12, 1864, until he was honorably discharged on September 12, 1864.[41]

---

[38] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56. Report, May 15, 1931, Col. A. K. Bashettec, Quartermaster Supply Officer, 3rd Corps. Baltimore, Md. to QM General.

[39] R.G. 79, War Department Records, Antietam, Box 4, File 688-McKinley Monument, report of July 30, 1926 to the QM General

[40] Due to time factors available for this project.

[41] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File No. 371906. (In some of the many records his name is also given as George W. Graham.)

Graham served as superintendent from August 1912 until the end of March 1913 without incident, as far as the office of the quartermaster general was concerned. Then all hell broke loose, as Graham was charged, with extensive documentation and signed affidavits, of committing the following acts:

1. Of being almost continually drunk while on duty for "the last seven months."
2. Of making "very abusive patrols of the Avenues with gun in hand," both day and night, and with threatening the lives of both neighbors and visitors alike.
3. Of borrowing money from people in the vicinity and refusing to repay it. Graham had purchased a horse and wagon in Harpers Ferry, and when he failed to pay for it, the seller was forced to take court action, and accompanied by a law officer, came to Antietam from West Virginia and forceably reclaimed the property.
4. Of forcing his seasonal maintenance men to loan him money on threat of being fired and not repaying them.
5. Of deducting money from his seasonal maintenance men and putting this cash in his own pocket, also under threat of firing the men if they complained.
6. Of being arrested for drunkeness in nearby Keedysville on April 5, 1913.
7. Of being absent from duty without leave, April 5 to April 9, 1913.
8. Of allowing his house to catch fire, which resulted in the destruction of all U.S.-owned battlefield tools. This event took place on April 11, 1913.[42] A board of survey reported on

---

[42] In letter to Depot Quartermaster, April 11, 1913, Cemetery Superintendent John L. Cook reported: "This morning at 7:30 fire was discovered in the house and also the stable of the premises occupied by Superintendent G. W. Graham in Bloody Lane of the Antietam National Battlefield. Barn and storehouse together with the entire contents were destroyed. Material for repairs, cement, lime, tools, and equipment. The superintendent was away and did not return from Washington until 2 p.m. He was supposed to have a man in charge ... but he was not about." The house was saved but suffered considerable damage. The place was insured and Cook estimate the loss at $120. "Practically all the government property, including two new lawn mowers just received, were destroyed." R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 371906.

September 22 that the value of the tools destroyed in the fire amounted to $186.77.

9. As if the above charges were not enough, Graham's wife, whom he had left residing in Harpers Ferry, visited his house on Bloody Lane in 1913 and found him "living in adultery on the battlefield with a woman from Hagerstown." Moreover, she charged that when she attempted to enter his residence, her husband threw her out.[43]

The first complaints about Graham were made by R. D. Fisher to the secretary of war on March 20, 1913, and the charges expanded as an investigation proceeded. On April 16, as a result of study, the quartermaster general recommended to the secretary of war:

1. That Mr. Graham be immediately dismissed from the Service.
2. That the Depot Quartermaster be authorized to withhold so much of the pay due Mr. Graham for April 15 as shall be necessary to reimburse ... for Government property destroyed in a fire which occurred through his negligence during this absence without leave on April 11.
3. That the legal officer should prosecute Graham for falsifying his pay account. Graham was suspended from duty on May 2, 1913, effective April 30 and $133.33 of his salary withheld to pay for property destroyed in the fire. On August 1 the Secretary of War discharged Graham, to take effect on May 2, 1913.[44]

Meanwhile, like an old soldier, Superintendent Graham counterattacked. He wrote letters to his congressman and senators alleging that all these charges were made by political enemies--"the old Adams battlefield gang"--who were out not only to get him, but the congressman as well. Graham also charged that U.S. Government owed him some $900; when these latter were analyzed in detail they were found to include claims for salary for a period prior to when he assumed office. Graham won a temporary victory when it was decided that he was covered by Civil Service regulations and was therefore entitled to a hearing. This study delayed the firing of Graham from

---

[43] R.G. 92, Entry 84, Files 371906--a thick file of documents.

[44] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 371906 and 457776. This latter file is entirely devoted to the George W. Graham case.

August 1913 until mid-January 1914, but on the latter date the acting secretary of war was finally able to officially discharge Superintendent Graham, effective May 2, 1913.[45]

Graham was a difficult act to follow and fortunately for the War Department none of the succeeding superintendents of Antietam National Battlefield Site had to be discharged. (See appendix V for the list of names of the six men who served as superintendent of the battlefield from 1900 to 1933.)

There were other complaints of a different nature during the summer of 1913. A Maryland congressman submitted a report to the secretary of war which stated that weed killer, which had been placed on the road leading from Burnside Bridge to the McKinley Monument, had killed two cows and threatened other livestock. On July 3 the quartermaster general ordered acting superintendent Cook to stop using weed killer along the battlefield roads.[46]

On April 5, 1913, Maryland Senator John W. Smith alerted the War Department to the possibility that the historic Dunkard Church on the Antietam Battlefield might be sold. On April 14 the Department decided that if possible, the church should be acquired as a "historic shrine" and suggested that the structure be used as an "office for the superintendent and as a storehouse for tools." On September 17 the sum of $1,500 was included in the estimates for the 1915 fiscal year to purchase the church and its lot.[47]

Congress appropriated the requested $1,500 in 1914 but the owners then changed their minds and refused to sell.[48] The money then reverted to the U.S. general treasury.

In an act approved on March 4, 1915, Congress authorized the secretary of war "to accept, on behalf of the United States, the land which has been donated for the purpose of connecting the monument of the Ninth Regiment of New York Volunteers with the road system of the battlefield of Antietam."[49]

---

[45] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 457776 - All the Civil Service evidence is in this file and it is a very thick file.
[46] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 463850. Letters of June 14, 15, and July 3, 1913. This complaint was apparently also filed by the Bemer or Benner family.
[47] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 451873.
[48] R.G. 92, Entry 84, File 451873--Letter August 12, 1914--refusal to sell; U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 38, Part 1, pp. 630-631.

In 1917 there was more action at the McKinley Monument site. In the 1907 construction of the road leading from the Burnside Bridge to the McKinley Monument, the United States had constructed a gutter to carry off the surface water. "A portion of this gutter, about 300 feet long, extended from the Monument site to a natural ravine into which it discharges surface drainage of the vicinity of said Monument." On July 16 a heavy rain storm destroyed McKinley Avenue by washing out part of the approach road and completely "washing out the cobble stone gutter on the north side" of the avenue.

> In 1918 the owner [the Bemer or Benner Family] of the ravine and the adjoining land filled in the ravine along the side of the road so as to throw back the water upon and across the road. This . . . resulted in washing out the road and forming a gully along one side of it so as to render the road practically useless between said ravine and the Burnside Bridge.[50]

The approach road to the McKinley Monument was thus knocked out of action and the avenue remained in an unusable condition until 1931. The government could not repair the road because the owners refused to open up the ravine.[51]

The central files of the office of the quartermaster general for the period 1915 to 1921, the era of World War I, are at the Washington National Records Center at Suitland, Maryland. Because these files have no index and the material has not been filed by geographical sites, archivists are presently unable to locate any amount of significant data relating to the history of Antietam National Battlefield Site or Antietam National Cemetery for the years 1915 to 1921.

---

49. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 38, pp. 1062, 1077. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 293.6, November 10, 1916 also has correspondence granting permission for the erection of a monument for the 104th New York Regiment. Also for a Confederate Monument, letter dated February 2, 1916.
50. R.G. 79, War Department Records--Antietam, Box No. 4. War Department to Judge Advocate General, June 18, 1925.
51. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, Letter to Quartermaster Supply Officer, 3rd Corps, Baltimore, to QM General, May 15, 1931.

During the fiscal years 1922 to 1929 the annual allotment for repair and maintenance of the battlefield was $5,000, increased from the previous allotment of $3,000 per year that had been provided from the 1904 to the 1918 fiscal years.[52]

On May 23, 1921, the Dunkard Church was blown down during a terrific hail and wind storm. The quartermaster general's office again considered purchasing the church site and then reconstructing the structure. A request for an appropriation of $6,200 for these purposes was sent to the secretary's office, but "the item was eliminated by the Budget Officer for the War Department from the estimates for the fiscal year 1925, in view of the present condition of the national economy."[53]

Nine years later, in May 1930, the idea of acquiring the Dunkard Church lot and reconstructing the edifice was again briefly revived, but nothing ever came of the proposal[54] until the Civil War Centennial.

Battlefield Superintendent Jacob Manath died in June 1925 and his passing revealed a new problem with regard to filling the position. On June 30, 1925, Maj. Gen. W. H. Hart, quartermaster general, wrote to the budget officer of the War Department:

> The recent death of the Superintendent of Antietam battlefield has brought out the fact that there are no longer any qualified Union soldiers available for appointment to the position. In order to provide for this situation, it is recommended that the language of the estimate, under "Antietam Battlefield Preservation," providing for the pay of the superintendent, read: "the person selected for this position to be an honorably discharged Union soldier;" be amended to read "the person selected for this position to have been either a commissioned officer or enlisted man who has been honorably mustered out and who may have been disabled for active field service in the line of duty.[55]

---

[52] See Appendix No. VIII.

[53] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Office of the Quartermaster General Correspondence, George Graphic File, 1922-33, Antietam, Box 56, File 601.1-Dunkard Church.

[54] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 631. Letter of May 15, 1930. These records, 1922-33, are located at the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md.

[55] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 11.3 - Letter of June 30, 1825.

This change in qualifications appeared in the appropriations for the 1927 fiscal year, which were approved in 1926.[56]

On May 3, 1928, Antietam National Battlefield Site underwent its first offical inspection by the War Department. The inspecting officer, Maj. Robert C. F. Goetz, reported that George B. Alexander, the superintendent of the battlefield, was living in Sharpsburg, that his appointment dated from February 3, 1928, and that he was also acting as superintendent of the national cemetery until that position, which had been vacated by death, could be filled. There were 91 monuments and one observation tower on the field. He also noted that there was no flagstaff on the battlefield. "Two temporary frame sheds used for storage of vehicles and tools are in bad condition. These can be replaced by structures of concrete block at a reasonable cost." As to the condition of the roads, he reported:

> The road from Rodman Avenue to Burnside Bridge is one-half mile over a poor type gravel and clay dirt county road, in wet weather almost unuseable. From Burnside Bridge to the McKinley Monument it is 250 yards over an old badly washed out road. The superintendent reports the surface water was deliberately turned over this road for spiteful reasons. The present owner of the farm on which the McKinley Monument stands is Mrs. Fanny Spong.

There was one mule and one spring wagon. The maintenance force was composed of one permanent and five temporary laborers for nine months of the year. The park in general, he concluded, "is in excellent condition." He also commented that most of the "highways or avenues are narrow, some are unimproved, and the road to the McKinley Monument needs repair."[57]

The quartermaster general, in a letter to the inspector general dated October 1, 1928, commented on the May inspection report:

> An item for the improvement of the approach to the McKinley Monument has been included in the 1930 estimate and the plan contemplates a friendly agreement with the adjoining property owner.
>
> As the road from Rodman Avenue to Burnside Bridge is a County Road over which the Government has no jurisdiction, the question of its improvement will be taken up with the County authorities.

---

[56] U.S. Standards at Large, Vol. 44, Part II, p. 288.

[57] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, File-inspection report, May 3, 1928. Geotz wrote that he could find no record of prior inspection of the battlefield. File 333.1.

> The National Cemetery flies the flag on a 75-foot staff -- additional flag pole on the battlefield is not needed.
>
> A study is being made of the question of widening the battlefield roads and estimates are already in the process of preparation.
>
> The Government now has a right-of-way to each monument situated directly on a highway, and as all of them can be plainly seen from the roads and tablets giving a history of each monument are visible, the acquisition of land for approaches is not considered actively. The States which erected most of the monuments purchased the plots of land on which they stand and conveyed them to the Government.[58]

On April 16, 1929, the Washington County Commissioners voted to turn "the public road leading from the corporate limits of Sharpsburg west and across the Burnside Bridge and to the Connecticut State Monument over to the United States, provided the United States will maintain the same."

The quartermaster general, however, rejected this offer on June 10, 1929, writing "There is no existing authority of law for the taking over of the road by the Government."[59]

The civil engineers were studying the road problems at Antietam during this same period. In a report dated June 1, 1928, they wrote "The length of the various avenues on Antietam Battlefield is approximately as follows:

Confederate Avenue	6,468 feet
Cornfield Avenue	2,985 feet
Mansfield Avenue	3,960 feet
Richardson Avenue	6,201 feet
Rodman Avenue	3,168 feet
Branch Avenue	4,668 feet
Total:	27,450 feet or 5.19 miles."[60]

---

58. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 333.1, October 1, 1928.
59. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 611. April 16, 1929. QMG to Hon. F. N. Zihlmer, U.S House of Representatives, June 10, 1929.
60. Ibid., File 611-Roads. June 1, 1929. Also in file "Section of the Roadway. Antietam Battlefield, Office of the Quartermaster Supply Officer, Washington, D.C., September 11, 1928." Scale 1" equals 50'. Blueprint.

Detailed estimates were also submitted on October 27, 1929, as follows:

Grading--18,300 cu. yds @ $1.00	$ 18,300
Drains heads & bridges	9,000
12,200 sq. yds. shoulders @ 2.50	30,500
Shaping up sub grade, 48,000 sq. yd. @ 10¢	4,880
6,000 tons 1½" limestone in place @ 3.00	18,000
500 tons 5/8" limestone @ 3.00	1,500
1½ gal. tarvia per sq. yd. for building new base stone, 54,900 gals @ 18¢	9,882
36,000 sq. yards Amiesite 1½" at 1.50	54,900
	$146,962
For supervision, etc.	3,000
Total:	$149,962[61]

In the appropriations for the 1932 fiscal year, passed in 1931, Congress provided $150,000 "for reconstruction of roads" on the Antietam Battlefield.[62]

Specifications for the reconstruction of the avenues, 11 pages, were drafted by the quartermaster, Headquarters, 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, and completed on March 2, 1931. The revised and final edition was dated March 31. Blue print plans for the work were dated April 17. After advertising, the contract in the amount of $89,000.00 was awarded to the low bidder, the Ameria Paving and Contract Company of Baltimore, on March 30.[63]

---

[61] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 611 - 1929.

[62] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 46, Park I, p. 1075.

[63] Specifications for the Reconstruction of the Avenues on the Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Md., March 2, 1931, Hdqrs. 3rd Corps Area, U.S. Army, Office of the Quartermaster, Baltimore, Md. 11 pp. -- R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 611. Also copy in R.G. 79 -- War Dept. Records, Antietam, Box 6 -- File 4. Specifications for reconstruction of Avenues on the Antietam Battlefield, March 31, 1931. Revisions of specifications. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 611. Reconstruction of Avenues, Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Md., Office of the Quartermaster, Hdqrs. 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., April 17, 1931. R.G. 79, War Department Records, Antietam, Box 6, File 4. May 11 - Contract W-53-QM-130, March 30, 1931, with the Ameria. Paving and Contract Company, Inc.

Two change orders and other extra work added $5,823.61 to the original contract, so that the company received $94,823.61 for its work on the battlefield roads, which were completed in the fall of 1931. On September 21, Engineer Warren Adams provided Capt. F. E. Davis, quartermaster of the depot of Baltimore, with the following progress report on the reconstruction of the roads:

	Percent Completed
Curbs and retaining walls	100
Macadam	100
Bridges	98
Culverts and catch basins	98
Amiesite	100
Shoulder and back filling	80
Top soil and seeding	70
Guttering	80
Cleaning up	50[64]

A determined effort was also made to rebuild the approach road leading from the Burnside Bridge to the McKinley Monument, which had been out of use since 1918. Col. A. K. Bashettec, as has been mentioned, was able to gain the first audience by a War Department official with Miss Fannie Spong, the owner of the farm property about the McKinley Monument. From her he learned how the builders of the McKinley Monument had failed to pay her grandfather the $750 that had been agreed upon for the right-of-way to and from the lot on which the monument stood.

On May 15, 1931, Bashettec wrote the quartermaster general: "In view of the foregoing, it can be readily seen that Miss Spong is reluctant to enter into new negotiations." He suggested that perhaps the matter could be solved by leasing in perpetuity the necessary land in consideration of from $200 to $500. This idea was rejected when the legal officer informed the quartermaster general "that this is

---

(footnote 63 continued) Baltimore, Md., accepted and approved by the QMG, May 11, 1931. $89,000. Change Order A, May 15, 1931. Change Order C, August 19, 1931. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 611. Contract W-53-QM-130-dated March 30, 1931 - Aug. 28, 1931 to Sept. 12, 1931, The Ameria Paving and Contract Co. Inc. Balt., Md., $94,823.61 in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Box 6, Antietam. This amount paid for extra work done plus original $89,000 contract.

[64] R.G. 79, War Dept. Records-Antietam, Box 7, File 3.

not possible to do by lease."[65]

On May 27, Lieutenant Colonel Mortimer, the quartermaster supply officer in command of the Washington Depot, visited Antietam Battlefield and reported to the quartermaster general, "it is impossible to build an adequate road to the McKinley Monument -- it is too narrow and there is no room to turn around."[66]

This led to a rethinking of the problem and on October 13, 1931, Colonel Bashettec advised the quartermaster general:

> The plans for the reconstruction of the road to the McKinley Monument were changed to provide for the construction of a concrete walk instead of a road as at first contemplated. The estimated cost of the walk is $2,800 [against $7,500 as the estimated cost of the road] and the progress is about 30% complete and it will be done by November 15. The change from the road to a walk was made after investigation and it was found that a walk would be much more suitable.[67]

Completed in 1931, the approximate cost of the walkway to the McKinley Monument was $2,800.

Specifications for the construction of rubble walls on the avenues and a road on the Antietam Battlefield were completed on March 18, 1932. These called for construction of 883 linear feet of 18-inch and 300 linear feet of 24-inch rubblestone wall in 15 sections. This contract was awarded to the low bidder, Poffinberger and Mause, on April 13 for $1,746.18.[68]

---

[65] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, May 15, 1931. Also proposed road, see blueprint-Road to McKinley Monument, Antietam Battlefield, Office of the Quartermaster, Hdqrs., 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, May 12, 1931. Scale 1 inch = 20 feet. Blueprint. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 611. Also copy in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records - Antie-tam, Box 6, File 4. May 15, 1931-QMSO to QMG: Proposes to improve roadway in the 16 feet right-of-way between the Burnside Bridge and McKinley Monument.

[66] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 611.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Specifications for construction of rubble walls on the avenues and roads in Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Md., March 18, 1932, hqrs., 3rd Corps Area, Office of Quartermaster, Baltimore, Md., 7 pp., R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 824.1.
Also copy of specifications in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records-Antietam, Box 6, File 6. 883 linear feet of 18 inch and 300 linear feet of 24 inch rubblestone in 15 sections. Contract No. W 53-QM-211. Poffinberger & Mause -- dated April 13, 1932, for construction of rubble stone retaining and guard walls around avenues and roads at Antietam Battlefield. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 654. Data also in File 6, R.G. 79, War Department Records -- Antietam, Box 6.

The contract for furnishing and erecting 41 woven wire steel gates and their steel frames on the Antietam Battlefield was awarded to the low bidder, the Pittsburgh Steel Company, on May 27, 1932, for the sum of $1,323.26.[69]

These improvements on the roads, 1931-32, totalled $100,693.05:

Reconstructing five miles of roads:	$ 94,823.61
Constructing sidewalk to McKinley Monument	2,800.00
Building Rubblestone retaining walls	1,746.18
Erecting 41 steel entrance gates	1,323.26
Total: 1931-32:	$ 100,693.05

The balance of the $150,000 appropriation, namely $49,306.95, was apparently used to erect 10 miles of new fencing along the 5 miles of new battlefield roads.

Battlefield Superintendent Alexander described this work:

> The avenues were rebuilt in 1931. Since then we have made 6,000 concrete posts, put in above 15 miles of wire fences, built walks, painted tablets, dug a 350 foot well [in the National Cemetery], built a large pump house, copied all the inscriptions on tablet markers and [91] monuments on the field, and have put up new gates over the entire field.[70]

As of February 15, 1933, only $628.67 of the $150,000 allotted for reconstruction of the battlefield roads had not been spent.[71]

---

[69] Contract W 53-QM-216-with Pittsburgh Steel Company for furnishing and installing woven wire steel fencing. Furnishing and installing steel frame gates at Antietam. Dated May 27, 1932. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 654. Paid $1,323.26 for furnishing and installing 41 woven wire steel frame gates at Antietam Battlefield. R.G. 79, War Department, Antietam, Box 4. Blue Prints for entrance gates - Antietam Battlefield center gate, [1932] hdqrs., 3rd Corps Area, quartermaster, Baltimore, Md. Two blue prints, 4118-4 and 4118-5. For contract for building steel gates with Pittsburgh Steel Co. R. G. 79-War Dept. Records-Antietam, Box 4.

[70] R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 20106. Alexander to Director, National Park Service, August 18, 1933.

[71] R.G. 79 - War Department Records - Antietam. Box 4, File 688. On April 27, 1932, the balance amounted to $2,620.35.

Under the National Recovery Act, Antietam National Cemetery was alloted $12,500 for converting the old lodge into a comfort station and $6,000 for erecting a tool house and garage.[72] This latter sum was used to erect a new warehouse on the enclosed cemetery lot to the west of and outside of the main wall of the National Cemetery, for the use of Antietam National Battlefield operations.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, Quartermaster Colonel Baskettec reported the following progress in work on the Antietam Battlefield:

"The Battlefield warehouse had asbestos shingle roof put on and concrete floor" laid. Also "a water line was connected to the [new] National Cemetery well and is being used at the Battlefield Warehouse." Of the reconstruction of the roads and their fencing he wrote: "Five miles of Avenues were rebuilt" and "12 miles of new Page iron farm fence and concrete posts were erected."[73]

On June 19, 1932, The Baltimore Sun carried an article on the improvements made at the Antietam Battlefield. It read:

> Work of beautifying the Antietam Battlefield has been completed. Approximately $160,000 was spent in the building of new fencing, rebuilding roads, painting and renovating by a large force under the supervision of George B. Alexander, Supt. Five miles of road and 12 miles of fencing have been repointed....[74]

In the third biannual inspection of the battlefield, on August 6, 1932, the inspector found the park to be in excellent condition except that the "road leading out to and beyond Mansfield Monument needs rebuilding." In commenting on this recommendation, the quartermaster at Baltimore noted that "This is Smoketown Road and not owned by the United States."[75]

---

[72] R.G. 79 -- War Dept. Records -- Antietam, Box 5, File 2.

[73] R.G. 79 -- War Dept. Records, Box 4 and also in R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 319.1. He also reported that a total of $7,680 had been expended on the routine upkeep of the battlefield during the past fiscal year. Baskettec was in charge of the depot, 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore. Also see R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Box 7, for data on construction of connecting water pipe line. This work done by H. R. Wagner, cost, about $384.18. Also bids were issued for furnishing and installing one 10,000 gallon capacity steel water tank and tower on the Antietam Battlefield, but just west of National Cemetery. Contract for 80 foot tall tower awarded to Wm. H. Jackson for $3,150 September 12, 1931, but all bids and contracts rejected September 14, 1931, and tower never erected. Specifications, 6 pp. dated Aug. 1, 1933.

[74] Clipping in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Box 4.

Also completed on June 9, 1932, was a "List of Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on the Antietam National Battlefield," which gave the location and text of 91 monuments and the cast iron tablets.[76]

The War Department was aware that Antietam National Battlefield site lacked a park office, public comfort station, and quarters for the superintendent. On November 17, 1931, Colonel Baskettec submitted plans totalling $63,450 to correct these defects to the quartermaster general for inclusion in the estimates for the 1933 fiscal year. The improvements proposed were:

1. Construction of a combined Superintendent's lodge, office, public comfort station, to be built of native limestone, including heating plant, well, septic tank, and other necessary utilities	$22,000
This two-story house, with full basement and three bedrooms, was to be on the New York Monument Lot.	
(The National Park Service was to erect the Park Visitor Center on this lot about 30 years later!) For plans of building and location, see footnote below.[77]	
2. Building road from the Hagerstown Pike up to and around the New York Monument and connecting to lodge and new office--3,000 sq. yards	$7,500.00

---

[75] R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Box 4 - File 688. The second inspection had been made on August 8, 1930, and the first May 3, 1928.

[76] Copies of this list are to be found in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Boxes No. 4 and 5. R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 619.3 has data on the monuments from 1928 to 1933. The size of the cast iron battlefield tablets was 35" by 47".

[77] Proposed Lodge and Office, Antietam Battlefield, Maryland, Office of Quartermaster, Headquarters 3rd Corps, Baltimore, Md., November 2, 1931. Blueprint. Scale 1/8" = 1'/Elevations; floor plans of basement, first and 2nd floors. Three bedrooms on 2nd floor. Two rooms for park office on lst floor. "New York Plot on Antietam Battlefield Showing Proposed Location of Lodge and New Roads." Office of the Quartermaster, Headquarters 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, Md. Scale 1' = 40', Contour interval = 5'. October 30, 1931 Blueprint in R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File No. 687, National Archives, Suitland, Md.

3. Relocate entrance gate to new lodge and office	650.00
4. Planting of shrubs and trees along driveway and around new lodge and office	600.00
Subtotal for construction new lodge and site development	$30,750.00
5. Rebuilt base of New Jersey Monument	600.00
6. Cleaning battlefield monuments	3,000.00
7. Repointing observation tower	600.00
8. Painting Battlefield Tablets	500.00
9. Caulking floors of New York, Indiana, and Maryland monuments	500.00
10. Planting trees and shrubs along five miles of road	7,500.00
11. Improvement of the Smoketown Road, including grading, paving, and fencing	20,000.00
Grand Total:	$63,450.00[78]

Congress, however, failed to appropriate the requested funds and thus the War Department was unable to carry out its extensive plans for improvements.

Improvements made to the Antietam battlefield during the 1933 fiscal year were thus minor and in his annual report for that year, Colonel Baskettec reported that they consisted of adding 240 feet of iron picket fence and 840 yards of page wire fence with concrete posts to the existing fencing system.[79]

With the submission of annual reports, requests were made for providing data on the number of visitors. On April 30, 1931, Superintendent Alexander responded to the first such request, writing to the quartermaster at Baltimore: "I beg to advise that we have no way to tell the number of visitors that come to Antietam Battlefield. We do not have a register and the visitors have free access on the field. We have no guides." A figure was nevertheless provided--400-500 visitors during 1930. On November 3, 1931, it was estimated by the quartermaster during the period January 1 to October 31, 1931, that 400,000 people had visited the Antietam battlefield while 481,000 had visited the Gettysburg Battlefield during the same period.[80]

---

[78] R.G. 82, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 687, Letter dated November 17, 1931. Another copy of same letter in R.G. 79, War Dept. Records - Antietam, Box No. 4.

[79] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 319.1. He also noted that a total of $6,057.00 has been expended on the general upkeep of the park during the 1933 fiscal year. The following plan was also prepared in June 1933--"Philadelphia Brigade Plot, Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Md.," Office of Quartermaster, Hdqrs. 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore. June 1933, Scale 1" = 40' in R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 688.

It was estimated that 200,000 people visited Antietam Battlefield during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and 250,000 during the year ending June 30, 1933.[81] These were pure guesses and had no evidence to support them.

As a result of a governmental reorganization, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Antietam National Cemetery were transferred by an executive order signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt from the War Department to the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior on August 10, 1933.[82] On August 12 Acting Director A. E. Demaray wrote to Superintendent Alexander and instructed him to take charge of the battlefield, Antietam National Cemetery, and Fort Necessity, Pennsylvania, on behalf of the National Park Service.[83]

Alexander had served as a private in the First Maryland Infantry during the Spanish-American War and as a superintendent of the Antietam battlefield since February 3, 1928. Unlike the superintendent of the Antietam National Cemetery, who wished to be transferred to a War Department-operated national cemetery, Alexander was interested in working for the National Park Service as superintendent of the Antietam Battlefield and on August 18, 1933, wrote a letter to the director of the Park Service applying for a permanent appointment effective October 1, 1933. Despite strong letters of recommendation of the quartermaster general and Colonel Mortimer, the quartermaster in command of the Washington Depot, Director Arno C. Cammerer discharged Alexander on September 23, to be effective September 30, 1933. The files contain no evidence to indicate why Alexander was not reappointed to his position, as was the case with the superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery.[84] Political considerations may have possibly been a factor. In any event, former soldiers who had served in the U.S. Army had lost the position on the Antietam battlefield.

---

[80] R.G. 79, War Dept. Records, Box 7, File 688. Letters of April 30, May 5, and November 3, 1931.

[81] R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 56, File 319.1.

[82] Executive Order No. 6166, dated June 10, 1933, and Order No. 6226, dated July 23, 1933. War Department correspondence regarding the transfer of Antietam is in R.G. 92, Entry 1891, Box 57, File 688.

[83] R.G. 92, Entry 79, Box 2601, File 201.06.

From 1890 to 1933 Congress appropriated and the War Department spent approximately $416,061.20 on Antietam National Battlefield Site as follows:

For research and development, 1890-1898:	$ 78,031.00
For repair and preservation, 1898-1933:	135,530.20
For salary of superintendents, 1900-1933:	52,500.00
For reconstruction of roads, 1931-1932:	150,000.00
Total, Antietam National Battlefield, 1890-1933:	$416,061.20

During the years 1865 to 1933 approximately $282,103.37 was expended on the establishment, repair, and maintenance of Antietam National Cemetery:

For establishment, construction and maintenance of cemetery, 1865-June 7, 1877, including expenditures by Cemetery Association and United States	$133,462.38
Salaries of U.S. superintendents, 1877-1933	54,400.00
Repair and maintenance, U.S. 1877-1933	65,773.16
Construction of approach road, 1889-1891	30,000.00
Total, Antietam National Cemetery, 1865-1933	$283,635.54

Total expenditures on the battlefield and cemetery from 1865 to 1933 amounted to $699,696.74.

---

[84] R.G. 92, Entry 79, Box 2601, File 201.06.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE, 1933-1942

1. THE TRANSFER FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT TO THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT,1924-1933

The idea of transferring historical parks and monuments then under the administration of the War Department to the National Park Service of the Interior Department was endorsed by Secretary of War John W. Weeks and presented in hearings held before the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of the Administrative Branch of the government on January 11, 1924. Subsequent secretaries of war and interior supported the reorganization in 1928 to 1929.[1] On January 31, 1929, a hearing was held before the House of Representatives' Committee on Military Affairs. Most of the members of this committee were hostile to the proposed transfer because they were skeptical of the capacity of the National Park Service, which had been organized in 1916, to properly maintain these important historical properties. One member opposed the transfer because the Park Service would fill the military parks, where men had died, with "hot dog stands."[2] Another remarked "I certainly would oppose any proposition to turn battlefields over to the Department of the Interior, who do not know what they are or what they mean."[3] When it was mentioned that "The national parks are the Nation's playgrounds," one Congressman shot back "You do not want the Gettysburg Park to be a playground, do you." The Assistant Secretary of War Robbins responded "No; I say, we would not want these battlefields made playgrounds." Another person asked: "Would not they be so under the Department of Interior, if they followed their usual policy?"[4]

---

[1] Hearings Before the Committee Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventieth Congress, Second Session on S.4173 - Transfer of National Military Parks, January 31, 1929 (Washington, D.C., 1929), p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 13.

The newly appointed NPS Director, Horace M. Albright, replied to the questions, responding in part:[5]

> Gentlemen, and Mrs. Kahn, our function is not to develop these areas so as to impair in any way their natural qualities, but to preserve them absolutely intact for future generations. . . .
>
> Our main function is to preserve areas of historic, scientific, and scenic importance for all time.
>
> We do no developing whatever. The only improvements we make are on our roads and trails, which are necessary to make the parks accessible, and in some of the bigger parks, such as the Yellowstone, the Yosemite, and the Glacier, where it is necessary to house people, we do grant franchises under which hotels may be built. But at no place do we grant permits of any kind unless it is necessary to house and take care of visitors.
>
> One of the gentlemen mentioned hot dog stands, and things like that. Those are the things that we are more opposed to than anything else in the world, and we do not permit them at all in the national parks.
>
> We have a department known as our landscape and architecture department, presided over by a skilled landscape man who passes on every structure in the parks, and those structures must harmonize with the surroundings, using the native materials, so that there is perfect harmony between the building and the surroundings.
>
> We do make some historic improvements. We have, for instance, an ancient church in Arizona, and are opening one of the very earliest missions in the Southwest. We have repaired it and kept it up.
>
> Then we have the cliff dwellings. The Mesa Verde Park contains the greatest number of the very finest of cliff dwellings. They are very precious things, because they could very easily be destroyed in the summer unless they are properly protected by skilled men. We take care of all those things.
>
> We have a great many national monuments that contain areas of historic importance, some of them of the same kind

---

[5] Horace M. Albright had helped Stephen T. Mather, who would be the first director of the National Park Service, get the law passed, approved August 25, 1916, which authorized the establishment of the National Park Service. He served under Mather as assistant director and became the second director on January 12, 1929.

that are now under the War Department. The function of the Park Service is absolutely 100 per cent conservation.

If I may draw a parallel between the situation in the War Department and the Interior Department, the War Department--and I say it with all respect, and the Assistant Secretary will know I have nothing in the world but respect for the War Department--the War Department is in the same situation today with reference to the protection of these historic parks and monuments that we were in 1915.

There is no division in the War Department charged with the care of these monuments and parks. All the officers are detailed as they are in Washington to take care of them, and as I understand it there is only one permanent employee in Washington assigned to the National Park activities of the War Department. If you gentlemen were to ask for information in regard to these parks you would find that there is nothing out about them at all; there is no available data.

Whereas, we have a little book on national monuments. We have a book of information on every one of the national parks. There is no literature at all on the national military parks.

Then we have gotten out this portfolio, which most of the members are familiar with. It is sold by the Superintendent of Documents for $1, and many thousands of copies are sold every year.[6]

MR. JAMES. The part I am particularly interested in is to know if you think that the national military parks as they are being administered today by the War Department are being inefficiently administered, and if so, what can you do to improve that administration?

MR. ALBRIGHT. I do not think it is inefficient, but I do believe we can improve it, because we are constantly in contact with the public and we are interested in developing the inspirational and educational features of those areas.

MR. JAMES. What would you do, for instance, at Gettysburg, to make it better than it is now?

MR. ALBRIGHT. We would get out official Government publications in regard to it, in collaboration with the officers of the War Department. We would have our men in the

---

6. This was Glimpses of Our National Parks, prepared by Robert Sterling Yard, an illustrated handbook intended for mass distribution, first published in 1915 with donated funds; and after 1923, with funds provided by Congress through the U.S. Government Printing Office.

> uniform of the National Park Service so that persons traveling from East to West would realize that they would get the same service in Gettysburg as they would get out in one of the big western areas.
>
> We would develop the educational features. We have a publication which does nothing but seek to interpret these parks and to develop and build up libraries in regard to these areas.
>
> We are getting out lectures in popular form. We would have pictures and lectures written around these pictures, which we could send out around the country to schools. We are doing that in connection with the national parks now. You can get lantern-slide collections on the national parks.
>
> We will administer these parks not more efficiently in so far as actual protection is concerned, because that has been perfect, but we will administer them so as to make them mean more to the people of the country.

In a letter to the committee signed by[7] Secretary of the Interior West, Albright had written that the Department of the Interior had developed specialists in preservation. Chairman James challenged this statement, asking of Assistant Secretary of War Robbins: "What specialists?"

> MR. ROBBINS. I do not know, sir. I think the Department of the Interior would be better prepared to answer that question.
>
> MR. JAMES. I would be glad to have them answer it.
>
> MR. ALBRIGHT. Speaking of specialists, Mr. Chairman, I take it that the Secretary was merely referring to men in the Department of the Interior, or the National Park Service, who are trained, and have been trained over a good many years in protecting great scenic areas of the West, such as the historical areas that are under our administration now. We are only specialists to the extent that has been our life work.
>
> MR. JAMES. Take, for instance, the Gettysburg park. What kind of men have you developed who would take care of Gettysburg park in any different way from that in which the men who are there now are taking care of it?
>
> MR. ALBRIGHT. I am not familiar with the men who are there now.
>
> The point is not that the men in charge of these parks are not all right. Perhaps they are; we do not know that they are not.

---

[7] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

> The National Park Service here in Washington has a group of men, both here and in the field, who are taking care every day of a great many more areas and much larger areas than these are, and we are training men for the specific purpose of taking care of Government reservations of this kind, where protection is the fundamental duty.
>
> Of course, we would expect to take over all the men engaged in this work of protecting these monuments at the present time.[8]

Here the National Park Service was on much weaker ground. The Service had no historical architects or historians in its employment; its few landscape architects, naturalists, and archeologists had no training, experience, or interest in historical research, history, or the preservation of historical structures or scenes. The National Park Service did not employ its first chief historian, Verne E. Chatelain, until September 1931 and he ran a one-man office until 1933.

Chairman James then launched what proved to be the final attack during the 1929 hearing:

> MR. JAMES. I am perfectly willing to admit that the national parks are well administered. But I am still waiting to have you tell us some reason why these parks should be transferred to your service.
>
> MR. ALBRIGHT. Unless you have actually come in contact with our educational activities--I might say that through the courtesy and assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation we are having established in the national parks very extensive museums. In connection with that, we have our trained guides and lecturers, who interpret the parks and explain the history of them.
>
> In the Yellowstone Park there is a museum built at a cost of around $100,000, which contains all the records in regard to that park and the story of the pioneers, with a portrayal of the natural features of the park. That would come along with the passing of these areas.
>
> We have at the present time the cooperation of the local people in bringing in the traditions of the country, not alone from a military standpoint, but of the early pioneers and of the Indians in the neighborhood.[9]

In his statement to the committee, Director Albright pledged that the National Park Service would maintain the battlefields and monuments at the excellent level that had been achieved by the War Department and that the Service would also improve operations by introducing and providing "education" activities and facilities, now called interpretive functions, for the visitors at these sites--services that the War Department had made no effort to provide, except in the form of historical markers, tablets, and monuments carrying historical texts relating to the events that had taken place at the parks. The National Park Service's educational or interpretive activities would include museums, guided tours, lectures, leaflets, and booklets, which "would interpret the parks and explain the history of them" to park visitors.

---

[8] Ibid., p. 6-7.

[9] Ibid., p. 21.

Congress did not pass any bill transferring the historical areas from the War to the Interior Department in 1929 and there the matter rested until August 10, 1933, when President Roosevelt, by executive order, transferred 48 historical areas from the War Department to the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior. These included eleven national military parks, two national parks, ten battlefield sites, ten national monuments, four miscellaneous memorials, and eleven national cemeteries. Antietam National Battlefield Site and Antietam National Cemetery were among the 48 areas thus transferred in 1933.

The National Park Service, and Chief Historian Chatelain and his hastily formed staff in particular, was thus confronted in mid-August with the problems of quickly formulating and implementing policies for the preservation, maintenance, and interpretation of a large number of historical properties. Experience in these matters was in short supply.

2. COORDINATING SUPERINTENDENTS AND REGIONAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTIETAM, 1933-1982

Under the agreement with the War Department, the two superintendents at Antietam, George B. Alexander at the national battlefield, and Clarence L. Nett at the national cemetery, were to retain their positions from August 10 to September 30, 1933. On October 1 the National Park Service could either reappoint the men as superintendents or discharge them. The Service chose to reappoint Nett as the superintendent of the national cemetery and to let

Alexander go. John K. Beckenbaugh was appointed superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site on October 10, 1933. He had been born in Hagerstown, Maryland, on January 14, 1874, mustered in as a captain in the Maryland National Guard on July 5, 1916, and mustered out on October 25, 1916. Although appointed on October 10, 1933, Beckenbaugh was not able to report for duty at Antietam until January 10, 1934. During this interval, Superintendent Nett of the cemetery also served as acting superintendent of the battlefield. Beckenbaugh served as the superintendent of the Antietam battlefield from 1934 until his death on October 5, 1940, at the age of 66.[10]

As under the War Department, the battlefield and cemetery continued to be operated from 1933 to 1942 as two separate, independent, and equal entities in the National Park Service.

On October 5, 1933, Superintendent James R. McConaghie of Gettysburg National Military Park was made coordinating superintendent of both the Antietam National Battlefield Site and the cemetery. His larger staff included professional historians who gave advice and clerks who did most of the administrative and payroll work of the Antietam sites.[11] This supervision by the Gettysburg staff continued from October 5, 1933, to December 16, 1935, "when all administrative matters pertaining to Antietam National Battlefield and Antietam National Cemetery will be centered in your [Beckenbaugh's] office."[12] During the period August 1, 1937, to October 3, 1940, the Antietam superintendents reported to the regional director in the regional office at Richmond, Va., and the director in Washington, without going through a coordinating superintendent. Following the death of Beckenbaugh, the Antietam areas were once again placed under the coordinating superintendence of McConaghie and Assistant Superintendent S. G. Solleberger of Gettysburg National Military Park.[13] Beginning November 1940, Dr. J. Walter Coleman, who had replaced McConaghie as superintendent of Gettysburg, also served as the coordinating superintendent of the Antietam sites. Dr. Coleman and his Gettysburg staff continued to oversee operations at the Antietam battlefield and cemetery from October 1940 until July 1, 1953, when Antietam National Battlefield Site and the national cemetery for a second time emerged independent, with Superintendent Harry W. Doust in charge of both the battlefield and cemetery.[14]

---

[10] R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 201.06--data on appointment of superintendents, also information on Beckenbaugh. Monthly report for October 1940 also has data on his birth, family, etc. On October 5, 1933, Nett was made acting superintendent of the battlefield and also Fort Necessity, Pa. File 0-31.

[11] R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 201.06. McConaghee made his first official inspection of Antietam on October 10, 1934, for report see R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31--Part I, dated October 20, 1933.

[12] R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 201--Director Arno B. Cammerer to Supt. Beckenbaugh, December 11, 1935.

On April 6, 1942, on the death of Cemetery Superintendent Carl M. Taute, the duties of that position were included as a part of the duties of the battlefield superintendent, thus eliminating the cemetery position.[15]

Antietam's second era as an independent park extended from July 1, 1953, until December 17, 1967, when the superintendent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument became the "coordinating superintendent" and superintendent of Antietam battlefield and cemetery. He and the C & O staff occupied the main offices of the Antietam battlefield's recently completed visitor center, placed the Antietam staff in the few basement rooms, and destroyed most of the Antietam official park files for the years 1933 to about 1960 to make room for the C & O Canal staff and files. This organization continued from December 17, 1967, to July 31, 1972, when the national battlefield and national cemetery emerged for a third time independent. The battlefield, including the cemetery, continues to enjoy this status to date.

From August 1, 1937, to June 30, 1955, the development and operation of Antietam National Battlefield Site and the national cemetery were supervised by the regional director and his professional staff with headquarters at Richmond, Virginia. This region, known as Region One, comprised all the National Park Service areas east of the Mississippi River. Because of the long distances of travel involved and the very large number of parks to be visited, Region One's staff was normally able to visit most of these parks once a year, or less.

---

[13] R.G. 79, Box 2601. Superintendent McConaghie was actually placed in charge on October 3, 1940, after it had been learned that Superintendent Bechenbaugh had been incapacitated by a heart attack on September 30, 1940. Data re: Dr. Coleman from monthly report for Antietam, November 1940.

[14] By Memorandum FO-62-53, effective July 1, 1953, R.G. 79, File 2823, Monthly Reports, June 1953.

[15] R.G 79, Box 2699, Memorandum of Director, May 29, 1942, effective from April 6, 1942.

In 1955 the regional setup in the east was reorganized by subdividing old Region One into two regions called regions one and five. Region Five included park areas in West Virginia and Maryland and all sites north of these states and east of the Mississippi River. The regional director and the professional staff of new Region Five were headquartered in Philadelphia. Antietam National Battlefield Site and national cemetery were thus under the supervision of the Region Five office from July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1967. Because of the reduction in both size of the region and the number of parks supervised, the attention received by parks in the northeast increased by about 100 per cent following the 1955 reorganization.[16]

From July 1, 1967, to date (1982), the battlefield and national cemetery have been under the supervision of the regional director of the National Capital Region, with headquarters in Washington, D.C.

As will appear from the narrative that follows, regional directors have played a significant role in deterring or facilitating the development of Antietam National Battlefield Site and national cemetery.

Because the National Park Service continued the War Department practice of considering the battlefield and cemetery to be two separate operations during the years 1933 to 1942, separate histories of these two areas follow.

---

[16] The statements on the comparative amount of attention afforded field areas by the regional staffs of regions one and five is based on the personal experience of the author, who served in the field as park historian at Saratoga National Historical Park, New York, and the home of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Sites, New York, from 1948 to 1957. Saratoga was also a "coordinated area" during part of this period.

3. HISTORY OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE, 1933-1942

On September 30, 1933, as has been mentioned, Battlefield Superintendent Alexander was discharged; on October 5, Cemetery Superintendent Nett was made the acting superintendent of the battlefield; and on October 10, Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie made his first official inspection of the Antietam site. In his inspection report to the director, McConaghie (a landscape architect) found the battlefield site generally to be in excellent physical condition. He made two major recommendations:

1. That the battlefield avenues, which had "a substantial surface of Amesite of the coarser grade which was laid in 1931... and is sufficiently seasoned now to receive a seal coat of fine grade Amesite" be repaved to protect the "present excellent surfaces of these avenues" from the action of freezing and thawing, "that would cause the roads to crumble."
2. "Trees are few and far between," he wrote. "One of the important development plans for the future," McConaghie wrote, "should be that of proper tree planting along the avenues to break the monotony now presented and to give an individuality and greater interest to the avenues." In other words, Antietam Battlefield did not look enough like a "park."[17]

Fortunately for the battlefield, Chief Historian Chatelain asked Acting Superintendent Nett to review and comment on McConaghie's report and recommendations. Responding on November 23, Nett agreed with the Gettysburg superintendent's suggestion for resurfacing the battlefield roads, writing "this can probably be taken care of by Public Work Funds." With regard to planting of trees along the battlefield avenues, Nett responded: "as this [battle] field was practically open at the time of the battle... I would suggest keeping it as near the original [1862] field as possible."[18]

---

[17] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part I, October 20, 1933 letter.
[18] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part I. Nett to Director, Attention Chatelain, November 23, 1933.

These remarks killed the tree planting scheme, which of course, would have altered the 1862 historic scene on the battlefield.

John K. Beckenbaugh was appointed to the position of superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site, at Grade 8, with a salary of $1,800 per year on October 10, 1933, but because he was not able to report for duty until January 10, 1934, Cemetery Superintendent Nett continued to direct operations in the interval.[19]

a. Emergency Allotments and Civil Works Administration Projects, 1933-1934

Two projects were established: (1) "a Historical Survey Project," planned by Chief Historian Chatelain and his History Division Branch of Research and Education, and (2) a "Labor Project for cleaning up the Philadelphia Brigade Park" on the battlefield. The latter had been suggested by Superintendent Nett. Both projects were approved by the director on December 5, 1933, and Superintendent Nett supervised their operations.[20]

(1) The Historical Survey Project. Historian John B. Wolfe of the Washington staff was responsible for formulating the objectives of the project and of guiding the efforts of the temporary staff, which was composed of one engineer and draftsman, who was to serve as director of the team, seven "historians", all young college men between the ages of 20 and 27, and "two female typists," the latter being young ladies then residing in Sharpsburg.[21]

Maj. John Byron of Williamsport, Maryland, a West Point graduate and a student of the history of the Antietam Campaign of 1862, volunteered his services without pay, to direct the work of the ten-person research team, which was not familiar with the battle of

---

[19] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 201.06-1933.

[20] R.G. 79, Box 2700, Memo of December 5, 1933 from Associate Director A. E. Demaray to Nett.

[21] For details on the members of the 10-person research team, including names, titles, college associations, and salaries, see Appendix No. IX. Dr. Wolfe mentioned the fact that the ladies lived in Sharpsburg in an effort to justify what he conceded was the lower wages paid to the girls.

Antietam. Byron introduced his "class" to the study by memo on December 18, directing them to form themselves into two teams of five each, one to study all the data on the Union Army and the other on the Confederate Army.[22] This team of young people entered into their duties on December 18, 1933, working with great energy and enthusiasm until February 15, 1934, when five were discharged because the funds were running out, and the remaining five were laid off when the money was exhausted on April 19. A total of $3,046.88 in Civil Works Administration funds were expended on the Historical Survey Project.[23]

The contributions of this team were of great importance: they represented the first extensive "research" or collection of data that had been done for the battlefield since 1898 and provided Superintendent Beckenbaugh, the Region One regional director, and his staff, with the information that was to serve as the basis of the proposed development and land acquisition programs of the 1940s. Seven more years were to pass before the National Park Service was to undertake a greater research effort in the history of the Antietam battlefield. As we shall see, most of the interpretive improvements made during the 1940s were based on the work of the 1933-34 team.

In memorandums dated December 16 and 27, 1933, historian Wolfe informed Acting Superintendent Nett that the objectives of the Historical Survey Team were to be:

> 1. For the Educational Program, we conceive it to be very important to provide the material for a folder for Antietam. This folder should contain a map of Antietam Battlefield with its avenues, important markers, etc., and should be marked with arrows, which if followed will show the tourists a logical picture of the Field. Attached to this map there should be (a) a brief story (possibly 1,000 words) of the campaign of Antietam. (b) A brief description of the Antietam Battlefield

---

[22] For Byron volunteer service, see Memo of Wolfe, December 21, 1933, on visit to Antietam on December 20. Memo of Major Joseph Byron to Supt. Nett, December 18, 1933, 4 typed pages. Also Memo, Byron to Nett, December 20, 1933.

[23] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 201.01 - Annual Report for Antietam for fiscal year ending June 30, 1934. Miraculously, what appears to be an almost complete file of incoming and outgoing correspondence and reports of the Historical Team survived the otherwise complete destruction of official park files that took place in December 1967.

> and National Cemetery, largely statistical. (c) Possibly two pictures from which cuts could be made to be printed in the folder....

Engineer and draftsman J. William Schnebley was to prepare the necessary maps utilizing data provided by the seven historians.

Also to be prepared were "Maps showing the Antietam Campaign." They included a series showing the approach of the armies and a second series delineating the withdrawal of the armies.

Wolfe wrote "This folder is very important and a section of the staff should be assigned to it." Also included in the project was a survey of the battlefield that covered the following:

> A. Reconnassiance of existing remnants of the battle, all bridges, buildings, etc., now extant that were present in 1862.
>
> B. When this survey is completed the reconnassiance should attempt to discover the location and if possible the nature, (that is proportions, size and color, etc.) of other buildings, bridges, etc. which are now destroyed but were present in 1862.
>
> C. Lastly, the survey should discover the nature of the terrain of Antietam Battlefield in 1863: Cultivated lands, wood lands, swamp lands, etc.
>
> This study is absolutely necessary for any future development at Antietam. As we have noted before all future development of Antietam must be based on historical research. I do not know exactly how to tell you to study this problem. Were I doing it I would approach the problem through several channels. Newspaper accounts, old pictures, county records, etc. should yield considerable material while accounts of citizens now living who remember the Field, if carefully questioned, will provide abundant information.
>
> Your study should keep in mind the probability of writing a more detailed account of the Battle of Antietam, possibly 100 pages or more. This probably will not be done under CWA, but the material which is collected by the CWA staff can be of tremendous value in writing such a story. For this story, human interest accounts, etc. will be of great value. The staff at Antietam should keep this in mind and carefully compile all their data, as materials gathered for the above projects will be of great value in the later ones.[24]

---

[24] Memorandum of December 27, 1933. Memo of December 16, 1933, contains additional details on making maps. Material in park historical files.

The contributions of the historians were as follows: A series of volumes of loose-leaf notebooks, typed, averaging 150 pages each and embodying the researches, interpretive writings, and compilations of the seven historians:

1. Vol. II, pp. 19-45, Work of Langdon Bachus, December 18, 1933-February 15, 1934: A fairly exhaustive list of illustrations, wood cuts, lithographs, half-tones, slides, and photographs pertaining to the Antietam area. Also the text of "The Passage of Crampton Gap."

2. Work of Jordan Bean, December 18, 1933-April 19, 1934, Vol. III, pp. 39-81. Regional and Battery Organizations of Army of the Potomac and Army of Northern Virginia according to States. Statistics on Battles Losses from WAR OF THE REBELLION.

Report on Relics. Text: "Battle of Burnside Bridge (for radio script)." Revised list of Battlefield Repairs needed.

Brief biographical sketches of principal general officers, Federal and Confederate at Antietam. 19 subjects. Vol. IV, pp. 4-10.

Historical Notes on Bridges and Churches in the Sharpsburg section, Vol. V, pp. 61-66.

Building Survey of Sharpsburg, Md., 1862. Vol. V, pp. 66-78. Description of 185 houses standing at time of battle. (Map-blueprint), Scale 1" = 270', drawn by R. G. Grove, locates houses. Authorities consulted: J. A. Miller, an old resident, living in war-time; Uncle Bud Schackleford, Captain J. K. Beckenbaugh.

3. Work of Carlton Godlove, December 18, 1933 to February 15, 1934: "The Battle of South Mountain"; Suggested Tour of Battlefield, Outline of Battle of Antietam. First draft of the story of the battle, 1,000 words. "Bloody Lane Action" (Script for use on radio program).

4. Work of Merle Kaetzel, December 18, 1933-February 15, 1934: Investigation of historical material available in Hagerstown, Md. Story of Harpers Ferry Siege, September 13-16, 1862. Withdrawal of troops from Antietam.

5. Work of Calvin Mumma, December 18, 1933-February 15, 1934: "Blacksford Ford, September 20, 1862; The Escape of the Cavalry Division from Harper's Ferry, September 14, 1862." List of people to collect historical data in 1934. "Lee's Withdrawal" (for a radio script). A Bibliography of books relating to the Battle of Antietam and the Antietam Campaign. A report on the need for a Museum at Antietam.

6. Work of Thomas L. Loy, December 18, 1933-April 19, 1934: Loy (second in command, under engineer J. William Schnebley) wrote weekly reports describing in detail the work of the other historians. Prepared a preliminary survey of highlights for battle, a report on photographs for the proposed battlefield folder, and text, "The battle of Antietam simplified, importance of the Antietam Battlefield." Also public relations work, including tours of organized groups and script of proposed motion picture tour of Antietam Battlefield. Also handled general correspondence of team.

7. Work of John C. O'Connell, Jr., December 18, 1933 to April 19, 1934: Prepared reports on park roads, land that the United States should acquire for the battlefield, effects of the Battlefield of Antietam, a list of Civil War maps of Antietam, and the text for a guide folder.

The study of roads considers historical (1862) and existing conditions and changes. The March 15, 1934, 1,000-word text for the park folder was written by Thomas Loy and John C. O'Connell, Jr.

Vol. V, pp. 145-164 contains a "History of Antietam Battlefield" (since the battle). This undocumented study presents actual descriptions of 18 battlefield monuments, together with a brief historical account of the origin[25] and narrative accounts of the exercises at dedication of each of the monuments.

It can be said that the $3,046.88 spent on this crash research was well spent because of the wealth of information it provided for the National Park Service.

(2) Labor Project for the Philadelphia Brigade Park. On December 16, 1933, the city of Philadelphia deeded the 10.9-acre Philadelphia Brigade Park to the United States and Acting Battlefield Superintendent Nett and the National Park Service made what proved to be a mistaken assumption that this land was now the property of the Federal Government.[26]

---

25. This summary is based on two sources: assistant historical technician Edward Steere's memorandum to superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, dated October 2, 1941, a very able analysis of the research that had been done at Antietam from 1933 to 1941, in R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207; and the author's personal inspection of surviving thick C.W.A. files in the possession of Antietam National Battlefield.

26. The U.S. Solicitor, however, ruled that Congress had never given the secretary of the interior authority to accept donated land at Antietam. Not until 1940 was Congress to pass a law that granted the secretary this power.

In the meantime, Nett suggested and received authority to establish a labor project to clean up the Philadelphia Brigade Park, which was in a neglected condition. Twenty-five men were employed on this project, consisting of a timekeeper who was paid 65 cents an hour, one foreman at 55 cents an hour, and 23 laborers, who each received 45 cents per hour. This crew began work on December 18, 1933, and worked until funds ran out about January 30, 1934. A total of $2,427.19 in C.W.A. funds was expended on this project.[27]

As a part of the labor project, the men removed an old and broken wire and iron fence, dug out by the roots a badly broken privet hedge, trimmed the trees, and gave the area a general cleanup. They also cut trees along Mansfield Avenue and did considerable work on the private lane (Dorsey's Lane) right-of-way into the 16th Connecticut Plot. Trees were trimmed, weeds grubbed out, and the area around the Burnside Bridge section was generally cleaned up.[28]

A total of $5,474.07 in Civil Works Administration funds was thus spent on the Antietam National Battlefield Site in 1933-34; expenditures from regular appropriations for the park amounted to $4,973.71, making a total of $10,447.78 spent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.[29] This money was exclusive of that spent on the National Cemetery during the same period.

b. Federal Emergency Relief Act Projects, 1934

By 1933, battlefield superintendent Beckenbaugh had served as the secretary of the Washington County Welfare Board, which also handled FERA programs for the state of Maryland for Washington County. After resigning that position, Beckenbaugh applied to that board in the spring of 1934 to fund relief projects for work on the battlefield. Successful work on the first projects began on May 7 and

---

[27] List of 25 men, payrolls and accounting sheets in 1933-34 park files of the C.W.A. Projects. Also, superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.

[28] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1934.

[29] Ibid. Of the regular appropriations $1,287 went for administration; $2,720 for maintenance, repair, and operation, and $966.71 for purposes that are not spelled out.

VAILABLE

continued into the fall, with the number of men ranging from five to twenty-nine.[30] State and county funds were spent on the following projects:

(1) Project No. 22-B15-37: "Building of Fencing Around Various Field Locations." Work began on May 7 and five laborers, working under the supervision of a regular park employee, constructed the standard type of battlefield fence on the north and south sides of the Philadelphia Brigade Park.

It required 90½ rods of wire fencing and 88 small and eight large concrete fence posts. The material was provided from the stock stored in the battlefield warehouse and the 400 hours of labor utilized in this project were paid with $120 from F.E.R.A. funds.[31]

(2) Project No. 22-B15-35: Cleaning Areas in East & West Woods and Burnside Bridge Areas. Work on this project got underway with 14 men on May 9. This force was later increased to 19. Signed permits were obtained from the owners to clean up the areas listed above. The west and east woods were cleaned of briars, poison vines, wild grape vines, and dead timber, but otherwise left in a natural state. Rubbish that had been dumped there was hauled away or buried. An island was removed that had formed in Antietam Creek above Burnside Bridge, which had been deflecting the waters and cutting out the east bank in a way dangerous to the future safety of the bridge. The removed material was used to build a breakwater to prevent further encroachment on the east bank. Total number of hours worked was 2,343 and E.R.A. funds expended came to $728.[32]

(3) Project: No. 22-B15-62: Removal of Dead Trees, Limbs, and Treating of Tree Wounds. Work began on July 2. Several dead

---

30. R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 619. Report of F.E.R.A. or S.E.R.A. Accomplishments by Superintendent John K. Beckenbaugh, Antietam Battlefield Site, received by National Park Service, Washington, D.C., January 28, 1935.
31. Annual Report, June 30, 1934, and Report of January 29, 1935.
32. Ibid.

trees were removed from the battlefield, dead limbs were removed, and limb cuts were painted. Six men worked on this project for 286 hours and were paid $85 from E.R.A. funds.[33]

(4) Project No. 22-B19-63: Eradication of Weeds and Poison Vines.

Work on this project began on August 2 with 16 men and a foreman, later increased to 23 men, and continued until December 11. Signed permits were obtained from every property owner, who had property abutting on the battlefield area, allowing them to enter their land and clean the fence rows along all the battlefield avenues and around the monument plots. Larger weeds were dug out. Hours worked totaled 2,396 and E.R.A. funds expended came to $2,414.25.[34]

These four projects cost $3,347.23 and provided the battlefield with 5,425 man-hours of work during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935. Regular National Park Service appropriations for the battlefield during this same period amounted to only $5,290, of which $5,276.03 was spent as follows: administration: $1,968.36; maintenance, repair & alteration: $2,522.83; and $784.84 for equipment.[35] With E.R.A. funds included, a total of $8,623.26 was expended on the park.

In addition to these allotments, Superintendent Beckenbaugh received a Public Works Administration grant in the amount of $4,500 for Project F.P. 420 for the "Repairs to Monuments" on the battlefield. Work on this project began on June 6, 1934, and continued until October 29, 1934. The biggest job involved repairs to the granite base of the New Jersey Monument at the corner of Hagerstown Road and Cornfield Avenue. Cracked pieces of granite were replaced. The second largest task was the repair and repointing of the War Correspondents Memorial Arch at Crampton's Gap. It was scaffolded, its top relaid and waterproofed, and the entire structure repointed.

---

[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1935.

The stone observation tower on Bloody Lane was also repointed and the joints of other monuments on the battlefield were packed and repointed where necessary. Remaining funds were used from October 30 to December 6, 1934, when the project was closed down because of freezing weather without a start on repairs on the old stone wall that enclosed the national cemetery.[36] Estimating that the entire allotment of $4,500 was expended, the total of funds from all sources spent on the battlefield during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935 was $12,123.26.[37]

c. A Description of the Battlefield, 1934

In his first annual report, Superintendent Beckenbaugh provided an excellent description of the physical development of the Antietam Battlefield as of June 30, 1934, which follows in part:

> This site comprises approximately 50 acres [40 acres not including the 10.9-acre Philadelphia Brigade Park] made of monument and marker locations of various sizes ranging from 40 square feet by 1½ miles wide, and there are also cast iron tablets at Burkittesville, Turner's Gap, Blackford's Ford and Harpers Ferry. At Fox's Gap and Crampton's Gap small plots are owned, but the tablets at the other locations are placed along the roadsides, except at Harpers Ferry where they are on the lands of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and kept in condition by that Company. In addition to this there are 10 [11.356] acres in the National Cemetery grounds. Five and one-quarter miles of Government built avenues and about 8½ miles of State and County Roads, traverse the Site.

The battlefield avenues are fenced on each side with a concrete post and [No. 9] woven wire fence, while the state and county roads have various "types of fencing--wire, rail and stone. No fencing remains of the period of 1862, except the stonewalls, although the rail fences are of the same type as then used."

Beckenbaugh described the four types of fences used on the battlefield as follows:

---

[36] Superintendents' annual reports for the fiscal years ending on June 30, 1934 and June 30, 1935.

[37] R.G. 79, Box 2605--File 618--Public Works File. Account sheet dated December 24, 1936, indicates: FPN-420--Repair to Monuments: Allotment--$4,500; Obligated $4,375.08; Balance on hand: $124.92.

> 1. Concrete Post and Woven Wire--There are approximately 13½ miles; it is all of recent new construction [1931] only a few years old and requires no upkeep, except several places damaged by motor accidents....
>
> 2. Iron Post Woven Wire Panel--This surrounds some of the monument locations on the field and also around the War Correspondents Memorial Arch at Crampton's Gap, requires more or less upkeep and must be painted often to keep looking well and the painting of same is a slow and tedious job. The parts facing the avenues of this fencing has been removed [during fiscal year ending June 30, 1934] from most monument plots making a more open and attractive appearance.

In his report for the year ending June 30, 1935, Beckenbaugh noted:

> Most all of the old iron post and woven wire fencing has been removed from the small monument plots and the regular concrete posts and wire fence run on the rear and sides of these plots, leaving the fronts open to the roads which presents a greatly improved appearance.
>
> 3. Concrete Post and Iron Piping--This surrounds the New York and Maryland plot, needs practically no repairs except painting which must be done thoroughly to keep the piping from rusting. In his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, Beckenbaugh commented: "The concrete and iron pipe fencing on the Hagerstown and Smoketown Road sides of the New York-Maryland plot were removed and this open appearance is a decided change for the better. . . ."
>
> 4. Stone Walls--These are relics of 1862, stand along various sections of the avenues but are not now answering the purpose of fencing, as the standard field fence runs in the rear of same. They are left standing as relics of the battle; they require no upkeep except replacing of a loose stone now and then.

Of the buildings, Superintendent Beckenbaugh wrote:

> The buildings at the Site consist of (1) an old [1867] stone Lodge House at the National Cemetery entrance and used formerly as the Cemetery Superintendent's residence [until 1928]; the lower floor of this is now used as a Comfort Station, the upper floor is unused and is in rather bad condition, this is heated on lower floor by hot water system. (2) A modern [1927-28] six room and bath residence for the

> Cemetery Superintendent, with an 11 ft. 4 in. by 12 ft. 4 in. office; the construction is stucco and shingle with shingle roof, heated by a hot water heating system. (3) A brick garage and tool house, [erected in 1901] size 18 ft. by 29 ft., with slate roof. These buildings are all within the National Cemetery enclosure. (4) Battlefield warehouse, a modern [1931-32] red tile and brick building [20 by 70 ft.] with heavy asbestos shingle roof, concrete floors, one end used as garage for [two] trucks, one end as a workshop heated by a stove, and center portion as a warehouse and storage place. This is modern in every way, is well equipped, has running water and electric lights. (5) Two deep well electric automatic pumping plants. There is also a water softening plant [1933] and septic tanks [1927-28].

Also standing in the national cemetery, but not mentioned by Beckenbaugh, was the rostrum, a brick, stone, iron, and wood structure, 22 by 34 feet in size, that had been erected in 1879. The two deep wells had been drilled in 1927 and 1931, respectively.[38]

The stone observation tower on Bloody Lane, erected in 1896-97, was approximately 15 feet square and 60 feet tall. In 1937 there were eight mounted cannons on the battlefield. Four of these were 3-inch rifled iron guns and four of them were bronze Napoleons, manufactured by the Revere Copper Company in 1862. There were also six Napoleon guns without mountings, placed muzzle down in concrete as memorials, marking the sites where six generals were killed. There were two more unmounted cannons in the national cemetery--a 12-pounder rifled piece and a 32-pounder Columbiad, placed muzzle up on a stone base.[39]

d. Battlefield Staff, 1934-1942

The staff of Antietam National Battlefield site comprised approximately eight people from 1933 to 1942 and included:

(1) Administrative Staff. The administrative staff was made up of a superintendent and a clerk. John K. Beckenbaugh served as

---

[38] Superintendent Beckenbaugh's annual reports for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1934, and June 30, 1935.

[39] Supt. John K. Beckenbaugh to Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, Region One, October 22, 1937. R.G. 79, Box 2606. File 740 - 02.2. The general officers killed included Mansfield Rodman, and Richardson of U.S.A., and Starke, Branch and Anderson of C.S.A.

superintendent from January 10, 1934, to his death on October 5, 1940. He was followed by Superintendent Carl M. Taute, who held the position from October 5, 1940, to April 5, 1942.

During 1934 and until June 30, 1935, Public Works Administration funds paid for the hiring of an "under clerk-typist." From Jume 15, 1935, to October 1, 1935, when money ceased, Antietam was without a clerk-typist and it was "necessary to have our vouchers, long reports, etc., forwarded to the Supervising [Coordinating] Office at Gettysburg for typing." On October 1 reguard funds made possible "a temporary appointment of a part-time clerk-typist ... which has enabled this office to function in very good shape." On December 16, 1935, as has been mentioned, "all administrative matters of the Antietam Battlefield Site and the Antietam National Cemetery heretofore performed at Gettysburg Site," and this was followed on December 19 by the transfer of "all records, files, reports and other related materials" from Gettysburg to Antietam.[40]

On November 19, 1937, a Civil Service position of clerk-typist was established at Antietam battlefield, but this had to be filled on a W.A.E. basis as park funds were not sufficient to fill it on the full-time basis.[41] On October 17, 1938, the clerk, Miss Ida F. Mongan, was entered on full time.[42] Miss Mongan had been a typist on the 1933-34 Historical Survey Project Team and correspondence indicates that she served as acting superintendent during the ill-health of Superintendent Beckanbaugh in 1940 as well as from 1941-42.

Another part-time member of the superintendent's staff was the ranger-historian, who was engaged for two or three months, if funds permitted, during the heavy travel season from June to September to provide information and interpretive servies for park visitors. This first ranger-historian to be employed at Antietam Battlefield was Thomas L. Loy, who had been a "historian" on the 1933 Historical

---

40. Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1936.
41. Annual report, June 30, 1936.
42. Annual report, June 30, 1939.

Survey project. He entered on duty on May 25, 1936. A ranger-historian was employed at the battlefield during the summers of 1936, 1937, 1940 and 1941. The first full-time historian, then called an "assistant historian technician," professionally trained in research methods, was Edward Steere. He served at the battlefield from September 1, 1941, to April 1, 1943. The superintendents of the battlefield and cemetery, the ranger-historian, and the park historian, or historical technician, made up the uniformed National Park Service staff from 1933 to 1942. Additional data on the ranger-historians and the park historian will be found in the sections on interpretation and research that follow.

(2) Maintenance Force. The maintenance force from 1933 to August 1939 comprised six laborers. Four of these were usually employed on the battlefield and two in the national cemetery. All were employed the greater part of the year in grass mowing, fence and road repairs, grading and repairing lawns, painting of the cast iron tablets and markers, cleaning headstones, and other maintenance work. During the winter months roads and paths were cleared of snow and indoor painting and repairs of benches and equipment was done.

In August 1939 a change was made in the labor force. Unskilled laborers were separated and Civil Service classified laborers were employed. The number of workers was reduced from six to four. The classified workers included one truck driver, two classified laborers, and one unskilled laborer. These four men did the same work as listed above.

The regular work force was sometimes increased during the growing season by hiring two or three temporary laborers for six weeks. During World War II, 1942-46, the maintenance force was reduced to two classified full-time positions and two temporary laborer positions.[43]

(3) Maintenance Equipment. The maintenance equipment of Antietam battlefield in 1935 had been inherited from the War Department and was composed of the following items:

---

[43] All data on staff drawing from annual report of the Superintendents, June 30, 1934, to June 30, 1945.

One World War I (1917) G.M.C. 1½-ton dump truck one ½-ton pick-up Ford Model A Truck with 41,772 miles, three power lawn mowers--two for the battlefield and one for the cemetery, and one horse-drawn mower.

On June 26, 1935, a new Ford V8 pick-up ½-ton truck was added to the fleet. A new Chevrolet sedan was acquired in November 1936, which was used by the superintendent to inspect the outlying areas.[44]

e. Normal Maintenance Routine, 1933-1942

(1) Lawn Area: During the spring and summer months the major portion of the labor time was expended in keeping the grass in the national cemetery, that surrounded the monuments, and grew along the roadsides and in the large plots, in perfect condition. This was accomplished by use of three power mowers, and by hand mowers and hand clippers, except the 10-acre Philadelphia Brigade Plot which was mowed by a horse-drawn mower, the horses being hired to pull the government-owned mower when mowing was necessary.

(2) Cast-Iron Historical Tablets. In 1896-97, the War Department, at a cost of about $6,400, set out 258 cast-iron tablets, each carrying an historical text relating to the Antietam Campaign of 1862. Painted in this manner in 1897, the tablets were still painted in the same colors in October 1933, when the National Park Service took over the maintenance of the tablets.[45] These cast iron tablets had survived the 46 years since 1898 almost intact, as at least 251 of them was extant in good condition in 1933.

The greatest threat to the tablets was automobiles. Three were reported as broken in motor accidents during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, and "several tablets on the field were badly broken by automobile accidents" in 1938. The Antietam battlefield staff annually painted most of these markers, using the original colors. At Harpers Ferry the five markers were removed and stored in a warehouse during the year ending June 30, 1937, when a bridge was run through their original location. During the following year, the five tablets were relocated on the land of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, with the cooperation of the railroad and the West Virginia State Road Commission.[46]

---

[44] Ibid.

[45] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part I-Letter of Coordinating Supt. McConaghie to Director, October 20, 1933 - re tablets and giving paint colors then in use.

(3) Battlefield Roads. Public Works Program Project No. FP-385--Construction of roads and paths-provided the sum of $19,800 in 1934 to resurface the 5¼ miles of battlefield avenues with a seal coat of fine grade amesite, as recommended by Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie. This work was accomplished by contract and under the direction of the Washington office.[47] Ten thousand three hundred dollars of this appropriation was expended during 1934 and $8,700 in early 1935, leaving a balance of $800 on February 15, 1935.[48]

Work by the battlefield maintenance staff, 1933 to 1942, was thus generally limited to making minor repairs to the roads, removing the grass and making repairs to the walks leading to the monuments and in front of the national cemetery. The following construction work was accomplished by the staff during this period. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, the driveway into the battlefield utility area was given a resurfacing of cold patch asphalt and stone chips. This treatment was also used on the walkway into the 9th New York plot just off the Harpers Ferry Road. A parking area was also constructed at the New York-Maryland Plot in the northern section of the field and Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported that it "adds greatly to the safety of the visitors, as it is no longer necessary to park along the sides of the state road."[49]

During the year ending June 30, 1940, under the WPA project for the national cemetery, the driveway into the utility area had the steep hill reduced about 3 feet. Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported "This necessitated making a new utility entrance to the cemetery and the closing of the old entrance. The reduction of this grade made it necessary to build walls on both sides of the roadway to retain the banks. The driveway and entrance to the national cemetery was graded and roadway laid."[50]

---

[46] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1937, and June 30, 1938. The five Harpers Ferry tablets were re-erected along the railroad embankment in the lower town of Harpers Ferry.

[47] Superintendent's annual report, June 1934 -- Appropriation made March 12, 1934.

[48] R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 631-1--Antietam Road and Trail - 4-03/5640-8 National Industrial Recovery, 1933-35, FP 386-Construction and Improvement of Roads and Paths. March 12, 1934-February 15, 1935.

[49] Superintendent's report, June 30, 1937.

f. A Flagstaff on the Battlefield

In his first inspection of October 1933 Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie remarked: "In view of that fact this is a National Military shrine it seems highly important that there should be a flag pole erected from which a flag would continually fly. It is proposed that a valuable addition to the park would be the erection of a 100 foot steel flag pole. The suggestion would be to erect this pole in the New York monument plot along the Hagerstown Road." In his letter of review, Cemetery Superintendent Nett pointed out "we have a steel pole in the cemetery 75 feet high in excellent condition and the flag is flown from it every day and can be seen from any part of the battlefield."[51]

The newly arrived Battlefield Superintendent Beckenbaugh, however, also thought there should be a flagstaff on park land. In his first annual report, June 30, 1934, he commented:

> When Philadelphia Brigade Park was taken over there was in this area a wood ship-mast style flag pole upon which a flag had formerly been flown, but the pulley at the top of pole had been broken out and the halyard was gone and the pole needed paint very badly; there being no funds available in the appropriation for the Fiscal Year, nothing has been done to remedy this situation. Many unfavorable comments are had about no flag flying on the Field.[52]

A year later, Beckenbaugh still had not been able to repaint and repair the wooden flag pole in the Philadelphia Brigade Park![53] A decision was finally reached to locate the battlefield headquarters in the old (1867) stone cemetery lodge, adjacent to the cemetery steel flagstaff, which ended the need to erect a second staff on the battlefield, and the subject disappeared from reports and correspondence.

---

[50] Superintendent's report, June 30, 1940.

[51] R.G 79, Box 2699, File 0-31-Part I, Inspection report, October 21, 1933, Nett's review, November 23, 1933.

[52] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1934.

[53] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1935.

g. Office for the Battlefield Superintendent

A more serious problem than the lack of a second flagstaff was the absence of a park office for the battlefield superintendent. Mr. Beckenbaugh explained the situation:

> Up to the present... no Field [Park] Office had ever been maintained, and none was ever provided for. Under the War Department, when the Field and Cemetery were entirely divorced, the Field Superintendent kept his records at his own home and the small office 11 ft. 4 in, by 12 ft. 4 in. in the Cemetery Superintendent's Lodge House was used as the National Cemetery Office.
>
> Then came [in early 1934] the attempt to crowd the Field Office and Cemetery Office in this small 11 ft. by 12 ft. room. P.W.A. and F.E.R.A. and their increased activities necessitated the employment of an Under-clerk Typist, and crowded that into the same room with the added necessary equipment. This makes such cramped and inadequate quarters that it is impossible to efficiently conduct the office business and it is most urgently recommended that the front room in the old stone lodge at the Cemetery entrance be reconstructed into a Field Office by cutting an outside entrance in this building into the Ladies Rest Room so they will not have to pass through the front room as at present.
>
> In the present crowded small room there is absolutely no way to seat or care for any persons who come on business or for information, and if more than a couple arrive at once some have to stand outside no matter what the weather; this does not make a good impression on the traveling public.
>
> The front room in the old Lodge is 15 ft. by 17 ft., is well lighted and would make a very desirable Field Office until such time as some regular Field Headquarters is established at this Site.

Beckenbaugh further noted that "no office furniture or equipment is supplied, except 3 filling cases and one typewriter."[54]

On December 3, 1934, however, he received "a complete equipment of office furniture from Washington,"[55] to which were added in December 1935 an 18-inch carriage Underwood Typewriter and a Remington-Rand Electric Adding Machine for accounting purposes.[56]

---

[54] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1934.

[55] Annual report, June 30, 1935.

[56] Annual report, June 30, 1936.

In his October 1933 inspection Coordinating Superintendent McCongahie had described the old cemetery lodge as

> A two bowl Comfort Station for ladies and a one bowl and wash basin for men are in one of the buildings which is heated with hot water heating system and water for the toilets is furnished from a well pumped by electricity. This building is in good condition but the exterior woodwork is painted a combination yellow and green which is considered inappropriate. When painting is again done, a color scheme more in keeping with the purpose of the reservation will be furnished.[57]

In his report entitled "Repairs Required at Antietam National Cemetery and Estimated Cost," dated March 1934, cemetery superintendent Nett wrote in regard to the old lodge:

> The Comfort Station at the entrance of the cemetery needs new Stairway in the Tower, New Floors throughout entire building, New Window Frames throughout the old ones are all dry rotted. Walls all need replastering, roof needs repairing as it is leaking in places. The estimated cost of all this work including labor and material $5,000.[58]

Superintendent Beckenbaugh relocated the battlefield office from the cemetery office to the front room of the old cemetery lodge in July 1934, thereby gaining elbow room for both custodians. In the spring of 1935 the Public Works Administration provided $8,500 in Federal Project No. 605, for "Building Alteration & Repairs" to the old lodge for use as the battlefield office and comfort station.

Bids were advertised, opened and the contract for the improvements was awarded to J. B. Ferguson on October 7, 1935 for $7,100.[59] Construction began on October 28, but owing to the severe winter weather, was not finished and turned over to the government until March 5, 1936. The contract was extended due to the weather and also change orders that increased the amount of work to be done. The contractors received $7,400 for their work.[60]

---

[57] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31-Part I, Report of October 20, 1933.

[58] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31-Part I.

[59] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31-National Cemetery, Deputy Chief Engineer Oliver G. Taylor to J. B. Ferguson & Co., October 5 and October 7, 1935. Also copy of contract, October 7, 1935, with Ferguson & Co. to remodel Lodge. Public Works Administration Federal Project No. 05-Contract No. 1-1, p. 3950, 7 pp. Plus Specifications for Altering Lodge," August 21, 1935, 82 pp.

During the remodeling, Superintendent Beckenbaugh removed his office to the battlefield warehouse "until the very severe weather made it necessary to move to the residence of the Superintendent, owing to the inability to properly heat the warehouse."[61]

The extensive improvements included: all new copper spouting, gutters, and flashing; slate roof repaired; a new chimney from the cellar up; 80 percent new plaster on interior walls; reinforced floors; terrazzo finish in hall and rest rooms; inlaid linoleum in office; new hardware; insect screens; weather stripping; interior and exterior painting; new electric wiring; new heating equipment except the boiler; 90 percent new plumbing; and removal of old low porch and reinforced concrete landings in tower. Beckenbaugh reported: "The building is now practically fire proof, two rooms were finished on the second floor to house the new museum and one small room as a stock room for stationery and supplies."[62]

A sum of $1,000 was left in the Project 605 account and in the report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, Beckenbaugh noted:

> we have made some further improvements with same consisting of: ventilator in office building, replacement of wooden covers over cellar window well holes with metal covers and wire glass. This makes the cellar sufficiently light that electricity does not have to be used in the day time. Outside cellar door of steel and reinforced concrete steps were placed at the cellar entrance. With the small amount of funds yet on hand we are waterproofing two large cisterns for fire protection purposes.[63]

The reader will note that following the usual practices of the day, the National Park Service displayed no interest or concern in preserving the historic exterior appearance of the 1867 cemetery lodge. This concept had not yet been adopted.

---

[60] R.G. 79, Box 2699-File 0-31-Part II, C.D. Mcintieth, Acting Deputy Chief Engineer, to Chief Construction Section, NPS, March 11, 1936. Final Construction Report for FP 605, March 23, 1938 from Acting Chief Engineer.

[61] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1936.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Annual Report, June 30, 1937. R.G. 79, Box 2605. File 618-Public Work Administration account sheet, December 24, 1936-FPN Project No. 605-Repairs and Alterations to Buildings--Antietam--Allotted $8,955--Obligated: $8,631.11; Balance = $323.89. The original allotment of $8,500 had been increased by $455.

h. The Stone Observation Tower Problem, 1933-1935

In his first annual report, Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported:

> There is no Field Comfort Station except the one located at the National Cemetery. In this one the only lavatory is located in the Ladies Room and no provisions are made for any gentlemen who may desire to wash his [sic] hands.... The erection of some Comfort Station out of the Field is a most pressing necessity, this should be done at once if only of a temporary character could be put up for the remainder of this tourist season.
>
> Traffic here is increasing and with it our needs for toilet facilities, lack of same is causing a condition of affairs that is intolerable....
>
> The interior of the [Observation] Tower and the rear of the Tower are almost daily left in a disgusting condition and we have no means of correcting the difficulty. We placed a sign several months ago at the Tower worded "Public Comfort Station 9/10 of a mile at National Cemetery" but it is not helped to any great extent to relieve our problem. The Comfort Station at National Cemetery is in need of considerable repairs which have been submitted in detail heretofore...[64]

This complaint was repeated in the annual report for the year ending June 30, 1935, but ceased in 1936 when the comfort station in the old cemetery lodge was remodeled, thus suggesting that this problem had been successfully solved.

i. Law Enforcement Problems, 1933-1942

There were no rangers stationed at Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery from 1933 to 1942. Judging from the superintendents' annual and monthly reports, there were no serious law enforcement problems at the battlefield during these years.

In light of modern developments, it is interesting to note that

---

[64] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1934. The battlefield asked for $5,000 to repair the old cemetery lodge in the spring of 1934.

Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported that on May 19, 1939, two officers of the Narcotic Division, Treasury Department

> were here in reference to the "Marijuana" infestation. With the Superintendent they thoroughly covered the infested area and left it in the hands of the Superintendent to destroy and hold in check with his Field Force. All the infestation is on or near Government property in the Burnside Bridge Section. We keep in close touch with the situation and cut out all plants as seen.[65]

Officials visited again on May 11, 1940, and Beckenbaugh reported that a number of marijuana plants 2 to 5 inches high were found "but so far the quantity is much smaller than the last two years ..... At present heaviest infestation seems to be along the O.W. Burton and J. W. Dorsey fence rows .... We will do everything possible to clear out the early growth..."[66]

j. Land Acquisition Program, 1933-1942

John C. O'Connell, Jr., and J. Carlton Godlove, historians of the C.W.A. Historical Project, made a study of historical properties on the battlefield and on January 17 and 18, 1934, presented their findings and recommendations in a report entitled "Land We Should Take Over."[67] Superintendent Beckenbaugh at once accepted these suggestions and included them as a part of his first annual report, filed on June 30, 1934:

> LAND PURCHASES AND IMPROVEMENTS
>
> It seems the greatest drawback to any accomplishments at this Site is the lack of proper land areas being owned by the Government and it is most earnestly recommended that some action to acquire certain lands here be taken as soon as funds can be made available. Small areas can be purchased at the road intersections for widening the approaches and at various sharp and dangerous turns on the avenues to remove these traffic hazards for a very small amount of money.
>
> The 8 dangerous curves could be eliminated by land purchase of approximately $400 and the several avenue entrances at Hagerstown Road and Boonsboro Road widened for approximately $600 more, this seems to be a very small outlay

---

[65] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1939.

[66] R.G. 79, Box 2601, Beckenbaugh to B.M. Martin, District Supervisor, Treasury Department, Bureau of Narcotics, May 11, 1940.

[67] Copies of two reports, dated January 17 and 18, 1934, in park historical files.

> for the very vast improvement it would make in both the looks and safety of the Field.

These acquisitions would, of course, help transform the War Department roads that had been built in 1894-95 for the use of horse-drawn carriages, to travel by speedy automobiles of the 1930s.

Beckenbaugh had a second suggestion:

> Seventy-five percent of the visitors to the Field ask where is the Dunkard Church? Why is it not rebuilt? When this old landmark was destroyed by a storm in 1924 [1921], the Site was sold for $300 and most of the old material was available for reconstruction, later the Site was re-sold for $400, it is now held at $1,700 and almost all the old material has disappeared. The purchase and reconstruction of this historic building and the use in same of what original material is still available, is most urgently recommended.

His third suggestion was:

> The purchase of the Colonial brick residence in the Public Square in Sharpsburg, used by Gen. Lee on the night of September 17, 1862, for a Council of War with his Officers... This house at present bears a "For Sale" sign and when it passes into other hands...it may be so changed as not to again be of historical interest or to be advanced in price as to make purchase prohibitive. If impossible to buy but possible to rent it is recommended that this house be now rented for Field Headquarters, Museum and Superintendent's Lodge and the Field Flag be flown here instead of at Philadelphia Brigade. The house is large enough for all the purposes mentioned.

His fourth and final recommendation was:

> to stress the purchase, if same can in any way be accomplished, of the West Woods, the only fine piece of old timber left on the Field, also the East and North Woods area and the other lands as set forth in our six year plan.[68]

The Six-Year Land Program for Antietam National Battlefield Site, dated May 27, 1935, estimated that $83,100 would be required to purchase land as follows:

1938 fiscal year	$18,800
1939 fiscal year	17,300
1940 fiscal year	18,000
1941 fiscal year	29,000[69]
Total:	$83,100

---

[68] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1934.

[69] R.G. 79, Box 2604, File 600.02--Prepared by Oliver G. Taylor and dated May 27, 1935.

By June 30, 1935, the National Park Service had discovered that the secretary of the interior lacked authority to accept even gifts of land at the Antietam battlefield. Superintendent Beckenbaugh explained the situation on June 30, 1935:

> Another need here is the ability to accept land by donation or purchase. Little or no improvements can be made at Antietam except through land acquisition. The Burnside Bridge and a section of the Smoketown Road have both been offered by the County and the land owners, but no authority to accept same is yet to be had. We feel that it would be a great loss to let the Burnside Bridge disappear as did the famous old Dunkard Church; also there is a beautiful section of the famous old West Woods yet standing and a picturesque old log farm house, fast going to ruin, which quartered many of the Confederate officers the night before the battle. These will all gradually follow the fate of the Dunkard Church unless soon Government owned. There is also need for a relocation of many of the cast iron descriptive tablets from their present sites on the tops of hills and at dangerous curves to some location with parking spaces where visitors may stop and read them in safety.[70]

Using data provided by the C.W.A. Historical Survey "Brain Trust," Superintendent Beckenbaugh suggested in 1934 an improvement program for the battlefield which had an estimated price tag of $90,000. He recommended:

1. "The taking over by the Federal Government and reconstruction of Smoketown Road, now a county dirt road.... Approximate cost $20,000."

2. "Acquisition of the site of the Dunkard Church and restoration of the Church. Approximate cost $15,000."

3. "Adequate Headquarters and Office Building. Approximate Cost $35,000..." to "be located as near as reasonably possible to the Dunkard Church."

4. "Construction of Automobile Road from Burnside Bridge over to McKinley monument, then to 9th N.Y. Zouaves half acre,... thence to Rodman Avenue, approximately three quarters of a mile. Approximate Cost: $20,000."[71]

---

[70] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1935.

[71] "Program of Desired Improvements at Antietam Battlefield," 1934. Other items without estimated costs, included 5. Repair of abandoned lodge in cemetery and conversion into a museum. 6. Acquisition of bits of land to make the avenues safer. 7. Erecting of comfort station and parking space on Philadelphia Brigade Lot. 8. Increasing the number of cannon for the field. Copy in historical park files.

On February 25 and 26, 1937, a special team from the Washington Office, composed of Tell W. Nicolet, resident landscape architect, Branch of Plans and Design; Harper L. Garrett, assistant historian, Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings; and Alfred D. Curradi, assistant engineer, Branch of Engineering, met with Superintendent Beckenbaugh "to undertake a survey of the field and to make recommendations concerning the acquisition of land deemed essential to the proper development and interpretation of the site."[72]

This team of professionals recommended that these 15 tracts or sites be acquired:

A. Land Now Available Without Expense to the Government: 12.927 acres.

1. Philadelphia Brigade Park, 10.0 acres. City of Philadelphia.

2. The 59th New York Monument, 0.27 acres. Owner, desires to transfer monument to Government. Smoketown and Hagerstown Roads intersection.

3. The Lee Memorial Plot. Slightly more than one acre. Owned by the West Virginia Division of the United Daughters of Confederacy, who wish to give site to U.S. Sharpsburg-Sheperdstown Road.

4. Maryland State Plot, one acre at intersection of the Smoketown Road and Hagerstown Pike. Owned by Maryland, but believe steps should be taken to transfer title to U.S.

B. Land to be Acquired by Purchase or Donation: About 66 acres.

1. Burnside Bridge and Adjacent Lands. The County Commissioners of Washington County, Md. willing to deed bridge to U.S. Sufficient land should be acquired on both sides of Antietam Creek, both above and below bridge, to protect abutments of bridge.

---

[72] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207. Memorandum by the team to Spalding, Taylor and Vint, February 27, 1937, together with "Special Report--Antietam National Battlefield, February 27, 1937," 9 pp., including one map, also 11 photos. Also blueprint--Antietam National Battlefield Site. February 1937--Showing land now owned by gift, 11 tracts of land to be acquired by purchase."

2. Bloody Lane Section. 16 acres, including the Lowman Farm, extending from Roulette Lane southeast to a point beyond the observation tower, thence southwest along Richardson Avenue.

3. West Woods, about 25 acres.

4. East Woods, about 4 acres.

5. Smoketown Road, from its junction with the Hagerstown Pike to its intersection with Mansfield Avenue. This road is a part of the tour and at the present time is in a deplorable condition.

6. North Woods, about 1 acre at the junction of Confederate Avenue and Hagerstown Pike.

7. 9th New York and 8th Connecticut Monuments. Land to provide for a roadway and a turn-around at the monuments. These are located about 1,500 feet from the Harpers Ferry Road and are only accessible by a walkway.

8. Vermont Monument, on plot 20' by 20', 572 feet north of Bloody Lane. Recommended that a plot of equal size be acquired adjacent to Bloody Lane, monument be relocated, and original site deeded to owner in exchange for new plot.

9. Site of Sedgwick's Defeat. About 20 acres on the Koogle Farm between the Philadelphia Brigade Park and Confederate Avenue.

10. Dunkard Church, about one-half acre, including foundations of historic landmark. "Negotiations are now underway between the Washington County Historical Society and the owner for the purchase of the immediate site."

11. 16th Connecticut plot. A narrow right-of-way from Branch Avenue to the site. "Present access is a right-of-way over a long farm lane that is almost impassible."

Under "C. General Recommendations," the team suggested:

1. All rights-of-way of present Government avenues should be widened to a minimum of 50 feet.

2. The intersection of Richardson Avenue with the Boonsboro Road should be changed to a point opposite Rodman Avenue to eliminate the present steep grade.

3. The intersection of all park avenues with state and county roads should be widened and all obstructions to a clear vision removed.

4. Eliminate the War Department's system of concrete post and wire mesh fence and substitute fences of the type that existed at the time of the battle! (Some 13 miles of fencing would be changed!)

5. It is believed that certain cast iron tablets and granite markers located along state and county roads and erected by the War Department should be eliminated. Others, the text of which are general in nature, should be grouped where possible, and a turn-out provided to eliminate traffic hazard. However, a more detailed study should be made of this problem.

6. It is recommended that consideration be given to the acquisition of the Jacob H. Grove House in Sharpsburg for the park headquarters, museum, and superintendent's quarters.

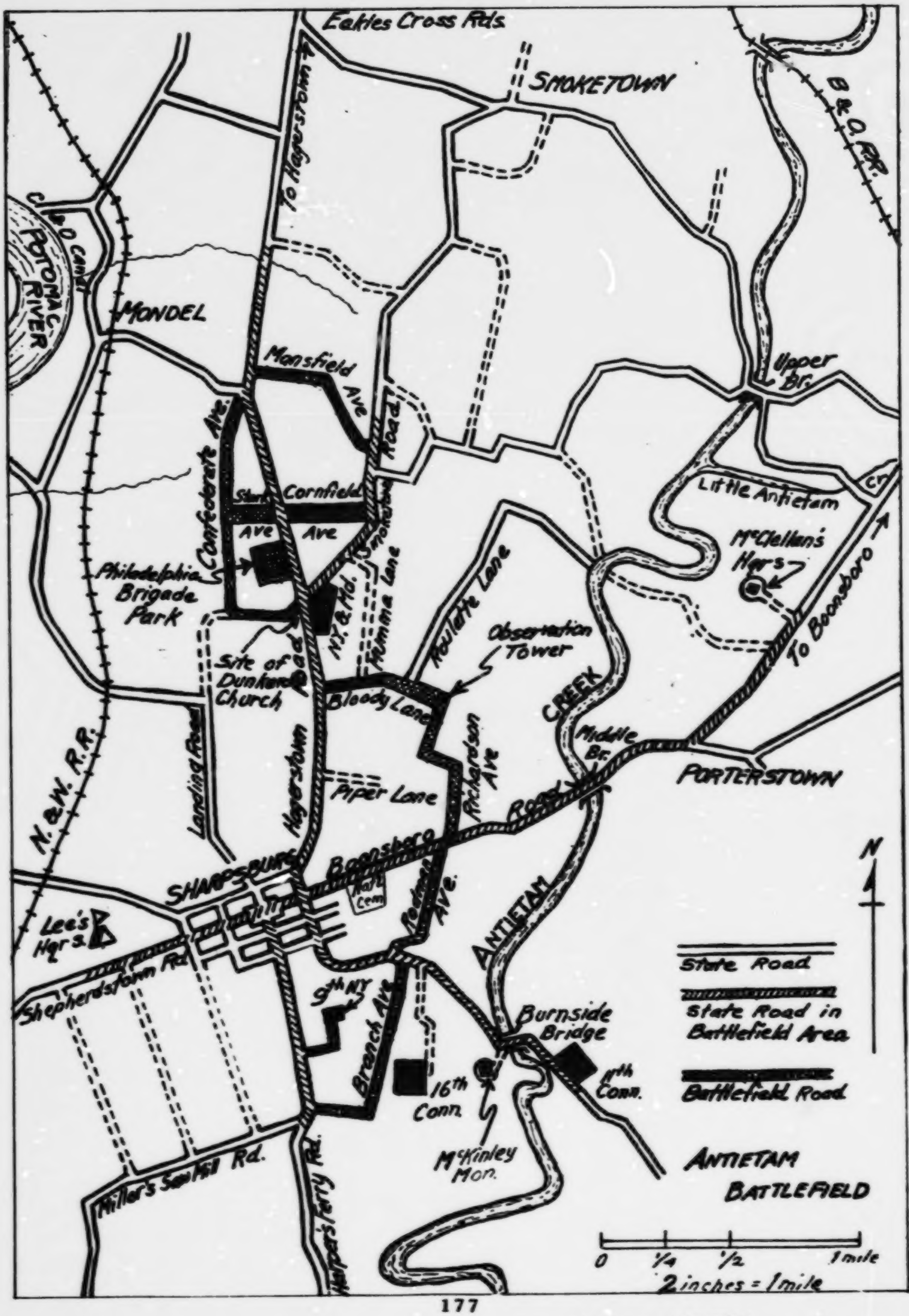
7. The present utility area and buildings appear to be suitably located and adequate for all future park needs. It is recommended, however, that provision be made for widening the entrance to the area.

8. The acquisition of General McClellan's headquarters is not recommended under existing conditions. The building is 2 miles east of present park headquarters and off the park tour. Furthermore, the house is situated near the center of the large and highly cultivated farm and in all probability could not be acquired except through the purchase of the entire tract.[73]

It is apparent that the basic ideas proposed by Superintendent Beckenbaugh in 1934 were included in the 1937 report. On March 6, 1937, a Roads and Trails Program for fiscal years 1938 to 1943 in the amount of $57,700 was submitted to the director. This included $10,000 for rebuilding one-half mile of the Smoketown Road, $15,000 for repairing Burnside Bridge, $10,000 for rebuilding headwalls, $2,500 for a road to Philadelphia Brigade Park and New York State Plot, $5,000 for improving entrances, and $15,000 for resurfacing park

---

[73] Special Report, February 27, 1937, 9 pp.


Eakles Cross Rds.
SMOKETOWN
B & O. R.R.
To Hagerstown
C & O. Canal
POTOMAC RIVER
MONDEL
Mansfield Ave
Road
Confederate Ave.
Stark Ave
Cornfield Ave
Smoketown
Philadelphia Brigade Park
N.Y. & Md.
Mumma Lane
Roulette Lane
Upper Br.
Little Antietam
Cr.
McClellan's Hqrs.
To Boonsboro
Observation Tower
Site of Dunkard Church
Road
Bloody Lane
Richardson Ave
CREEK
Middle Br.
PORTERSTOWN
N. & W. R.R.
Landing Road
Hagerstown
Piper Lane
Road
Boonsboro
SHARPSBURG
Nat'l Cem
Rodman Ave.
ANTIETAM
N
Lee's Hqrs.
Shepherdstown Rd.
9th NY
Branch Ave.
Burnside Bridge
11th Conn.
16th Conn.
McKinley Mon.
State Road
State Road in Battlefield Area
Battlefield Road
Miller's Saw Mill Rd.
Harpers Ferry Rd.
ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD
0
1/4
1/2
1 mile
2 inches = 1 mile

roads.[74] Before much of this work could be done, however, the United States had to acquire title to this property.

Years had passed and the secretary of the interior still had not obtained from Congress the authority to either purchase land or accept donations of land at Antietam National Battlefield Site.

Superintendent Beckenbaugh, however, worked to obtain key historical lands by donation. In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, he was able to report:

> The Superintendent had a number of meetings with members of the Washington County Historical Society and with their more influential directors and attended several of their meetings and urged that they expend some of their funds from the National Antietam Commemoration of 1937, for the benefit of the Battlefield. The outcome was their purchase at public sale of the Burnside Bridge [or Spong] Farm of 125 acres for $2,350.00, and their option on a strip of land on the opposite side of the Antietam Creek, containing 3½ acres. This gave them control of all the approach land to the Burnside Bridge, the land on which the bridge is erected, a long stretch of old stone walls which were used as Union breastworks in the attack on the bridge and a lovely area on both banks of the Creek.[75]

The Washington County Historical Society hoped to donate this property to the battlefield.[76]

In September 1939, the historical society closed its option on the 3.5060-acre J. Wesley Dorsey Farm and acquired title to that property which was at the Burnside Bridge on the opposite side of the creek to the Spong Farm.[77]

On January 19, 1940, Superintendent Beckenbaugh sadly informed the director of changes in the historical scene that were then occurring, writing: "Nine enormous oak trees in West Woods cut and hauled away for lumber....The largest of these near 66 inches in diameter and rings indicate it about 300 years old."[78]

---

[74] R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 630. March 6, 1937.

[75] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1939. Also--R.G. 79, Box 2601, Memo to Dr. Francis S. Ronalds, Chief, Historic Sites Division, Branch of History, March 13, 1939, remeeting with Washington County Historical Society set by Beckenbaugh and attended by Ronalds, Harry Thompson and Historian Maj. Joseph Hanson.

[76] Ibid., Memo of Director Arno B. Cammerer to Edward M. Tenny, President of Washington County Historical Society, March 16, 1939, thanking the Society for the offer.

[77] Superintendent's annual report, June 30, 1940.

[78] R.G. 79, Box 2605. File 660-0.4.1.

Finally, in an act approved May 14, 1940, Congress enacted a law directing:

> That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to acquire in behalf of the United States, through donations or by purchase at prices deemed by him reasonable or by condemnation in accordance with the Act of August 1, 1888 (25 Stat. 357), lands, buildings, structures, and other property, or interest therein, which he may determine to be of historical interest in connection with the Antietam Battlefield site, the title to such property or interests to be satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior. Provided that payment for such property and interests shall be a part of the Antietam Battlefield Site and shall be subject to all laws and regulations applicable thereto.[79]

The way was now clear to add gifts of land to the Antietam battlefield. On July 6, 1940, the West Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy presented the deed to the one-acre Robert E. Lee Memorial plot to Superintendent Beckenbaugh in a ceremony held at the battlefield.[80]

On September 2, 1940, the 10.9-acre Philadelphia Brigade Park was donated to the park in a similar ceremony.[81]

On October 22, 1940, 17 days after the death of Superintendent Beckenbaugh, the Washington County Historical Society presented the National Park Service with the deeds for the Spong and Dorsey Farms at the Burnside Bridge, totaling 128.588 acres.[82]

As of September 3, 1943, Antietam National Battlefield Site measured 193.4 acres of government owned land.

It will be noted that during the period 1933 to 1942, Congress refused to grant the secretary of the interior the authority to purchase land for Antietam Battlefield with federal funds. Accordingly, Congress voted no funds for the acquisition of lands.

---

79. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 54, p. 212.
80. R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 601. Also Superintendent's Monthly Report for July 1940.
81. Superintendent's monthly report for September 1940.
82. Superintendent's monthly report for October 1940-prepared by Ida F. Mongan, Acting Supt. The Spong Farm contained 125.082 acres and the Dorsey Farm, 3.5060 acres.

.. National Park Service Expenditures

From August 10, 1933, to June 30, 1938, the National Park Service expended $31,360.62 from regular park appropriations for the administration, maintenance, repair, and operation of Antietam National Battlefield Site (see chart on following page for annual outlay). In addition, during the same period, the National Park Service also spent approximately $42,076.32 from Federal Civil Relief Funds on the following nine projects:

Civil Works Administration Historical Survey	$3,046.88
Civil Works Administration Labor Project--Philadelphia Brigade	2,427.19
Total 1933-34 C.W.A. Funds:	$5,474.07
1934 F.E.R.A. Project 22-B19-37-Building Fences	120.00
1934 F.E.R.A. Project 22-B19-35-Clearing East and West Woods	728.00
1934 F.E.R.A. Project 22-B19-62-Removal of Dead Trees	85.00
1934 F.E.R.A. Project 22-B19-Removal of weeds and vines	2,414.25
Total 1934 F.E.R.A. Funds	3,347.25
1934-35 Public Works Project 385-Administration-Resurfacing Roads	19,800.00
1934-36 P.W. Administration Project 420-Repairs to Monuments	4,500.00
1935-36 P.W. Project No. 605-Repairs and Alterations to Old Cemetery Lodge	8,955.00
Total 1934-1936 Public Works Administration funds expended	$33,255.00
Total of Relief Funds	$42,076.32
Total of Regular Park Expenditures	31,360.62
Total of Expenditures, 1933-June 30, 1938:	$73,436.94

This total does not include any of the monies that were spent on Antietam National Cemetery during the same period, 1933-1938.

I. Interpretive Services, 1933-1942

In his statement to Congress in January 1929, Director Albright informed the Committee on Military Affairs that the National Park Service, if given charge of the National Military Parks, would improve operations at those historic sites by introducing "educational" (now

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FROM REGULAR PARK APPROPRIATIONS, AUGUST 10, 1933 - JUNE 30, 1938, AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE, MARYLAND

Fiscal Year June 30	Allotment	Administration	Maintenance, Operations	Equipment	Museum and Education	Miscellaneous	Total from Annual Reports	Later Report Total
1934	$5,000.00	$1,287.00	$2,720.00	0	0	$956.71	$4,973.71	$4,973.71
1935	5,290.00	1,968.36	2,522.83	784.84	0	0	$5,276.03	5,282.11
1936	7,130.00	2,894.96	3,061.89	619.16	197.16	0	6,771.17	6,823.08
1937	8,130.00	3,110.38	3,058.66	918.55	400.59	0	7,488.18	7,537.31
1938	7,100.00	0	0	0	0	0	6,744.11	6,744.41
TOTAL	$32,650.00	$9,260.70	$11,363.38	$2,320.55	$597.75	$956.71	$31,253.20	$31,360.62

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, AUGUST 10, 1933-JUNE 30, 1938

Fiscal Year June 30	Allotment	Administration	Maintenance, Repair	Equipment	Annual Report Total	Later Report Total
1934	$1,500.00	$ 1,149.50	$310.17	$35.00	$1,494.67	$1,494.67
1935	2,470.00	1,277.40	1,056.38	91.03	2,424.81	2,431.41
1936	2,530.00	1,614.74	861.58	5.90	2,482.22	2,505.88
1937	2,900.00	1,714.16	725.25	244.55	2,683.86	2,697.88
1938	2,360.00				2,335.92	2,335.92
TOTAL	11,760.00	5,755.70	2,953.38	366.48	11,421.48	11,465.74

Total Allotment for both areas: $44,410.00; Total Expenditures - both areas: $42,826.36

called interpretive) activities and facilities that would include guided tours, lectures, leaflets, booklets, and museums, to "interpret the parks and explain the history of them" to park visitors. We shall see how the National Park Service carried out this promise during the period 1933 to 1942.

(1) Guided Tours. On his first inspection of Antietam Battlefield Site, October 10, 1933, Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie reported:

> It has been learned that two persons living in the town of Sharpsburg conduct visitors over the Battlefield Site and explain the movements of troops during the battle. They have not been required to pass an examination to determine their fitness nor have they been licensed by the Government [as was the practice at Gettysburg]. It is understood that they do not as a general rule solicit on the highways but conduct visitors who request them to do so. A further study of this phase of the situation will be made and reported on at a later date.[83]

In his first annual report for the battlefield, dated June 30, 1934, Superintendent Beckenbaugh wrote:

> A supervised guide service seems to be needed here, as at present any person so desiring can set themselves up as guides with no supervision over the historical correctness of their stories. Tourists know this area is under the National Park Service and they naturally think there is some supervision over guides and they employ them in good faith, taking for granted that their version of the battle is the correct one in every detail. It is recommended that the Historical Division set a guide's examination here and only such as pass same be allowed to act as guides.[84]

In his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, Beckenbaugh wrote: "Every effort has been made to discourage the use of the self-appointed guides at this site," and a mimeographed self-guiding pamphlet was handed out to visitors as a substitute for both the self-appointed guides and the missing National Park Service guides or ranger historians.[85] The self-appointed guide system at Antietam, never a large-scale and serious problem as at Gettysburg, was apparently resolved and the system ended in 1935, as there is no further mention of the subject.

---

[83] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 013 - Part I, to Director, October 20, 1933.

[84] Annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.

[85] Annual report, June 30, 1936.

Of the nine summer travel seasons between 1933 and 1942 when the National Park Service could have provided a guide because of the funding situations, a ranger-historian was employed during only four of those seasons, from two to three months each year. There were no guides during the summers of 1933, 1934, and 1935.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported "In our regular appropriation for 1936, we were given a small amount for a Ranger-Historian for the months of the heaviest tourist travel, and Mr. Thomas L. Loy who had been a Ranger-Historian at Fort Necessity and Fort McHenry during the summer of 1935, was appointed to duty here and entered on same May 25 [1936]."[86] Loy had also served as second in command on the C.W.A. Historical Survey Project at Antietam in 1933-34. The secretary of the interior appointed Loy on May 19 to the position of ranger-historian, Grade 8 at a salary of $1,800 per annum.[87] There was no ranger-historian employed at Antietam during the summers of 1937, 1938, and 1939.[88]

George K. Gelbau entered on duty on July 1, 1940, and served as ranger-historian for two months in 1940.[89] Harry Russ Sheely served as ranger-historian from June 8 to September 12, 1941.[90] From September 1, 1941, to January 15, 1943, Edward Steere, assistant historical technician, served as the first full-time professionally trained historian at Antietam National Battlefield Site.[91]

The men employed as ranger-historians at Antietam were usually young college men who did the best they could. They were not trained historians and the National Park Service did not provide training or even models of what they considered to be adequate orientation talks, or guided tours. There was also no professional

---

[86] Annual Report, June 30, 1936.

[87] R.G. 79, Box 2606--File 833.05--Museums.

[88] There is no mention of their employment in the annual reports for those years.

[89] Annual Report for Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1940.

[90] Monthly Reports of Superintendent, June and September 1941.

[91] Monthly Reports of Superintendent and also of Mr. Steere, 1941-43.

1940 Month	Conducted Auto Caravans	Lectures on Field	Visitors to Battlefield Office	No. Actually Visiting Museum	Total of Contacted Visitors	Total of Visitors of Battlefield
April	1 - 32	1 - 32	137		137	838
May	2 - 47	3 - 65	149		149	4,689
June	1 - 144	2 - 165	1,170		1,170	2,156
July			1,369		1,369	4,107
August			1,223		1,101	3,057
September	1 - 45	1 - 50	2,220		2,220	6,660
October			545		545	1,635
November			248		248	734
December			82		82	246
1941						
January			33		33	99
February			45		45	135
March			158		158	474
April	1 - 22		571		571	2,225
May	3 - 67	3 - 67	760		760	5,834
June	3 - 383	355	761		761	3,147
July		549	1,098		1,098	3,348
August		766	1,532		1,532	7,255
September	1 - 40	579	1,158	508	1,158	3,306
October			475	351	475	1,966
November			344	274	344	1,637
December			136	76	136	564

1940 Month	Conducted Auto Caravans	Lectures on Field	Visitors to Battlefield Office	No. Actually Visiting Museum	Total of Contacted Visitors	Total of Visitors of Battlefield
January			157	34	157	313
February			48	42	48	236
March			128	74	128	307
April	1 - 22		571		571	2,225
TOTAL	14-802	2,628	14,995	1,359	19,995	57,163

Method of counting visitors for interpretive purposes, 1940-42:

(1) Actual Number of visitors counted at the Battlefield Office. 1st Floor, Old Lodge.

(2) Number of persons who actually visited the Museum. 2nd Floor, Old Lodge, Cemetery.

(3) Weekday total arrived at by multiplying 3 times the actual contacts at Office. On Sunday multiply 5 times the actual contacts at the Office to get the approximate number of visitors over the entire battlefield.

supervision, other than that of the superintendent, to ensure that the ranger-historian fully understood the story of the battle of the Antietam.[92]

With the battlefield open from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, seven days a week, and only two uniformed men on duty--the battlefield superintendent and the ranger-historian available to contact visitors--it was not possible to give conducted or guided tours during the heavy travel season, except in the cases of organized groups that had made special arrangements in advance. Thus detailed figures for a 24-month period, April 1940 to March 1942, for which data are available, indicate that out of the estimated 54,938 persons to visit the battlefield, only 13 conducted auto or bus tours with 780 people were made and only 2,628 visitors were contacted by lectures given on the battlefield. (See chart on preceding pages.) The greatest number, 14,424, were contacted when they visited the park administrative office, located on the first floor of the old (1867) cemetery lodge adjacent to the public comfort station, and the park museum, situated in two rooms on the second floor of the old lodge.[93]

Regardless of the presumed merits of guided tours and lectures, it is clear that with the Antietam small interpretive staff, these were not effective ways to reach the largest possible number of interested visitors. For this a self-guiding leaflet had to be developed.

(2) Educational or Interpretive Literature, 1933-1942. Three members of the C.W.A. Historical Survey Team of 1933-34--namely J. Carlton

---

92. This situation prevailed at all parks with small staffs that lacked professional trained historians during the 1930s and 1940s. Full-time park historians were also given no training in interpretation and museum care. It was a case of sink or swim. Remarks based on the experience of the author as park historian at Saratoga National Historical Park, 1948-51.

93. "Inspection of Interpretation Program, Antietam National Battlefield Site," April 11, 1941, by associate historical technician Ralston B. Lattimore: "Guide Service." There is no regular guide service at Antietam. Special parties or school groups, by making arrangements in advance, are conducted over the area by the custodian. Orientation: Antietam has neither the personnel nor the facilities for properly orienting visitors. The small staff, to the best of its ability and in most courteous manner provides visitors with directions for touring the parks, but no attempt is made to give an introductory interpretive lecture or a general narrative. R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 840.

Godlove, Thomas L. Loy, and John O'Connell, Jr.--worked up a self-guiding plan and map for the use of visitors that also included a 1,000 word account of the battle.[94] Employing these data, Superintendent Beckenbaugh prepared the text and cemetery superintendent Taute drafted two maps for a self-guiding leaflet of seven pages that was issued to interested visitors in 1935.[95]

Superintendent Beckenbaugh described this publication:

> a mimeographed pamphlet containing a map of the field, a list of important happenings along the various roads and avenues and a short story on the battle, is available to all visitors as a self-guiding system and has worked very satisfactorily. Eight signs have been placed along the road directing the visitors to the Park Office [in the Cemetery 1867 Lodge] where these pamphlets and information may be obtained.[96]

Several thousand were distributed in 1936.

This seven-page booklet continued to be issued to visitors during the 1930s and was still in use as late as 1945.[97]

A three-page version of the mimeographed self-guiding leaflet was also issued ca. 1940 as a supplement to the informational folder.

---

[94] Reports in Antietam Park Files for C.W.A. Projects.

[95] R.G. 79, Box 2602. File 207. Memorandum to Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP, from assistant historical technician Edward Steere, October 2, 1941, summarizing historical work done at Antietam, 1933-1941. "Item B-1 ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD SITE MAP & DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. Text by the Late Supt. Jno. Kyd Beckenbaough. Maps and design by National Cemetery Superintendent Carl M. Taute, Mimeographed, 7 pp." Leaflet issued in July 1935, see Monthly Report of Supt., Antietam, for July 1935.

[96] Annual Report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and June 30, 1936.

[97] 1945 edition found in R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 632. However in "Inspection of Interpretive Program, Antietam National Battlefield Site, April 11, 1941," by associate historical technician Ralston B. Lattimore: "An effective sketch map, attached to several mimeographed sheets containing pertinent information and directions for touring the battlefield, was formerly distributed at Antietam, and, inasmuch as no regular guide service is offered at the park, I suggest that the old (1935) map be revised and multilithed for distribution with the (new 1940 2-fold) leaflet. The multilithing can be done in the Richmond Office, if the park will defray the costs of materials and labor." R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 840.

In 1940 the National Park Service issued a printed six-page informational folder entitled Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Maryland, for visitor use. Six by eight inches in size, the leaflet featured a brief historical and descriptive statement on the site and national cemetery; a brief narrative of the 1862 Antietam campaign and significance of the battle; statements concerning accessibility of site, acreage, and interpretive services offered; and a map indicating park roads, principal historic points, and five photo reproductions. Data for this free folder were apparently supplied by assistant historical technician Frederick Tilberg of Gettysburg National Military Park.[98]

The first version lacked self-guiding features, which resulted in the continued use at the park of the seven-page mimeographed pamphlet. Revised editions of the free six-page printed folder were still in use in the 1960s. About 25,000 copies of the 1940 edition were received at the park on November 12, 1940, and a second shipment of 25,000 copies of the six-page folder was delivered on May 1, 1942.[99]

Perhaps spurred by Director Albright's remarks about booklets prepared and sold about National Park Service areas in January 1929, the office of the quartermaster general had completed a draft (74 typed pages) for a pamphlet on "Antietam Battlefield" by September 25, 1930, which it proposed to publish and make available for distribution to the general public through the superintendent of documents. This text included the final (March 18, 1898) Report of the War Department's Antietam Board, a 13-page single-spaced detailed account of the battle, and a 56-page list describing and giving the location and history of some 91 monuments on the battlefield. The booklet was never published and the document, which might have proved useful to the National Park Service during the 1930s, remained unknown and forgotten in the War Department files.[100]

---

[98] Description of Assistant Historical Technician Edward Steere' memo of October 2, 1941 to Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP, Item B-5.

[99] Monthly reports of the Supt., November 1940 and May 1942. R.G. 79, Box 2606--File 840--"Inspection of Interpretive Program, Antietam..., April 11, 1941," by Ralston B. Lattimore: Map of the Park. There is a very good map of Antietam National Battlefield Site on the back of the [new 1940] 2-fold leaflet which is distributed free at headquarters. This map, however, does not suggest a route to follow on a tour of the battlefield.

In 1939 or early 1940 assistant historical technician Tilberg of Gettysburg NMP was assigned the task of writing the draft of a 16-page booklet on Antietam battlefield that was to be printed and sold by the Superintendent of Documents. Dr. Tilberg submitted his manuscript to the regional director, Region One, Richmond, Virginia, on November 4, 1940. This consisted of a four-thousand word narrative of the campaign, battle, and estimate of the historical significance of the battle; a bibliographical statement; a list of 16 photographs with their captions, a description of the Michler Map of the battlefield, drawn in 1867, and showing war-time culture, with trace of original Confederate defensive line; description of map in process of preparation by associate landscape architect Walter H. Sheffield, and a dummy and suggested cover for the booklet. The 16-page booklet, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, was published by the superintendent of documents in 1941 and was sold by his office and also at the battlefield for 10 cents a copy. The booklet remained in print during the 1940s and 1950s, finally being replaced by a 48-page historical handbook also written by Dr. Tilberg and published in 1960.[101]

Both the 6-page folder and 16-page booklet were based on competent research in published secondary sources. No original research, however was done as background to writing these publications. The seven years' work of the Antietam Board, including their findings regarding the errors of the 1867 Michler map and the erroneous marking of the Confederate line, remained lost in the War Department files and unknown to National Park Service historians from 1933 to date.[102]

---

[100] R.G. 79-Box 2601, File 0-31-Historical Data.

[101] R.G. 79, File 207. Memo of Steere to Supt. Gettysburg, October 2, 1941, Item B-6. Manuscript consisted of 24 pages. Also Superintendent's Monthly Report, Antietam, October 6, 1940, Tilberg at Antietam gathering data for booklet on Antietam.

[102] See Chapter III, page 79, Board's report of January 8, 1894, for findings on 1867 map.

Because of the initiative shown by Battlefield Superintendent Beckenbaugh and Cemetery Superintendent Taute, Antietam National Battlefield Site had a useful mimeographed self-guiding leaflet available for interested visitors from July 1935 onwards. Five years later, in November 1940 a respectable six-page printed general informational free folder became available, followed in 1941 by a good 16-page booklet priced at 10 cents for the use of persons interested in the battle.

(3) The Museum and Library. The C.W.A. Historical Survey Project personnel, namely S. Calvin Mumma, in a paper dated January 17, 1934, had urged the establishment of a museum for the battlefield, investigated the possibility of obtaining relics for the museum, and in a separate report also prepared an extensive bibliography of books relating to the struggle. Superintendent Beckenbaugh accepted these suggestions and in his first annual report, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1934, he commented:

> During the progress of our C.W.A. Historical Project considerable interest was gotten up in the community for the establishment of a Museum and quite a few relics were donated or loaned and many others promised as soon as a suitable place could be secured for. Enough were promised or in sight for a most creditable display but, unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to make any provisions to take care of same....
>
> Superintendent Beckenbaugh suggested:
>
> The fitting up the second story of the old [1867] stone lodge at the Cemetery entrance as a temporary Museum could be done at a very little extra expense over what will be necessary for the actual repairs to the building, which is in such bad condition that some repairs will have to be made to same if used as a Museum or not.[103]

As has been mentioned, the old cemetery lodge was repaired under contract between October 7, 1935, and March 5, 1936, at a cost of $8,500. The first floor contained the battlefield superintendent's office in the front room, and the public comfort station in the rooms to the rear. "Two rooms were finished on the second floor to house the new museum and one small room as a stock room for stationery and supplies," Beckenbaugh reported in his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936. He also commented proudly:

---

[103] Supt.'s annual report, June 30, 1934.

> When the area was taken over by the National Park Service in August 1933, there was not a single museum exhibit at this Site. We have now collected by gifts and loans, quite a good collection of uniforms, guns, swords, pistols, dirks, spurs, cannon balls, musket balls, pictures, Confederate currency, etc., as well as having built up a small Library of twenty some volumes, with the promise of more books and more relics from several reliable sources.
>
> There has been set up for Antietam for Museum purposes a sum sufficient to equip our two rooms with plate glass wall cases, 2 table cases and a floor case and a seven page Multiplex [self guiding leaflet], some of which equipment has already been delivered and placed in position. [For funds, see Chart on page 177.]

In July 1936 Beckenbaugh noted, "Dr. Morris Titiev, Museum Curator, and Col. Thomas L. Hefferman, Historical Technician [both of the Washington Office], spent some days here working on our Historical and Museum Projects."[104]

By June 30, 1937, Beckenbaugh reported "we now have on display 230 articles, exclusive of pictures, and a number of our exhibits are of very great value.

"Not having sufficient personnel to give proper supervision, it is impossible to have the museum open at all times, but we do take care of as many visitors as possible."

He also wrote:

> Our library has grown from a nucleus of 12 or 15 books turned over from the War Department to 121 volumes. Many are very valuable and include the library of 68 volumes of the late Gen. Henry Kyd Douglas, C.S.A., recently presented to the Service by his nephew, Supt. John Kyd Beckenbaugh.[105]

---

[104] Supt.'s Annual Report, June 30, 1936. The equipment, June 30, 1937, is listed as one large floor case, one wall case, two table cases, and a seven-page Multiplex.

[105] Supt.'s Annual Report, June 30, 1937. Also R.G. 79, Box 2606-File 740.02.2-Relics. On April 27, 1937, Supt. John Kyd Beckenbaugh presented the historical Library of Antietam National Battlefield Site with 68 volumes on "the War Between the States" from the library of his uncle, the Late General Henry Kyd Douglas of Maryland. Douglas served with the Confederate Army, 1861-65. The National Park Service formally accepted the gift on June 4, 1937. Data on relics given in 1938 can be found in R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 833-Exhibits-General.

On May 20, 1942, the Park Library was enlarged by 128 volumes when one complete set of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion was transferred from Morristown National Historical Park, N.J., to Antietam.[106]

Other National Park Service officials who had not been involved in the birth pains of the small improvised Antietam museum were not so impressed with the results of Superintendent Beckenbaugh's extensive efforts.

In a report evaluating the interpretive facilities and program at Antietam, associate historical technician Ralston B. Lattimore of the Washington Office wrote in regard to the park museum on April 11, 1941:

> Museum. Two small rooms on the second floor of the headquarters building are used for museum purposes. These rooms are reached by an outside entrance and a narrow, steep flight of stairs. The exhibits include relics picked up on the battlefield, miscellaneous objects, more or less related to the battle or the War Between the States [the Civil War], assembled by gift or loan, manuscripts, photograph displays, and maps. The arrangement of the exhibits is poor and not in keeping with National Park Service standards, nor are the exhibit rooms suitable for museum purposes.
>
> Some thought should be given to the possibility of remodeling the headquarters building by the addition of a wing at the rear to provide space for a lecture hall and museum....
>
> The present headquarters building is probably adequate for administrative purposes but is inadequate to the needs of the interpretive program. The cemetery site, however, is an ideal location for a combination administration and museum building.[107]

The reader must not be mislead by historian Lattimore's remarks regarding Antietam's little museum failing to meet "National Park Service standards."

---

[106] Supt.'s monthly report for May 1942.

[107] R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 840, Inspection of Interpretation Program, Antietam National Battlefield Site, April 11, 1941.

Many of the historical areas east of the Mississippi River, with but few exceptions, had similar improvised amateur museums functioning well into the 1950s.[108]

The National Park Service, however, had plans for constructing a permanent museum on the Antietam battlefield. On May 9, 1941 associate landscape architect Sheffield submitted a project construction program to erect such a structure—a stone building 25 feet by 50 feet, to be in the national cemetery between the office (old lodge) and the cemetery superintendent's residence. The cost of the proposed museum was estimated at $40,000.[109]

On November 4, 1941, in a remarkable memorandum, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, Region One, Richmond, commented on this plan:

> The approved master plan calls for a museum for Antietam, but I seriously doubt that we are justified in putting in a $40,000 building for this purpose at this location. An extensive structure such as this seems to me to be completely out of place in the development of a small historical area such as Antietam National Battlefield Site. It is no doubt true that sufficient exhibits could probably be found with which to stock the museum but it is my feeling that our purpose at Antietam is to interpret the field action that took place there and that an elaborate museum display is not necessary in doing this. A modest display of certain interesting relics would not be objectionable but I believe this could be adequately taken care of by providing space in the office or administration building and without the necessity of constructing a separate building for this purpose.
>
> It is recommended that the attached project construction form be not approved....[110]

Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, who had approved the proposal on July 23, 1941, was asked to comment. He responded on November 17, writing:

---

[108] Improvised museum at Saratoga National Historical Park, established by the State of New York in 1927, and inherited by the National Park Service in 1940, in 1948 still featured of cannon balls, musket balls, buttons picked up on the battlefield, numerous civil war muskets and swords, no revolutionary weapons, a bolt off the battleship Maine and "Col. Daniel Morgan's Candlestick, left by a passing motorist." Similar collections were found when the author visited Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia, in 1951.

[109] R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 833.05.

[110] Ibid., Allen to Director, November 4, 1941, copy to Supt. Coleman.

> ....In my opinion, two basic factors should be considered in deciding whether or not the museum is desirable. First, what is the importance of the event memorialized in American History? Second, to what extent is a museum needed in telling the story of this event to the public?
>
> The first factor, namely the importance of the Battle of Antietam, is a matter of general agreement...it is generally agreed that no other Civil War battle was more important than Antietam with the exception of Gettysburg. The Federal holding at Antietam is small because of the fact that the local economy was not of a nature to jeopardize proper preservation of the field. In other words, it was not necessary to buy very much land on which the battle was fought in order to restrict private developments as the latter would not constitute a problem at Antietam.
>
> With regard to the second point as to whether or not the museum is needed to tell this particular story, it is realized that there is room for considerable difference of opinion. It would appear, on the surface, that a museum at Antietam is as well justified as at Manassas, Chickamauga, or Fredericksburg. I do not believe, however, that precedent should be a determining factor because museums may possibly be overdeveloped in the areas mentioned. The addition of another building is objectionable in itself and if the story can be told properly without it, then it should, of course, be eliminated from our plans.

Coleman then suggested the possiblity of moving the administrative office to the second floor of the old cemetery lodge and placing the museum in one or two rooms on the first floor of the structure. In conclusion he wrote:

> My reaction to your memorandum, therefore, is that while we should not underestimate the importance of a museum, we should give every consideration to altering this present building to suit our needs rather than building a new structure...[111]

On January 8, 1942, Director Newton B. Drury informed Regional Director Allen that a new $40,000 administrative-museum structure would be required at Antietam but that some site other than in the national cemetery must be found. He explained:

> ...I am not convinced that museum needs there will always be adequately met by the limited existing facilities of the renovated cemetery lodge supplemented with interpretive devices in the open. I am of the opinion that facilities for

---

[111] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 833.05.

> administration and interpretation serve most efficiently when combined in one building and I therefore suggest that a future administration-museum structure to cost not more than $40,000 be given consideration.

With regard to the need for a new site for the structure, he wrote:

> To locate such a building in the cemetery tract presents definite disadvantages. In that location, area for parking will always be insufficient. The obligation to contrive an attractive building in harmony with the Victorian Gothic lodge and the nondescript [1927-28] stuccoed residence of the custodian, both so close at hand, will be a problem difficult to solve. I propose that other locations for a future administration-museum building be studied and weighed. The vicinity of the observation tower, for instance, may offer a convenient and receptive site...[112]

The Region One Office proposed a new site for the administrative-interpretive building on February 19, which Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray accepted on behalf of the director, writing on February 28, 1942: "The New York and Maryland plot would seem to be a desirable location for a museum building and we understand that this location will be indicated in the 1942 Master Plan edition" for Antietam National Battlefield Site.[113]

By early 1942 then, it had been decided that a new administration-museum structure with a price tag of about $40,000 would be constructed on the New York-Maryland plot on the Hagerstown Road; the purpose being to replace the inadequate facilities that had been located in the old stone cemetery lodge since 1936. It was on the same New York and Maryland plot that the War Department had proposed erecting a limestone combined battlefield superintendent's lodge, office and public comfort station for $22,000 in 1931.

(4) Plans for Trailside Exhibits, 1938-1942. In May 1938 associate historian T. Sutton Jett visited Antietam battlefield and submitted "Recommendations for Additional Interpretive Facilities on the Antietam Battlefield." He pointed out:

---

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

> There appears to be little possibility that the personnel of this area will be increased sufficiently in the near future to support more than the self-guide method now employed. For this reason every effort should be made to make the battle as easily understood by the self-guided tourist as possible. The existing numerous [about 250] and technical War Department markers, and the confusing road system make it almost impossible for the layman to understand the major military movements, and their outcome. This is caused primarily by the lack of facilities on the ground to show the visitor where the opposing lines were located when the battle began with the result that there can be little conception of the Federal battle-plan or the result of its execution....

Jett than recommended preparation of four outdoor maps to give the desired background, and to trace step-by-step the successive stages of the conflict.

He warned:

> In the construction of these maps it should be remembered that simplicity is a major objective. They are designed to give information on the more significant battle events, not the operations of regiments or brigades. For this reason it is suggested that where possible only the names of army commanders and corps commanders be shown.... The maps at Stones River are especially good in this respect. The greatest care should be exercised to make clear where the map is located on the ground. A large star, or "You Are Here" (with arrow) can be used....

Map no. 1, Jett suggested, should be placed in the national cemetery and Cope map no. 1--daybreak, September 17, could be used as its basis; map no. 2 would be on Mansfield Avenue, utilizing Cope map no. 7, 8:30 to 8:40 a.m. as the basis; map no. 3 should be on Bloody Lane and based on Cope map no. 11, 1 p.m. September 17; and map no. 4 would use Cope map no. 14, 8:30 p.m., September 17, to show the final positions of the two armies.

After the outdoor maps had been erected, then the self-guiding leaflets should be revised, both text and maps, to include the trail-side exhibits. Historian Jett noted that Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, the Stones River National Military Park, and the Richmond National Battlefield Park were all using this type of exhibit.[114]

---

[114] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207. Jett to Mr. Lee, May 28, 1938, Washington Office.

Hanson's detailed study entitled "A Report on the Preliminary Survey for the Location of Four Battlefield Maps at Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland," nine pages and two maps, was submitted to the regional director on October 18, 1938. He pointed out that "the limited amount of land owned by the United States on the Antietam field greatly restricts the number of desirable locations available, unless it should become practicable, at some particularly favorable points, to acquire additional small tracts by donation or purchase, or to accomplish easements." Positions for four maps, with some alternative locations, were outlined. Map No. 1 would go on Cornfield Avenue; No. 2 in the New York-Maryland park, opposite the site of the Dunkard Church; No. 3 would go on Bloody Lane near the observation tower; and map No. 4 would go on Branch Avenue to explain the Burnside Bridge operations.[115]

By the end of 1938 Superintendent Beckenbaugh was well supplied with ideas for battle maps to be placed on the field as trailside exhibits; he was not, however, given the assistance of the technicians who were necessary to design and construct the maps. In his inspection of the interpretive program, Antietam National Battlefield Site, dated April 1941, associate historical technician Lattimore thus described existing conditions with regard to historical markers and exhibits:

> The battlefield is generously supplied with cast iron narrative markers erected by the War Department, but the texts of these markers are in too much detail and do not tend to give the visitor a simple, concise narrative of the battle. Avenues and roads are well marked with small iron signs, which, however, would be more effective if painted regulation National Park Service colors, green lettering on a white background. Needed along the battlefield tour route are a half dozen or more simple narrative markers, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., to tell why the battle was fought, to describe the battle in chronological order, and to explain the significance of the battle in American history. These special narratives should be written in simple language in as few words as possible. They should be executed in lettering large enough to be read with ease; the lines should be short and well spaced. No narrative marker should be erected without a pullout to enable the motorist to drive completely off the highway.

---

[115] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207. Jett to Mr. Lee, May 28, 1938. Washington Office.

Of the "Outdoor Interpretive Exhibits" he wrote, "Two good maps of the battlefield and vicinity have been prepared for use out-of-doors at the National Cemetery and at Crampton's Gap."[116] These two maps may have been prepared by J. William Schnebly, the engineer and draftsman of the C.W.A. Historical Project team, in 1934.

As to the "Contact Personnel," Lattimore wrote:

> At present the public is contacted only by the cemetery custodian, the clerk, or during the summer by a ranger-historian. There is a great need for trained historical aides, of which there should be at least one on a permanent basis and one seasonal.

With regard to the possible use of women at the park, he commented "I do not recommend the use of women for contact work in this area."[117] Perhaps Antietam was more dangerous in the 1940s.

(5) The Failure to Develop an Adequate Interpretive Program, 1933-1942. Evaluating the interpretive program at Antietam in April 1941, historian Lattimore was surprised to find the park in such an underdeveloped state. He wrote:

> The Battle of Antietam [or Sharpsburg], September 17, 1862, was one of the major engagements of the War Between the States, the results of which were of great significance in the history of the nation. Nevertheless, from an interpretive standpoint the park has been neglected. Relatively small in area with few developed features, Antietam has been overshadowed by the much larger and more spectacular Gettysburg, which is less than 50 miles distant from it. The real importance of the area and its potential interest seems to have been overlooked by both the visiting public and the National Park Service. The lack of interest in this park and the consequent failure of government agencies to develop and promote it have been a blessing, however, for the absence of modern improvements Antietam battlefield has retained an atmosphere of authenticity, which is rarely found in other battlefield parks under our administration.
>
> The scene has no doubt been altered to some extent in the past 75 years. Wooded areas, which figured in the battle

---

[116] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207.

[117] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 840. Superintendent's Monthly Report for June 1941: "An interpretive map has been erected at the administration office for orientation lectures by the staff. The map was constructed under the direction of Resident Landscape Architect Walter H. Sheffield."

> have grown smaller or have disappeared, a few new homes have been constructed, and a number of monuments and memorials have been erected. But the mutations have in no case been violent. The town of Sharpsburg is little changed. Farms which occupy the battlefield area are cultivated in much the same manner as in 1862; the same crops are grown. Modern roadside developments are few.
>
> Antietam National Battlefield Site and the National Cemetery are being maintained in a dignified and excellent manner and the custodian should be complimented. . . .

The deficiencies lay in interpretive matters such as a very small and untrained contact staff, an inadequate museum, and the lack of trailside exhibits and maps on the battlefield.[118] These items were the responsibility of the region one office in Richmond.

m. Master Planning for Antietam, 1939-1942

The master plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site was produced in the Washington office and was not based on any historical research. The first two sheets were sent to the park on June 30, 1939, and the director approved the 1939 (and first) edition of the master plan for Antietam on April 16, 1940.[119]

The 1941 edition of the Antietam plan was approved by the director on August 19, 1941. The early editions included a land acquisition program and map. There was also an interpretive statement, but no interpretive sheet or tour map. Also lacking was a sheet and map with data on and showing the location of all monuments, memorials, and markers on the battlefield and in the vicinity of the park.[120] In October 1941, resident landscape architect Sheffield was at work "developing the Antietam Historical Base sheet and Interpretive Plan" and, in December 1941, Coordinating Superintendent Walter J. Coleman was at work "revising the historical base map for the 1942 edition of the Antietam Master Plan."[121]

---

[118] Ibid. Lattimore, April 11, 1941, report.

[119] R.G. 79, Box 2603, File 500.-01 Master Plan. Letters of June 30, 1939 - April 24, 1940.

[120] R.G. 79. Box 2606. File 840. Inspection of Interpretative Program, Antietam...April 11, 1941, by Ralston B. Lattimore.

[121] Superintendent's monthly reports, October and December 1941.

The National Park Service had developed the master planning idea as a useful tool in showing the values to be protected in each park and to illustrate proposed future development and interpretation of each area. The incomplete state of the Antietam master plan suggests that many problems at the battlefield had not yet received careful study.

n. Research, Architectural and Historical, 1933-1942

(1) Architectural Research for Buildings, 1940. On October 22, 1940, the Washington County Historical Society presented the National Park Service with deeds for the Dorsey and Spong farms, 128.588 acres. Also included were old farm houses, barns, and other structures. Antietam had a new problem--what to do about old structures that might be historic. Anticipating this donation, Gettysburg's assistant research technician Tilberg made a trip to Antietam on March 12, 1940 to study the Spong farm buildings--a house, barn, and corn crib-- located on the hill west of the entrance to the Burnside Bridge, as well as the fences that the Park Service proposed to restore to their 1862 appearance.

Tilberg noted that the Brady and Tipton photographs, made in 1862 at the time of the battle, "show clearly the Burnside Bridge." He recommended that the bridge be restored in accordance with these photos. Of the post and rail fences, he wrote:

> It is suggested, in connection with the restoration of fences, that the indication of type and location of fences in the Cope Survey Map of the Battlefield of Antietam of 1898, be followed. In support of fence indications on the Cope map, an undated Tipton photograph of the Burnside Bridge, obviously an early view, shows two panels of the post-and-rail fence beginning at the east end of the north wall, and apparently following the county road southwardly along the creek.... As the Spong farm buldings... are known to have been constructed in 1864, it is proposed that these buildings...be removed.[122]

This report was for "Proposed Work for WPA Project on Spong and Dorsey Plots and the Burnside Bridge Area" that had been suggested by Superintendent of Antietam Battlefield Beckenbaugh. The "Cope Map of 1898" mentioned here was one of the historical study maps prepared by the War Department's Antietam Board in 1896-99. Dr. Tilberg thus used the extensive research of that team to restore the wartime scene at the Burnside Bridge.

---

[122] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207, March 15, 1940, Tilberg, Frederick, "Report on an Investigation of A Work Program to be Accomplished on the Spong and Dorsey Farms, Antietam National Battlefield Site" (Gettysburg, National Military Park, Pa., March 13, 1940), 3 pp.

On April 19, 1941, associate architect Fairweath also submitted a report entitled, "Architectural Investigation of the Spong House, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland," five pages, plus photo, and six maps and plans, which concluded that the farm house had been constructed subsequent to the battle of Antietam.[123]

On March 28, 1940, associate architect Waterman of the Washington Office and the Historic American Building Survey arrived at Antietam and guided by Superintendent Beckenbaugh, visited the "early houses" on the battlefield. These included a log dwelling known as the "Poffenberger house," which Waterman reported was "Architecturally...of little value; a barn on a neighboring farm owned by a family of the same name," which he described as "a fine and large structure...a characteristic Pennsylvania type of barn...." They then visited the Roulette farmhouse. The northerly section, Waterman estimated, was the oldest and dated from the 1770s. The southern end was added about 1825. He also inspected the smokehouse, meathouse, and springhouse, all of which "are contemporary and in good repair." Near this group also stood "a very fine early barn." "The Roulette group", he found to be "unusual as a type and preserving its original features almost intact." Waterman recommended that the Historic American Building Survey make measured drawings of the Roulette buildings, but only prepare a photographic record of the Poffenberger log house and barn.[124]

---

[123] R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 626. April 19, 1941.

[124] R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 620. Part I, Waterman to Acting Chief of Planning, March 30, 1940. Waterman did not recommend recording in drawing the fine Poffenberger barn because it "so closely parallels the Lee barn at Leetown, West Virginia, recorded by the Survey in 1937." Waterman also visited the site of the Dunkard Church, but failed to visit the Antietam Ironworks. Thomas T. Waterman was to become the author of The Mansions of Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1946) and a noted architectural historian.

(2) Historical Research and Interpretive Planning by Historian Edward Steere, 1941-1943. Except for the four months of activity by the C.W.A. 10-member historical survey team collecting information in 1933-34, the National Park Service conducted little historical research on the history of the battle of Antietam during the years 1934 to 1941. Perhaps spurred by the suggestion that Antietam had been neglected from an interpretive point of view, supervisor of historic sites Ronald F. Lee had the first full-time professional historian assigned to the Antietam staff. Assistant Historical Technician Steere was transferred from Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park to Antietam for research and interpretive developmental work on September 1, 1941.[125]

On September 5 a conference was held at Antietam battlefield and in attendance were: Supervisor of Historic Sites Lee, Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, assistant historical technician Tilberg, Acting Battlefield Superintendent Taute, and his new employee, assistant historical technician Steere. The group worked out a four-point program which was to guide the activities of historian Steere for the next 16 months. His tasks and priorities were to be as follows:

1. "Preparation of a brief memorandum summarizing the status of historical and developmental studies for the park." To be completed in about ten days.
2. Compilation of a manual of information and interpretation of the battlefield with accompanying troop position maps for the guidance of persons interpreting the field to visitors, and to form a basis for a tour sheet in the master plan; ". . . to open up the research problems involved in a definitive study but not to attempt to solve them. This should not duplicate the 16-page booklet, and should be worked out in close collaboration with Assistant Historical Technician Tilberg." This project was not to take more than two months.
3. "Preparation of a tour map and interpretive plan for the battlefield, including recommendations on markers, existing and proposed, trailside exhibits, artillery emplacements, literature and

---

[125] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207.

related matters with particular emphasis on plans for a self-guiding tour."

4. "Preparation of historical data for development plans for Spong Farm, Bloody Lane and other areas to be developed." Today this would involve the writing of necessary "Historic Structure Reports" for each project.

It was further agreed that Dr. Tilberg would visit Antietam monthly to discuss with historian Steere the progress of this work and the problems involved. In an unusual order for the National Park Service during the 1940s and 1950s, it was specified: "The duties outlined are to take precedence over guide and contact work with Park visitors."[126]

Steere completed step one on October 2 when he submitted to the Gettysburg coordinating superintendent an 11-page summary of the historical and developmental studies that had been completed relating to Antietam National Battlefield Site from 1898 to 1941.[127] The limited core of knowledge transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service included the Antietam Board's final report of March 18, 1898, the 1898 report containing the legends and locations of the 258 cast-iron markers on the battlefield, the 1898 map, the 1899 map, and the series of 14 troop movement maps published in 1904 and 1908. Because so little was known of the work of the Antietam Board, the 16 maps were credited to Colonel Cope, engineer, Gettysburg National Park, who, with assistants, worked on the project one month in May 1897. (Extracts from Steere's report will be found in Appendix X.)

The immense amount of information that the board collected through interviewing participants of both armies was unknown and had never been studied by National Park Service historians to this date. Steere also summarized and described the materials gathered and studies written for the National Park Service by the C.W.A. historical project team in 1933-34, by Clerk Mongan on the cast-iron markers and the stone memorials in 1940, and by assistant historical technicians Hanson (1938) (1940) and Tilberg. Park self-guiding leaflets and free informational folders were similarly described and evaluated.

---

[126] R.G. 79, 2601. Memorandum on Conference, September 1, 1941. Under normal operating conditions, park historians were required to devote their time primarily to visitor conduct. Research could be done only after the travel season ended.

[127] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207.

On October 29, 1941, Steere wrote to the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, "Mr. Allen B. Boyd informs me that the MSS papers of General A. E. Carman on the Maryland Campaign, together with letters from participants in the campaign, etc. are in the Library."

Steere was informed

> There is ...a complete account of the Maryland Campaign in careful and full detail, well written and interesting. Important and very enlightening. Accompanying this account, are letters from participants in the campaign with whom General Carman corresponded as to the position of different commands, sketches and maps...newspaper clippings, etc.
>
> In addition to the Carman papers in the Library of Congress, there is a large collection of Carman correspondence in the New York Public Library, but not sorted or arranged in 1939.[128]

Historian Steere was never able to follow up these leads.

Steere began work on the second project, compilation of a manual of information and interpretation of the battlefield with accompanying troop position maps for the use of historical aides and ranger-historians in October 1941.

It was discovered that a considerably greater period of time than the estimated two months would be required to conduct the research necessary to write "a concise narrative interpretation of the Antietam operation that would relate troop movements to the terrain and thus facilitate the problem of telling the story on the ground." These problems were discussed with Supervisor of Historic Sites Lee on December 8, with assistant historical technician Tilberg on December 9, and Coordinating Superintendent Coleman on December 19, 1940.[129]

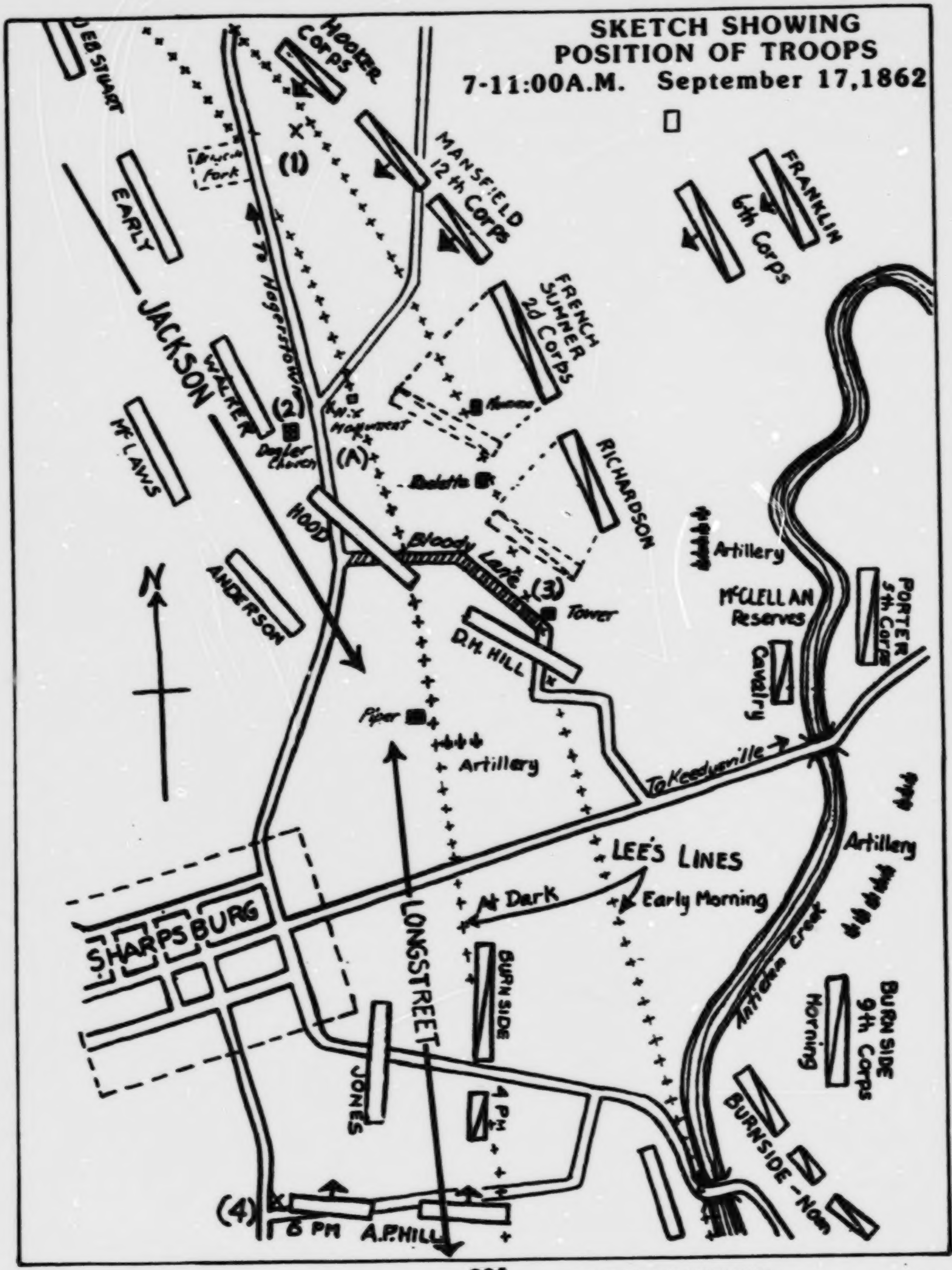
---

[128] R.G. 79, Box 2601, October 29, 1941, to Roy F. Rogers, Library of Congress.

[129] R.G. 79, Box 2602, File 207 - Part 1, Report of assistant historical technician Edward Steere, Antietam National Battlefield Site, for December 1941.

SKETCH SHOWING POSITION OF TROOPS

7-11:00A.M. September 17,1862



J.E.B. STUART
HOOKER Corps
MANSFIELD 12th Corps
FRANKLIN 6th Corps
Bunch fork
(1)
EARLY
To Hagerstown
JACKSON
FRENCH SUMNER 2d Corps
WALKER
(2)
Dunker Church
McLAWS
Mumma
Hoffman
(A)
Roulette
RICHARDSON
HOOD
Bloody Lane
(3)
Tower
Artillery
N
ANDERSON
D.H. HILL
McCLELLAN Reserves
PORTER 5th Corps
Cavalry
Piper
Artillery
To Keedysville
Artillery
LEE'S LINES
At Dark
Early Morning
SHARPSBURG
LONGSTREET
BURNSIDE
Antietam Creek
BURNSIDE 9th Corps Morning
JONES
4 PM
BURNSIDE - Noon
(4)
6 PM
A.P. HILL

The first draft of the manual was completed during January 1942 and Steere began working on a study of tour routes and interpretive problems.[130] Steere's "Manual of Information and Interpretation, Antietam National Battlefield Site," 218 typed pages, was completed in March 1942 and submitted to Coordinating Superintendent Coleman for revision and approval. Historian Steere then began working on point no. 3 of the September 6, 1940, plan:

> Preparation of a tour map and interpretive plan for the battlefield including recommendations on markers, existing and proposed, trailside exhibits, artillery emplacement, literature and related matters, with particular emphasis on plans for a self-guided tour.

During April 1942 he selected eight sites for "semi-horizontal map-marker trailside exhibits along the tour route, developing the battle operations in chronological sequence." He also began work on a base map for use in the eight horizontal map-markers. This was a relief map with graduated colors indicating the contour lines. In addition, four combat maps, scale 1 inch equals 1,000 feet, were started and intended for use in the first four of the trailside exhibits. These eight completed combat maps will constitute a map folio supplementing the battle narrative in the "Manual of Information and Interpretation."[131] Marginal notes accompanying each sheet of the folio will contain an abstract of the text of the battle narrative. The eight combat maps will furnish data for the corresponding eight semi-horizontal trailside exhibits.

Steere further commented:

> In adapting this data, it is recognized that the great majority of visitors will, through lack of knowledge of the operation, fail to grasp in a series of combat maps interspersed at points on a four mile tour the intended purpose of such a device. That is they will be unable to realize the scheme of motion by the change of troop locations, as indicated on the combat maps. This problem, it is thought, may be solved by the employment of the so-called "blitz-krieg" method, which has been recently developed with considerable success by popular periodicals such as Life for the nonprofessional military reader.

---

[130] Ibid., Report for January 1942.

[131] Ibid., Monthly Report for April 1942, also superintendent's monthly report for March 1942.

> Dispositions reduced to this utmost simplification, arrows indicating the direction of attack and penetration, and label captions giving the gist of the story, constitute the principal elements of this graphic technique.[132]

In May historical technician Steere completed the folio of eight situation maps. Three trailside exhibits were prepared, corresponding to the first three of the eight situation maps, and set in place as an experiment. Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, assistant historical technician Tilberg, and resident landscape architect Sheffield, Region One, took part in this trial.

On May 28 Supervisor of Historic Sites Appleman, Region One, and Tilberg reviewed the completed exhibits. "Appleman expressed doubts that the method employed had as yet attained the degree of simplicity that is required to form in the mind of the 'average' visitor an immediate impression." Dr. Tilberg and Steere, on the other hand were of the opinion that the visitor, "after receiving a generalized impression of the battle as a whole at the museum site, and thereafter decides to tour the field represents a special selection of intelligence from the general run of visitors and, presumably, desires some more than a series of fragmentary impressions, relating to various stages in the development of the battle." This debate ended with a decision to refer the question to the Washington Office.[133]

In May historian Steere also provided assistant historical technician Tilberg with the draft of an interpretive statement of significance for Antietam National Battlefield Site. This draft "embodies a consideration of the Confederate war aims, as prepared by President Davis, Sept. 7, 1862, for proclamation by Lee in the field," in the event of a victory.[134]

On May 29, 1942, historian Steere delivered what he considered to be "the first visitor [orientation] talk given at this site." This "brief presentation of operations, Sept. 14-17, 1862" was addressed to Senator Rufus Holman, Oregon, a member of the Appropriations Committee, and his party.[135]

---

[132] Steere's monthly report for April 1942.

[133] Ibid. Report for May 1942.

[134] Monthly Report for May 1942.

[135] Ibid.

Three days before, on May 26, Tilberg instructed Steere to set aside the work on the trailside exhibits and to complete the documentation of the battle study, with a view to submitting the typescript as soon as possible.[136] The documentation was completed in June.[137]

As the proposed WPA program for Antietam was never funded, historian Steere did no research for the suggested restoration projects. In July five more full scale sketches of the combat maps were completed and he also suggested making revisions to the text and map of the six-page park folder. The final drafts of his two manuals entitled "Antietam, A Study of the Maryland Campaign and the Battle of Antietam, with an interpretation of its Political and Military Significance and its Topographical Aspects" (typescript, 261 pages and 8 maps) and "A Historical Interpretive Program, Antietam National Battlefield Site," 124 pp., were both submitted on December 28, 1942 to Coordinating Superintendent J. Walter Coleman for final review and approval.[138] The second report included "a self-guide booklet designed to enable the visitor to proceed from the Museum, where he has received general information, to the various trailside exhibits located at important points on the tour." The booklet contains information concerning "the landmarks and areas covered while enroute to the trailside exhibits."[139]

In a detailed six-page letter of review to Superintenent Coleman, historian Tilberg commended Steere's work on both studies. Superintendent Coleman submitted copies of the two reports and Dr. Tilberg's review to the director, with copies to the regional director, region one, on September 14, 1943.[140]

---

[136] Ibid.

[137] Superintendent's monthly report for June 1942.

[138] Supt.'s Annual Report for November 1942.

[139] R.G. 79, Box 2602. File 207-Memo of Asst. Historical Technician Frederick Tilberg to Supt. Coleman, September 14, 1943.

[140] Ibid. Coleman to Director, September 14, 1943. The reason for the delay in reviewing the studies received in November 1942 was because the set of eight battle maps was not sent with the studies.

At least partly as a result of historian Steere's work, a great improvement had been made in the historical base map used at Antietam. Dr. Tilberg noted in his letter of review:

> ...concerning the study of the Cope Survey Map of the Battlefield of Antietam, 1899, it is to be pointed out that this map, combined with the war time culture from the Cope map of 1898, has been adapted as the Historical Base Map of the Master Plan. It is believed that the New Historical Base Map contains much of the information needed for the restoration of the Bloody Lane and Burnside Bridge areas.[141]

Meanwhile, assistant historical technician Edward Steere went on leave from Antietam National Battlefield Site on January 15, 1943, and was separated from the National Park Service on April 1, 1943. He had prepared two important documents that could greatly improve the factual contents of interpretation of Antietam National battlefield site, provided the battlefield superintendents and their seasonal ranger-historians were willing to read the studies.

Some 14 more years were to pass before the National Park Service assigned another professionally-trained, full-time historian for duty at Antietam.

o. Travel to Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1934-1942

Superintendent Beckenbaugh could not find any records for visitation at Antietam National Battlefield Site for the years 1900 to December 31, 1933.[142] Travel to the battlefield from January 1, 1934, to June 30, 1942, by fiscal year (July 1 to June 30), was:

Fiscal year ending June 30	Estimated Total Number of Visitors
1934	19,229 (for six months)
1935	19,488
1936	23,228 (1)
1937	15,771 (2)
1938	77,078 (3) (Regular about 17,078)
1939	18,320
1940	23,847 (4)

---

[141] Ibid.

[142] Superintendent's Annual Report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.

1941	28,353
1942	22,860
Total:	248,134

(1) Great flood on Potomac River in March 1936 destroyed the bridges over the river at Harpers Ferry, Point of Rocks, and Shepherdstown. Tourists from Virginia and West Virginia were thus cut off from Antietam.

(2) New bridge at Harpers Ferry opened and a ferry established over river at Shepherdstown.

(3) This total includes 50,000 people who visited Antietam on September 17, 1937, the 75th anniversary commemoration of the battle.

(4) New "James Rumsey Bridge" over the Potomac River at Shepardstown opened on July 15, 1939.

The seasonal nature of visitation is shown on the chart on the following page:

p. Important Public Events, 1933-1942

The most important event of this period was the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, which took place at the battlefield on September 17, 1937. The state of Maryland and the Washington County Historical Society began preparations for this event in 1935. One of the proposed plans of the county historical society, which they were unable to implement, was to acquire the site of and to reconstruct the Dunkard Church.[143]

Superintendent Beckenbaugh described the September 17, 1937, observation of the battle:

> The largest peace-time crowd ever gathered in this section came to greet and cheer the President of the United States [Franklin D. Roosevelt], and to witness a thrilling re-enactment of the battle in the Bloody Lane Sec. by troops of the 29th Division (Virginia-Maryland National Guard) under the command of Maj. Gen. Milton A. Reckord.
>
> The National Antietam Commemoration held in Washington County from Sept. 4 to Sept. 17, inclusive, was a celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the settlement of the County, the 175th Anniversary of the settling of Hagerstown, the County seat, the 150th Anniversary of the

---

[143] R.G. 79, Box 2601. Park W. T. Loy, Chairman of Board of Directors, Washington Historical Society, Hagerstown, Md. to Chief Historian Verne E. Chatelain, May 3, 1935.

TRAVEL TO ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD BY FISCAL YEAR (JULY 1 - JUNE 30)

Month	June 30, 1935	June 30, 1936	June 30, 1937	June 30, 1938	June 30, 1939	June 30, 1940	June 30, 1941	June 30, 1942
July	2,968	4,461	2,862	4,183	4,740	6,226	4,107	3,348
August	4,716	5,439	3,442	5,501	4,813	5,573	3,057	7,255
September	5,014	5,820	4,970	62,525*	4,851	4,729	6,660	3,306
October	(1,500)	2,606	2,088	2,024	1,519	1,512	1,635	1,966
November							734	1,637
December							246	564
January							99	313
February							135	236
March							474	307
April						838	2,225	
May						4,689	5,834	
June	5,290	3,132	3,409	2,845	2,397	2,156	3,147	(3,928)
TOTAL	19,488	23,228	15,771	77,078*	18,320	23,847	28,353	22,860
No. of Cars								6,457

*September 17, 1937 - 75th Anniversary of Battle - 50,000 that date plus 12,441 for rest of month.

Travel for period January 1, 1934 to June 30, 1934 reported to be 19,229 people and 4,677 cars.

> Invention of the Steamboat and its trial trip on the Potomac River a few miles from Antietam in 1787, and the 75th Anniversary of the bloody Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862.
>
> The sponsoring agency of the celebration was the Washington County Historical Society who made the plans, leased the lands and assumed the expenses incident to same.
>
> The National Park Service cooperated in making government-owned lands available for the battle re-enactment and camping of troops and state police. The Department of Agriculture CCC Camp #360 at Boonsboro, Maryland, very kindly furnished 32 enrollees to assist in the protection of government property and to help out the battlefield office personnel [2 or 3 men].
>
> Troops taking part were units of the 29th Division from Maryland, District of Columbia and Pennsylvania.
>
> The 12th Regiment of Engineers, U.S.A., with their excellent band from Fort Belvoir, Virginia, were present as special escort to the President.

After describing the events that took place September 4 to 17, which included a "Memorial Service to the Blue and Gray who fell at Antietam," held in the Antietam National Cemetery on September 12, Superintendent Beckenbaugh continued:

> Sept. 17--The climactic day of the entire celebration, and it is estimated that 50,000 people were here to welcome the President and hear his address and to witness the battle re-enactment.
>
> The Service was represented on this occasion by Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth, Acting Assistant Director Branch L. Spaulding and the editor-in chief, Miss Isabelle Story. Supt. and Mrs. Geo. A. Palmer of Ft. McHenry and Associate Landscape Architect and Mrs. Tell W. Nicolet were also present.[144]

As fate would have it, two of the National Park Service people present, Conrad L. Wirth as director, and George A. Palmer as assistant regional director of the new region five, would play major roles in transforming Antietam from a neglected into a first class historical area some 20 years later.

---

144. Superintendent's Annual Report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY 1933-1942

As under the War Department, the National Park Service continued to administer Antietam National Cemetery and Antietam National Battlefield Site as two separate areas from August 10, 1933, to April 6, 1942, when the two units were consolidated under the supervision of the battlefield superintendent and the position of cemetery superintendent abolished.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF THE CEMETERY

Under the agreement with the War Department, Clarence L. Nett, superintendent of the Antietam National Cemetery, was to retain his position from August 10 to September 30, 1933. On October 16, the National Park Service could either reappoint Nett or discharge him and replace him with a new person. The Park Service chose to reappoint Nett, who also served from October 5, 1933, to January 10, 1934, as acting superintendent of the battlefield. On the latter date, the new battlefield superintendent, John K. Beckenbaugh, reported for duty. Like Antietam battlefield, the operations of the national cemetery were also supervised by the coordinating superintendent, who was stationed at Gettysburg National Military Park, and after 1937 by the regional director of Region One, headquartered at Richmond.

Nett served as the National Park Service superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from August 10, 1933, to July 11, 1934, when he transferred to the position of superintendent of Gettysburg National Cemetery. Effective August 16, 1934, Carl M. Taute was appointed superintendent of the Antietam National Cemetery, reporting for duty on August 16, 1934. The quartermaster corps had given Taute four months training at the school it ran at Arlington National Cemetery for new superintendents.[1]

---

[1] R.G. 79, Box 2699. July 1934. Also superintendent's annual report for August, 1935.

There was some friction between the two superintendents--Beckenbaugh and Taute--over the relative importance of their positions. Reports of a heated quarrel that arose from the placing of the mail in the Sharpsburg post office box for the two units reached Washington and on June 16, 1936, Chief Historian Chatelain made a special trip to Antietam to tell the two men that their jobs were separate but equal. This apparently settled the problem as no further mentions of the problem was raised.[2] Relations between the two superintendents thereafter were probably correct but cool. In July 1939, Cemetery Superintendent Taute received a salary of $3,286.44 per annum. This included $1,680 from his National Park Service salary as custodian and $1,606.44 from his War Department pension.[3]

Taute served as superintendent of the Antietam National Cemetery until April 5, 1942, when he was transferred and appointed as superintendent of the Gettysburg National Cemetery.[4] With the death of Battlefield Superintendent Beckenbaugh on October 5, 1940, Taute was made acting superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site and served in that position from October 5, 1940 to April 4, 1942.[5]

During the period 1940-1942, battlefield clerk Mongin wrote many of the reports for Captain Taute and functioned in many ways as the acting superintendent. The battlefield and cemetery, which had been detached from the supervision of the Gettysburg superintendent on December 16, 1935, were again returned to the care of Gettysburg on October 3, 1940, as the death of Captain Beckenbaugh seemed imminent.

---

[2] R.G. 79, Box 2601, File 201.06.

[3] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part II--Supt. Beckenbaugh to Director, July 10, 1939, regarding possible raise for Taute: "I believe from conversations I have had, that many in the Service consider the Cemetery Superintendent Positions as rather superfluous....I know of no duties they have except raising and lowering the flag and locking and unlocking the gates. All administrative work is done in the Battlefield Office. All financial, maintenance and equipment responsibility is that of the Battlefield. Before Supt. Taute's heart attack, he did use the power mower, but is now physically unfit for any such duties. During the 40 days he spent in the Walter Reed Hospital the cemetery operations were carried on as usual with a maximum of 15 minutes per day of my attention to the Cemetery maintenance labor."

[4] R.G. 79, Box 2699. Memo Acting Chief of Operations to Director, May 29, 1942. Taute died while serving as superintendent of the Gettysburg National Cemetery and was buried in Antietam National Cemetery on February 9, 1944.

[5] Superintendent's monthly report for October 1940.

As has been mentioned, two of the six-person maintenance force employed by the National Park Service during the period 1933 to 1942 were usually employed to keep the national cemetery in first class condition.

2. INTERMENTS

Antietam was an active cemetery during the years 1933 to 1942. Some 27 veterans, chiefly of World War I, were buried. One Union veteran, however, was interred in 1937; he was buried in the Maryland section. The National Park Service, like most American institutions of the time, unfortunately discriminated against blacks, even in death. Thus in 1937 Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported on the burial of five World War I "colored veterans" "it was necessary to set aside a section in the Southwest corner of the Cemetery as a colored veterans section." He also noted "This increasing number of burials [14 during that fiscal year] has been quite a strain on the Cemetery funds and has necessitated the request for a slightly larger appropriation for 1939."[6] One black World War I veteran was also buried in 1938.

On March 31, 1935, the number of dead reported was 4,833, which included 2,981 known and 1,852 unknown soldiers.[7]

3. POLICY ON THE SALE OF ITEMS IN THE NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1942

Publication of the 1941 edition of the 16-page booklet on the battle of Antietam to be sold to visitors at ten cents per copy raised questions because the battlefield headquarters and museum were situated in the old (1867) cemetery lodge. On April 22,

---

[6] Superintendent's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937. Internments reports were as follows, 1934 and 1935-0; 1936-5; 1937-14; 1938-3, 1939-3; and 1940-2.

[7] R.G. 79. Box 2699, File 031-Part I. Antietam National Cemetery Report, March 31, 1935, by Supt. Carl M. Taute.

1942, Acting Director Demaray informed the battlefield superintendent: "You are authorized to make the sales of Park Service literature within the Headquarters building at Antietam National Battlefield but not souvenirs and refreshments within the Cemetery."[7]

4. FIRST TELEPHONE, 1933

Although the War Department had granted permission on November 4, 1929, to have a telephone installed in the office of the cemetery superintendent's lodge, this order was never carried out. In November 1933 Superintendent Nett reported: "there is no telephone at the cemetery and one is needed very badly as every time any one wants to talk to me they have to call one of the neighbors and they have to come after me and you know that is very annoying to them and myself as well."[8] Assistant Director Hillary Tolson granted permission to have a telephone installed in the office later that month. Cost of installation was $3.75 and the fee per month was $2.75.[9]

5. THE CEMETERY FRONT (NORTH) WALL AND IRON FENCE, 1934-1935

After his first inspection of Antietam National Cemetery on October 10, 1933, Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie, reported, "The iron fence on top of the [stone] wall along the main highway and in front of the Cemetery is in need of paint. The iron fence is approximately 500 [600] feet long . . ."[10]

An emergency allotment of Civil Works Administration (CWA) funds was secured to start this Project No. 22-B15-80--"Removing Old Paint and Repainting National Cemetery Iron Fence." Work began on November 13, 1934, and continued until December 31. Six men worked 756 hours and were paid $229.50 before cold weather stopped the project. The paint was blistered by using a large blow-torch and then removing it by hard rubbing with wire brushes.[11]

---

[7] R.G. 79, Box 2601.

[8] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part I. Nett to Director, November 23, 1933; also Coordinating Superintendent James R. McConaghie's memo to Director, October 20, 1933. "The nearest telephone is a considerable distance away."

[9] Ibid.

[10] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31, Part I, McConaghie to Director, October 20, 1933.

[11] Report of Superintendent John K. Beckenbaugh, January 28, 1935. $27.54 in national cemetery funds was used to purchase kerosene, wire brushes, and burner repairs.

On January 19, 1935, Assistant Director Tolson reported that $1,100 in PWA Funds was available in Project No. 615--"Repairs to National Cemetery Wall and Iron Fence".[12]

Work under Project 22-B15-80 resumed in the spring of 1935 with four to six men working. The iron fence was given one coat of red lead and two coats of black paint at a cost of $180 for labor, which brought the total expenditure for the project to $409.50.[13]

The purpose of Project 615 was to repoint the cemetery enclosure wall, which was reported to be in very bad condition with "some stones falling out" in 1934.[14] Work began on March 25, 1935, and continued until June 13 when funds were exhausted. The paint for the iron fence was purchased from this account, but $409.50 spent for scraping and painting was done by relief labor furnished by the Washington County Emergency Relief Boards. As to the repointing, Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported, "Every effort was made to repair the worst places but all were not done when the money was expended."[15] A total of $1,509.50 was spent on repainting the iron fence and repointing the walls in 1934-35.

6. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CEMETERY STONE ENCLOSING WALL, 1939-1940

The massive stone wall enclosing the 10-acre national cemetery was 2,674 feet long and varied in height from 5 to 16 feet, being both an enclosing and retaining wall, as the cemetery itself was mostly filled ground. The wall, constructed in 1865-66, had been repointed by the War Department in 1880, but had received few repairs since that date until 1935 when the National Park Service had patched up some of the worst sections. In May 1937, however, battlefield Superintendent Beckenbaugh launched a strong and persistent drive to have the cemetery wall reconstructed, utilizing WPA funds. His suggestions were supported in the Washington Office by Assistant Director Tolson.[16]

---

[12] R.G. 79, Box 2700, File 618 - Public Works - Tolson to Taylor, January 19, 1935.

[13] Supt.'s annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935.

[14] Supt.'s annual report June 30, 1934.

[15] Supt.'s annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1935; also R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 618 - Public Works. Account sheet December 24, 1936 - FPN Project 615 - Repairs to National Cemetery Wall and Fence - Alloted - $1,100.00; Obligated: $1,095.97; Balance - $4.03.

Success crowned their efforts in February 1939 when the Maryland State WPA approved a $39,997 project to repair the stone cemetery wall, to change the grade of the roadway leading to the adjacent utility area, and to remove 19 large trees in the cemetery. The project began on March 10, 1939, with a force of 35 men. The first work was the removal of 19 trees, "the size of which can be more readily estimated when it is stated that 12 of them made 2,683 feet of sawed lumber which is being used for scaffolding and shoring, and the limbs and small trees made 18 cords of fire wood."[17]

The roadway to the utility building west of the cemetery stone enclosing wall had its grade reduced 2½ feet at the highest point. The service entrance to the cemetery along this road was changed to conform to the new grade and the old entrance was closed by a stone wall that matched the original stonework of the wall. Surfacing of the entrance road was held up until the cemetery wall could be rebuilt along this section.

Beckenbaugh reported:

> Work is being done on both the South [rear] and East wall and owing to the heights of many sections, scaffolding has to be erected and the high sections braced, as parts are torn out at a time and rebuilt, then the bracing is moved to the new construction and the other torn out and rebuilt.
>
> This has made it necessary to occupy a strip of land about 15 to 18 feet in width in the fields adjoining the South and East walls. Arrangements were made with the owner for a monthly rental while these lands were in use and it is also necessary to haul the wall materials over these lands.

---

[16] R.G. 79, Box 2699. File 0-31, Park II. Beckenbaugh to Director, May 26, 1937; Tolson to Beckenbaugh, June 11, 1937-an excellent idea--board of engineers raise the estimate from $10,000 to $15,000. January 22, 1938--Beckenbaugh takes matter up with Maryland W.P.A. administration but they have no stone masons available to assign to the projects. February 8, 1938 -- Tolson suggests the requests for funds be included in the 1940 preliminary estimates. April 3, 1938--Tolson writes to Chief Engineer Taylor urging W.P.A. funds for project. Beckenbaugh to Director, May 14, 1938--W.P.A. Office at Hagerstown has several stone masons available at 85 cents per hour--55 cents for semi-skilled workers, and 45 cents for laborers.

[17] Superintendent Beckenbaugh's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

> A concrete backing or reinforcement has been laid against the base of the wall on the outside extending from the ground surface to a depth of 18 to 24 inches and being 12 inches in thickness.
>
> The extra stone necessary for the wall construction has been obtained from the century-old piers of the Potomac River Bridge of the Maryland and Virginia Bridge Company and is such a perfect match to the wall stone as to defy detection.[18]

The land leased from Charles C. and Ann M. Dorsey from May 1 to October 1, 1939, at the rate of $15 per month "for use as a roadway and work area in connection with the construction of the cemetery wall" included these two pieces of land: a strip 10 feet by 780 feet adjoining stone wall on east side of the cemetery and a strip of land 11 feet wide and 347 feet long on the south side.[19]

Work on the walls continued during the summer of 1939 and into the spring of 1940. Superintendent Beckenbaugh described this reconstruction:

> The wall was practically all torn down and rebuilt, being laid in strong cement mortar. This work has been so carefully done that the wall has the appearance of the same old wall. The interior face which is composed of very large stones was replaced as originally set, each stone being numbered as taken out and put back in its original position. The exterior face required many new stones but these were obtained from the old piers of the Virginia-Maryland Bridge Company . . . .[20]

Although Beckenbaugh did not mention it in his annual reports, he also donated stone from an old quarry on his farm, about 3 miles from the battlefield, to match the original stone in the cemetery wall.[21]

---

[18] Supt. Beckenbaugh's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

[19] R.G. 79, Box 2700. File 618. E.R.A. Contract No. I-1p-16352, May 1, 1939, lease of ground to rebuild cemetery wall.

[20] Supt. Beckenbaugh's Annual Report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

[21] R.G. 79, Box 2601. File 201.96. Also see "Report on W.P.A. Project No. 765-25-2-19-Rebuilding and rehabilitating mason wall and rebuilding driveway, Antietam National Cemetery, project began March 10, 1939 - to date: November 1, 1939, by Superintendent Beckenbaugh. To Director, November 13, 1939, five pages, plus 10 pages with 26 photographs, in R.G. 79, Box 2700, File 618.

In April 1939 workmen had discovered what was probably the cornerstone of the wall that had been laid in 1866. In a letter to the director, Beckenbaugh described these findings as follows:

> There was no evidence in the wall that it contained a cornerstone and we do not believe that one was ever officially laid, as we find no records. The workmen in tearing down the southwest corner, came upon a crude opening in which was a stone jar with a large but badly disintegrated cork which had been covered with red sealing wax. The jar contained 7 coins which we list as follows:
>
> Half Dime --- 1862
> Three cent piece --- 1865
> One cent piece --- 1858
> One cent piece --- 1866
> Three cent piece --- 1865
> Two cent piece --- 1865
> One cent piece --- 1864
>
> Total value - 16¢
>
> There was a newspaper badly disintegrated and so wet that it could scarcely be handled and after drying same to the best of our ability it has been impossible to find the date or title of the paper, but from some printing which it was possible to read we believe that it was a Baltimore Paper.
>
> We have placed the coins in the office safe and have the jar and paper fragments in the Administration Building stock room, and await instructions as to any disposition that the Service may desire to make of same.[22]

On April 25, 1940, as the northwest corner of the cemetery stone wall was finished, Superintendent Beckenbaugh held a corner-stone laying ceremony attended "by the entire battlefield staff and the WPA force:"

> The Superintendent made a brief talk complimenting the men on the excellent work accomplished, on the splendid safety record they had made with the dangerous work performed and expressed his deep appreciation for their excellent spirit of loyalty and cooperation. A glass jar, the top capped and sealed in cement, was placed in the wall, containing a battlefield pamphlet, Maryland state road map, 1939 copper pennies, 1939 Jefferson nickel, a Buffalo nickel and a typed record of the project, with the names of the President, Secretary of Interior, Director, Regional Director, Regional Engineer. Resident Landscape Architect, the entire Antietam National Battlefield Site personnel, and all the NYA and WPA who have been employed here since the project has been in operation.[23]

---

[22] R.G. 79, Box 2699. File 0-31 - Part II.
[23] Supt. Beckenbaugh's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The massive cemetery stone walls were thus reconstructed at a cost of $39,997 in 1939-40 and the entrance to the battlefield utility area was also regraded. (Also see page 162 for description of further work on driveway.)

7. TREES IN THE NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1933-1942

In his October 10, 1933 inspection of the Antietam National Cemetery, Coordinating Superintendent McConaghie reported: "Trees. It was noted that a number of the larger trees were in need of top trimming and some in considerable need of tree surgery for their proper preservation..."[24] A Public Works Administration grant for Project No. FPN 421—Tree Surgery and Protection, Antietam National Cemetery, in the amount of $2,250 was received. A contract was entered into with David C. Boles of Milldale, Virginia, who worked from April 5 to May 29, 1934. Some extra work was added to the contract to expend the entire allotment. Superintendent Beckenbaugh reported, "The work was very well done and added greatly both to the appearance and doubtless to the life of the beautiful trees with which this National Cemetery is graced."[25]

In August 1934 the Branch of Forestry completed a report on Antietam National Cemetery entitled "Tree Census Data Sheets and Tree Key Sketch of Antietam National Cemetery, Sharpsburg, Maryland" (August 27, 1934, 11 pages plus tree location map of cemetery.)[26] This report is of considerable interest in preserving the historical scene of the last half of the 19th century in the cemetery as the study provided detailed data on 262 trees that the War Department had planted between 1878 and 1933.

On February 14, 1936, a severe ice storm did considerable damage to the cemetery trees.[27] Superintendent Beckenbaugh described the work of the Region One tree crew in the national cemetery during the summers of 1935 and 1936:

---

[24] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31, Part I. McConaghie to Director, October 20, 1933.

[25] Supt.'s annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.

[26] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 0-31 and Forestry in File 701-01.4. The drawing, a blueprint, was made by J. J. Black and dated May 1934.

[27] R.G. 79, Box 2607, File 801.04, Memo to Director, February 17, 1936, 3 pp.

> The Tree Preservation Crew in charge of Foreman B. J. Baker was here from August 1 to August 10 [1935], trimming and removing trees in the National Cemetery affected by the "maple wilt" and also from May 20 to June 5 [1936], trimming trees which were badly broken in a February sleet storm, and cabling to help prevent further storm damage. They also trimmed the trees on the battlefield. Colored enrollees from the CCC Camps at Gettysburg were sent here to remove the debris and the tree trunks.[28]

In March 1939 as has been mentioned, 19 large and old trees were removed from the cemetery to reconstruct the enclosing stone wall. In May 1942 $100 was spent trimming trees in the cemetery.[29]

On November 4, 1938, Superintendent Beckenbaugh submitted for technical review a Job Planting Plan for Antietam National Cemetery--Plan #NBS-ANT-2007. He explained:

> This plan has been prepared for the purpose of providing young replacements and substitutions for trees that have been removed in the past by natural causes and to provide a continuity of tree growth in the cemetery as more of the existing trees are removed by maturity.
>
> Every effort will be made to maintain the old specimen plantation character that is common to the National Cemeteries. However, the material suggested varies considerably from the original. In this cemetery there was a predominance of maple and norway spruce. It is considered that all these species bring about difficult problems as they mature and hence it is proposed that the maples and shallow rooted trees in general, be replaced by the deeper rooted and longer lived species indicated on the lists [3 pp with 264 trees].
>
> The trees that are suggested for removal are in a deformed and decrepit condition, a hazard to the neighboring trees during storms and are ugly specimens in the landscape....
>
> Upon approval of this planting plan same will be accomplished by our regular maintenance force as funds are available, from materials collected locally so far as possible and from purchased materials when funds are sufficient for such use.[30]

---

[28] Superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1936.

[29] Superintendent's monthly report for May 1942.

[30] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031 - Part II.

Region One sent the superintendent approved copies of drawing no. NBS-ANT-2009-1-1, December 30, 1938, commenting:

> The reviewing forester notes that fact that a large portion of the existing trees are exotic and recommends that in all future planting programs native material be used insofar as practicable.[31]

Under this plan it would appear that the historic scene in Antietam National Cemetery would be greatly altered over a period of years.

On March 16, 1940, Director Cammerer inspected Antietam National Cemetery. He noted that "Superintendent Taute recommends that a planting program be prepared so that a stand of fine trees will be maintained throughout the years." The Director instructed the Chief of Forestry "to have one of your foresters study the trees at the Antietam National Cemetery and prepare a report on existing conditions, repairs necessary, and recommend a future planting program."[32]

Acting Chief of Forestry Cook replied on March 29, reporting that Forester Thompson had been sent to study the problem. Continuing, he wrote:

> Despite considerable work accomplished under PWA contract in 1934, by the ECW itinerant tree preservation crew in 1935 and 1936, and occasional minor pruning by local labor, many of the trees are in poor condition. This is to be expected since a majority of the trees are mature or overmature and many are of species that are relatively short-lived -- Norway spruce, silver maple, horse chestnut, and the like. With few exceptions, all the trees in the area were planted when the cemetery was established, about 65 to 70 years ago.
>
> It is our understanding that the Regional Landscape Architect, Region I, has already prepared a plan to carry out such a program when funds are available.

Forester Cook then pointed out that the tree situation at Antietam

> is typical of several of the national cemeteries under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. The trees at Fredericksburg, Chattanooga, Poplar Grove, Stones River, and Shiloh [national cemeteries] are perhaps in the poorest general condition. All (11 national cemeteries) areas contain

---

[31] Ibid., Assistant Regional Director E.M. Lisle to Beckenbaugh, Dec. 30, 1938.

[32] Ibid., Director to Chief of Forestry, March 21, 1940.

> old, single-aged trees for the most part since little or no replanting has been done since the original layout some 60 to 70 years ago. There is a limit to the life of any tree, particularly the species that make up the majority of our cemetery stands. Since repair and preservation work necessarily has been intermittent, owing to the source of funds, the trees, in many instances, have gone beyond the possibility of saving. A regular program of maintenance and replacement is badly needed if the areas are to present an attractive appearance.[33]

As a result of the Antietam study, Acting Chief of Planning W.G. Carnes wrote to the regional landscape architect, Region One, on April 4, 1940, and instructed him to prepare planting plans similar to Drawing No. 2009 for Antietam for these following ten national cemeteries:

1. Chattanooga
2. Poplar Grove
3. Antietam
4. Stones River
5. Fredericksburg
6. Fort Donelson
7. Shiloh
8. Gettysburg
9. Vicksburg
10. Yorktown

> Such planting plans should be prepared on the basis of gradual replacement of older trees in order not to denude them at one time and in order not to replace them with a stand of trees of the same age so that the present predicament would arise again in 60 to 70 years. It is considered desirable to approach this problem from the standpoint of purchasing trees 10 to 15 feet in height rather than to attempt the establishment of nurseries.[34]

8. CEMETERY HEADSTONES, 1936

In the annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, it was noted that

> Under the direction of Cemetery Superintendent Taute, all the old irregular private tombstones, forty-three in number, erected in the early days of the Cemetery and most of which were in a very bad state of preservation have been removed and the standard government headstone erected in their place, giving the Cemetery a decidedly better appearance."[35]

---

[33] R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part II, Acting Chief to Director, March 29, 1940.

[34] Ibid. Carnes to Regional Landscape Architect, April 4, 1940.

[35] Supt. Beckenbaugh's Annual Report, 1936 fiscal year.

9. CEMETERY SUPERINTENDENT'S QUARTERS

In his report for the quarter ending March 31, 1934, Cemetery Superintendent Nett noted that "The Superintendent's Lodge [quarters] needs painting very badly; the roof needs restaining as part of it has never been stained." He estimated the cost at $225, which included labor and material.[36]

Nothing happened, for on March 31, 1935, Superintendent Carl M. Taute reported:

> Lodge. [quarters] The second story and roof, shingled, needs painting. The interior walls and ceilings have never been painted. A coat of sizing and wall paint would lighten the rooms and protect the walls. One cellar wall leaks in a light rain while in heavy rains water runs through the cellar door from the rear of the lodge into the cellar.[37]

Again there was no action. In June 1941, however, the cemetery superintendent's quarters were painted both on the exterior and the interior.[38]

In June 1939 the quarters electrical wiring was altered and extended under contract at a cost of $197.[39]

10. ANNUAL EXPENDITURES ON THE CEMETERY, 1933-1938

From August 10, 1933, to June 30, 1938, the National Park Service spent $11,465.74 from its regular appropriations for the administration, maintenance, repair, and operation of Antietam National Cemetery as follows:

1934 fiscal year:	$ 1,494.67
1935 fiscal year:	2,431.41
1936 fiscal year:	2,505.88
1937 fiscal year:	2,697.86
1938 fiscal year:	2,335.92
Total:	$11,465.74

---

36. R.G. 79, Box 2699, File 031-Part I--"Repairs Required at Antietam National Cemetery and Estimated Cost." March 1934.
37. Ibid. Quarterly report, March 31, 1935.
38. Supt. Taute's monthly report, June 1941.
39. R.G. 79, Box 2700, File 620 - Buildings, National Cemetery. Contract I-1 - 15205, June 29, 1939, with M.O. Holt, alteration and addition to the wiring in the lodge (superintendent's residence) Antietam National Cemetery. Also specifications for work, dated May 22, 1939, 16 pages.

Using funds from Emergency Public Works, the National Park Service spent an additional $3,759.50 between 1933 and 1938 on these three projects:

1.	Public Works Administration Project No. FPM 421-Tree Surgery and Protection, April 5 - May 29, 1934--By Contract	$ 2,250.00
2.	F.E.R.A. Project 22-B15-80. Removing Old Paint and Repainting National Cemetery Iron Fence, 1934-35	409.50
3.	Public Works Administration Project No. FPN-615, Repairs to National Cemetery Wall and Fence, March 15-June 13, 1935	1,100.00
	Total: Work relief funds, 1933-1938:	$3,759.50

With regular and special appropriations included, $15,225.24 was spent on the national cemetery from 1933 to June 30, 1938. With the funds for the 1939-40 WPA project for reconstructing the cemetery stone enclosing wall in the amount of $39,997 included, the total amounted to more than $55,222.

11. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE EXPENDITURES ON ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE AND NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1933-1938

Summary of expenditures, August 10, 1933, to June 30, 1938:

Area	Regular Funds	Emergency Funds	Total Spent
Battlefield:	$31,360.62	$ 42,076.32	$73,436.94
Cemetery:	11,465.74	3,759.50	15,225.24
TOTAL:	$42,826.36	$ 45,835.82	$88,662.18

Region One also spent the following sums at Antietam, which are not included in the above listed figures:

Battlefield Accounts	Allotment	Spent
Roads and Trails, 1937	$ 300.00	$ 300.00
Fire Protection, 1936	15.00	2.94
Fire Protection, 1937	15.00	6.46
Fire Protection, 1938	15.00	12.00
Total:	$ 345.00	$321.40

Total, about $88,983.58.

CHAPTER VII

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE AND NATIONAL CEMETERY DURING WORLD WAR II AND IN THE POST-WAR YEARS, 1942-1950

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and propelled the United States into World War II, 1941-1945. National Park Service appropriations and manpower were pared to the bone during this national emergency. Operations were reduced to caretaking activities. With the end of the war, however, appropriations for national parks did not rapidly or greatly increase. In June 1950, just as there seemed to be some progress in funding, the United States entered the Korean conflict and once again federal money was devoted to the war effort.

1. PERSONNEL

On April 5, 1942 Carl M. Taute, superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery and acting superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site, was transferred to the position of superintendent of Gettysburg National Cemetery. On April 6, 1942, Clarence L. Nett, superintendent of Gettysburg National Cemetery since July 11, 1934, returned to Sharpsburg as superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery. The position of Antietam Cemetery superintendent was abolished and the uniformed staff of Antietam, previously composed of the two superintendents, was henceforth reduced to one.

Antietam from 1942 to 1950 remained under the supervision of Coordinating Superintendent Coleman of Gettysburg and of Region One Director Thomas Allen, headquartered in Richmond, Virginia.

Nett served as superintendent of the Antietam battlefield and cemetery from April 6, 1942, until his death on June 1, 1945. Paul H. Younger was appointed custodian of Antietam battlefield and cemetery on November 7, 1945, and held that office until his death on June 10, 1950. Younger was transferred to Antietam from the position of historical technician at the Statue of Liberty National Monument.[1]

---

[1] Younger's annual salary as custodian of Antietam in 1946 was $3,397.20.

Pearl M. Benner (later Mrs. Pearl B. Thomas) held the position of clerk-typist during the period 1942 to 1950. She served as acting superintendent from the death of Nett until Younger arrived. Younger suffered a series of heart attacks in 1948 and again in 1950, which resulted in his death on June 10 in the latter year. During these intervals of absence Mrs. Thomas served as acting custodian and also acted in this role from June 10 to August 23, 1950, when Younger's replacement finally reported for duty.[2]

From April 2, 1942, to January 15, 1943, Assistant Historical Technician Steere worked as a full time historian on Antietam research and interpretive problems (as have been detailed in Chapter V. Section (n) 2). Approximately 14 years were to pass before the National Park Service was to assign another professionally-trained, full-time historian for duty at Antietam. Dr. Tilberg of Gettysburg National Military Park provided historical advice to the Antietam staff from 1942 to 1950.

Because of the decline of travel during the war, no ranger-historians were employed during the summers of 1943, 1944, and 1945. The following men worked as ranger-historians in later years: Hugh W. Chapman, 1946; none, 1947; William L. Fournier, 1948 and May 7-June 17, 1949; Page T. Otto, the balance of 1949 to October 26; and Louis E. Tuckerman, May 6 to September 30, 1950.

No rangers were employed at Antietam from 1942 to 1950. From April 6, 1942, to June 30, 1950, the maintenance staff was composed of two permanent classified positions and two seasonal temporary laborers, except during the summers of 1947 and 1948, when three temporary laborers were employed.[3]

The normal work of the maintenance force "consisted of mowing grass, repairing fences, removing dead trees, painting [cast-iron] tablets, and general maintenance work."[4] When there were interments at the national cemetery, the men also opened and closed graves.[5]

---

[2] Superintendent's monthly reports 1942-1950.

[3] Superintendent's annual and monthly reports 1942-1950.

[4] Annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, Supt. Paul H. Younger.

2. LAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM, 1942-1950

On September 21, 1943, Director Newton B. Drury, from the National Park Service's wartime headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, transmitted to the secretary of the interior for examination by the solicitor, a deed dated November 7, 1933, conveying from the county commissioners of Washington County, Maryland, to the United States all right and title to the historic (1836) Burnside Bridge, as a donation for addition to the Antietam National Battlefield Site. This bridge carried the county road over Antietam Creek. Drury wrote, "Authority for acceptance of this donation is contained in the Act of May 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 212)."[6]

The deed executed in 1933, however, was not formally accepted by the United States until the enactment of Maryland state legislation authorizing the conveyance. By an act approved April 5, 1945, the General Assembly of Maryland ratified and approved the conveyances made by the county commissioners of Washington County.[7] This deed to the bridge was accepted by the secretary of the interior on November 20, 1945.[8]

On July 1, 1947, by warranty deed, Arthur H. Dorsey and Elta Maria Graves donated 0.014 acres of land to the United States. This gift was accepted by the secretary of the interior on July 16, 1948.[9] This land, Superintendent Younger explained, "permits widening of the entrance road to the [battlefield] utility area."[10]

---

5. Younger's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948. Eight veterans were buried in the national cemetery in 1945, 6 in 1946, and 36 in 1948.
6. R.G. 79, Box 2606, File 650-04, Park 1. The deed was recorded Nov. 29, 1933, in Liber No. 194, folio 386. Land Records of Washington County, Md.
7. Acting Director J. D. Coffman, Chicago, Ill., to Secretary of Interior, November 7, 1945, recommending acceptance of deed. File 650.04.
8. Herbert Evison, Chief of Lands, to Regional Director, Region One, November 30, 1945. File 650.04. This was designated as Antietam National Battlefield Site, Deed No. 54.
9. R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 604-Donations. On October 3, 1947, Coordinating Supt. J. Walter Coleman also made a special trip from Gettysburg to Hagerstown, Md., to record the deed to the Dorsey strip.
10. Superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

On November 4, 1947, Region One historian Appleman visited Site One, Antietam National Battlefield Site, and in a memorandum to Regional Director Allen, urged that a land acquisition program be instituted at Antietam to preserve this important battlefield. Never one to beat about the bushes, Appleman wrote:

> The park should acquire that section of the Smoketown road from Mansfield Avenue to Cornfield Avenue. This road is only a few hundred yards in length and is unimproved. A tour of the park necessitates using this small strip of unimproved county road. It is muddy in wet weather, and dusty in dry weather. . . .
>
> Three new houses are under construction immediately east of Sharpsburg on the Harper's Ferry Road and adjacent to the park boundary. This new construction is fair warning of what may be expected to take place in the vicinity of Sharpsburg at an increasing tempo, as the years pass. Sharpsburg is situated in very picturesque country, and the surrounding land offers excellent building sites for residences. It is my belief that within a relatively few years the Sharpsburg area will be built up, either for permanent residences or for summer homes. This speading-out building tendency has gone on at an accelerated rate of speed, drawing from the Washington area during and since the war. Circumstances have left Sharpsburg and the adjoining countryside relatively unchanged from the Civil War period up to the present, but we cannot expect that this condition will continue very much longer. Time is running short for the Federal government to act in acquiring (while there is still time) sufficient lands at Antietam to make a battlefield park of this historic ground. At the present time, the site is very little more than a ribbon of road. The War Department made a mistake in planning its land acquisition program at Antietam. The Park Service will have to recognize this fact and act quickly to correct it.
>
> My own personal opinion is that if the Federal government were to maintain and preserve only three areas as national battlefield parks of the Civil War period, Antietam should be one of them. Not only was the first invasion of the north by Lee stopped at this point and turned back, but Antietam was also a large factor in preventing the recognition of the Confederacy by England in 1862, and it offered the chance for Lincoln to issue his Emancipation Proclamation. In the larger field of the conduct of the war, Antietam is unique among the battles of that great conflict. It is the duty of the National Park Service to take the steps necessary to round out a reasonable battlefield area here in order to preserve this ground and commemorate the significance of the event that took place here. The Sharpsburg countryside is very much now what it was in 1862. There are literally

> scores of Civil War period farm houses, barns and out-buildings in this area. Some of them are exceedingly picturesque, and in themselves constitute something of an architectural record of the times. This is a farming area. Whatever land the Federal govenment might acquire here should be kept in cultivation under agriculture permits, with the families living in and using the farm buildings. I know of no historical area in Region One which is as greatly in need of an active land acquisition program as Antietam.[11]

Regional Historian Appleman returned to the attack in 1949. In a memorandum to the regional director, Region I, he wrote:

> The Regional Land acquisition program should place Antietam high on its list for the acquisition of certain tracts. Among these is the section of Smoketown Road, which is county owned and serves as the connecting link with the Park Tour Road. This stretch of road, needed to complete Federal ownership of the tour road, is very short.
>
> Another tract of land that is urgently needed for acquisition is the hill crest and eastern slope of the hill just east of the New York Monument. This is the site that has been selected for location of the museum-administration building. This site commands, better than any other, a panoramic view of the battlefield and of the mountains beyond.
>
> There are other bits of land that should be acquired to straighten out and eliminate bad road instersections. In a larger sense, the land acquisition at Antietam is a major one in view of the fact that the Park consists principally of a very narrow road, the shoulders of which in many places are not more than three or four feet wide until the boundary fences are reached. I recommend that Antietam be placed on a high priority for land acquisition in the next year's program.[12]

Eleven more years, however, were to pass before the secretary of the Interior was to receive authority from Congress in 1960 to purchase land for Antietam National Battlefield Site.

---

11. R.G. 79, Box 2603, File 207.03. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, November 12, 1947. Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson read the report and requested photographs of the new houses east of Sharpsburg if available and noted that "the legislation enacted in 1940 limits the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to acquire additional lands at Antietam Battlefield to those which can be secured through donations."
12. R.G. 79, Box 2601, Appleman to Regional Director February 3, 1949.

3. MAINTENANCE PROGRAM, 1942-1950

a. Buildings and Structures

(1) Administration-Museum Building (1867 Cemetery Lodge). The exterior of the administration-museum building was painted in July 1944.[13] In March 1948 the office, museum, and public restrooms were repaired; and in June these rooms and the exterior of the edifice were given a coat of paint.[14] The cost of these improvements was $503.05.[15] On July 9, 1949, a contract was awarded to C. V. Harbaugh of Hagerstown to install radiators in the museum on the second floor of the lodge.[16]

(2) Park Superintendent's Quarters. The exterior of the park superintendent's quarters was painted in July 1944. In February 1945 the floors in three rooms were sanded and varnished.[17] In 1948 the quarters were given one coat of paint, inside and out, except for the shingle roof, which had never been painted. This work was done under contract.[18]

(3) War Correspondents Monument,Crampton's Gap. On July 29, 1942, lightning struck the weathervane on the south end of the War Correspondents Memorial Arch. Three large cap stones, each weighing about 300 pounds, were knocked off the top of the monument. A contract to repair this damage was awarded to Hammker Brothers of Thurmont, Maryland. Work started on November 5 and was completed in December 1942.[19]

---

[13] Monthly report for July 1944.

[14] Monthly report for March 1948; monthly report for June 1948 and annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

[15] R.G. 79, Box 2605. November 24, 1948, Project Completion Report - 410 - Major Repair or Rehabilitation 14x 018001 Physical Improvements - Appropriated $1,010.00. $1,004.68 of the total had been expended.

[16] Monthly reports for June and July 1949.

[17] Monthly report for July 1944.

[18] Monthly reports, March and June 1948, Annual report for fiscal year, June 30, 1948.

[19] Monthly reports for July, October, November and December 1942. Also-R.G. 79, Box 2606. File 801-04: Storms.

(4) Burnside Bridge. The United States accepted title to the Burnside Bridge on November 20, 1945, and on June 24, 1947, a contract was signed with B. L. Smith of Boonsboro in the amount of $834 for repair of the bridge's arches, which included repointing.[20]

Regional Historian Appleman, who inspected Antietam on November 4, 1947, reported of this work:

> The Burnside Bridge has been repointed and the road over it resurfaced. Re-pointing of the underpart of the arch was done by contract. The park staff pointed the sides and edges. I noticed that water was still leaking through the bridge. Engineer [Tom] Ruffin examined the bridge, together with Custodian Younger and Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, and I believe corrective action to stop the leaking is being planned.[21]

Additional repairs were made to the bridge by the park staff at an additional cost of $284.[22]

(5) National Cemetery Iron Fence. The iron fence along the north or front wall of the National Cemetery was painted in July 1944.[23]

In 1947 new barbed wire was strung along the top of the woven wire fences at the Maryland and Vermont State Monument plots.[24]

b. Trees in the National Cemetery

Following World War II, the region one tree crew returned to Antietam to trim the trees in the national cemetery, October 12 - 19, 1948.[25]

Prior to this, in April 1947, Superintendent Younger had reported, "12 flowering dogwoods, 5 tulips, 4 white oak, and 16 Kentucky coffee trees have been placed in the National Cemetery. This is a part of the tree planting program set up in 1938. The remainder of the program will be carried out in 1948."[26]

---

[20] R.G. 79, Box 2605, File 650-04: Bridges.

[21] R.G. 79, Box 2603, File 207.03. Appleman to Regional Director, November 12, 1947.

[22] R.G. 79 - annual report of superintendent for fiscal year ending June 30, 1949; Box 2605 - November 24, 1948 - Project Completion Report - 410 - Major Repair and Rehabilitation 14x018001.

[23] Monthly report for July 1944.

[24] Annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1947.

[25] Monthly report for October 1948.

[26] Monthly report for April 1947.

c. Water Supply, National Cemetery

On December 19, 1943, a leak developed in the 1,000-gallon water tank.[27] In February 1944 the 1,200-gallon water tank in the pump house was replaced and in March of the same year, a new roof was placed on the pump house.[28]

d. Roads and Trails

No work, other than patching, was done on the roads and trails from 1942 to 1945. On October 15, 1946, a contract in the amount of $1,464.24 was awarded to the Bester-Long Company of Hagerstown for resurfacing Mansfield Avenue.[29] This work was completed on November 2, 1946.[30]

Contracts were also let June 24, 1947 to resurface Cornfield and Starke Avenues.[31] Confederate Avenue was similarly resurfaced in 1948.[32]

e. Preservation of Historic Fields, Spong Farm

On October 22, 1940, the Washington County Historical Society donated 128,588 acres comprising the Spong and Dorsey farms that were located at the Burnside Bridge and formed a large part of an important historic scene. The National Park Service was now confronted with the problem of maintaining the cleared fields that had survived in that state since 1862.

A series of annual special use permits were issued by the National Park Service to Howard C. Knode from June 11, 1943, to October 30, 1946, "for purpose of maintaining the Battlefield Site in a condition as nearly as possible like that in 1862." The historical base map of Antietam, 1899, which consisted of "the Cope Survey map of the Battlefield of Antietam, 1899, combined with the wartime culture of the

---

[27] Monthly report for December 1943.

[28] Monthly reports for February and March 1944.

[29] R.G. 79, Box 2606. File includes contract and specifications for the work; an area 3,432 feet by 16 feet = 6,101 square yards was to be surfaced.

[30] Monthly report for November 1946.

[31] Monthly report for June 1947.

[32] Monthly report for September 1948. "Resurfacing job on the southern section of Confederate Avenue inspected on September 14, 1948."

Antietam area as indicated on the Cope map of 1898, prepared by the War Department," served as the basic guide in issuing leases and for restoring or preserving the 1862 historic scene.[33] These leases ran from May 1 to April 30 annually and granted permission for the use of 15 acres of the Spong farm at a monthly rent of $6.25.[34]

Architectural and historical investigations, completed in 1940 and 1941, had concluded that the Spong farmhouse, barns and sheds had been erected after the battle. These structures were removed under contract in November 1946.[35]

In a conference held at Antietam on January 18, 1949, and attended by Coordinating Superintendent Coleman and historian Tilberg of Gettysburg, Superintendent Younger of Antietam, regional historian Appleman, and regional landscape architect Abbott, Region One, the problem of maintaining the 1862 historic scene on the battlefield was considered. Regional Historian Appleman reported:

> The Park is in its usual good maintained condition with the exception of the recently acquired 125 acres of the Spong Farm. This new acquisition presents a new problem and a difficult one. During the past several years, under private ownership, it has been allowed to grow up with various types of shrubs, hawthorne and young trees. Some of these are already of considerable size. Unless this growth is removed immediately it will present an ever increasing problem for the Park. The Park does not now have either the money or the labor necessary to clear the area.[36]

The meeting, as they say, had identified a problem, but the means of solving it were not to be provided before 1950.

f. Park Maintenance Equipment, 1948

Custodian Younger reported in 1948 that the equipment of the park was composed of these items:

---

[33] R.G. 79, Box 2607, File 900-Part I, Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson to Regional Director, Region One, April 21, 1944.

[34] R.G. 79, Box 2607. File 901. Special Use Permit No. I-53p-186, May 1, 1943, to April 30, 1944; No. I-53p-240, for May 1, 1945, to April 30, 1946, and May 1, 1946 to October 30, 1946—all issued to Howard C. Knode. Last one—13NP-23.

[35] Monthly report for November 1946, and annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947. The contractor apparently completed his work in April 1947; see monthly report for April 1947.

[36] R.G. 79, Box 2601. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, February 3, 1949.

> The motor equipment consists of 1 dual wheel 1½ ton International Truck in good condition; 1 Ford V8 ½ ton pickup body truck in poor condition; 1 G.M.C. dump truck, 1½ tons, in good condition; 1 Chevrolet Sedan, 1937 model in poor condition. The ground equipment consists of 1 Gravely power mower which can be used with sickle cutters or revolving blades in good condition; 1 Milbradt power mower in fair condition; 1 Locke three unit reel type in good condition. A grass trimmer for headstone in the cemetery has been purchased with a generator. The Utility Building is equipped with an up-to-date blacksmith forge and anvil;[37] a power driven grinding wheel, boring machine and jigsaw.

4. LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS, 1942-1950

As has been mentioned, no ranger was stationed at Antietam during this period. In a report on law enforcement problems, dated November 27, 1947, Superintendent Paul H. Younger wrote that "Vandalism is not a serious problem" at this park.[38]

5. RESEARCH, 1942-1950

As has been mentioned, assistant historical technician Steere was engaged from July 1, 1942, to January 15, 1943, in completing extensive historical research and interpretive studies that he had been working on since October 1941. His position was not filled after Steere's departure, with the result that Antietam National Battlefield Site had no capacity for research from 1943 to 1950. Historical matters were referred to Historian Tilberg at Gettysburg National Military Park for answers. No historical or architectural research of any importance was accomplished by National Park Service employees for Antietam during the years 1943 to 1950.[39]

6. MASTER PLANNING

A master plan edition of 1943 was issued for Antietam, drawing no. 3008. Other sheets issued 1942 to 1950 included:

Vicinity Map, January 1, 1942 -- drawing no. 2002A
General Development Plan, January 1945 -- drawing no. 2003A
Historical Base Map Showing Battle Action of September 17, 1862-January 1, 1942 -- drawing no. 2014A.

---

[37] Superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

[38] R.G. 79, Box 2603, Vandalism.

[39] Monthly and annual reports, 1943 to June 30, 1950, contain no mention of historical or architectural research.

Road System Plan, May 5, 1949. Drawing No. 217A.

Road and Trail System, October 6, 1950. Drawing No. 2017B.[40]

This work was done in the Washington and Regional Offices.

7. TRAVEL, 1942-1950

Travel decreased sharply during the war years, 1943 to 1945, and then climbed abruptly. An estimated total of 194,926 people visited Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery between July 1, 1942, and June 30, 1950, as follows:

Travel July 1, 1942-June 30, 1950

By Fiscal Year To June 30:	Estimated Number of Visitors	No. of Cars
1943:	7,687	2,260
1944:	12,951	2,887
1945:	16,728	3,602
Subtotal:	37,366	8,749
1946:	26,056	5,280
1947:	31,942	8,831
1948:	30,785	7,918
1949:	32,635	
1950:	36,142	
Total:	194,926	30,788 [41]

The seasonal nature of this visitation is shown on the chart on the following page.

---

[40] Copies of these plans are to be found in Record Group 79 of the Cartographic Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C., under Antietam National Battlefield Site.

[41] Data extracted from monthly and annual reports of superintendents, July 1, 1942, to June 30, 1950.

July 1, 1942 to June 30, 1950

TRAVEL TO ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE - BY FISCAL YEAR

Month	June 30, 1943	June 30, 1944	June 30, 1945	June 30, 1946	June 30, 1947	June 30, 1948	June 30, 1949	June 30, 1950
July	628	560	1,945	1,558	2,656	3,887	2,151	4,228
August	1,035	1,826	2,532	2,742	3,735	2,985	3,694	3,806
September	2,013	1,075	1,838	4,244	2,529	2,851	4,801	3,900
October	696	1,024	1,456	2,207	1,189	2,985	3,209	4,178
November	377	490	554	750	1,158	1,383	1,300	1,238
December	42	303	260	231	925	644	726	486
January	12	56	9	278	281	391	770	
February	358	473	171	412	211	355	1,361	1,380
March	406	427	1,042	1,422	938	992	504	1,006
April	406	1,081	658	2,477	2,807	2,118	2,100	2,600
May	1,079	4,498	4,861	7,118	11,746	10,315	9,001	10,042
June	635	1,138	1,402	2,617	3,767	1,879	3,036	3,283
TOTAL	7,687	12,951	16,728	26,056	31,942	30,785	32,653	36,142+
No. of Cars	2,260	2,887	3,602	5,280	8,831	7,918		

8. SPECIAL EVENTS AND VISITORS, 1942-1950

There was no special event during this period to rival the 75th anniversary commemoration of the Battle of Antietam in 1937. On May 28, 1944, however, Superintendent Nett reported, "President Franklin D. Roosevelt and party visited the Observation Tower on Bloody Lane," in an unofficial, off-the-record visit to the Battlefield.[42]

Memorial Day continued to be a big day as large numbers of groups continued to gather at the National Cemetery to hold services. The monthly reports of the superintendents indicate that visitation on that day was as follows:

Memorial Day Visitation at the National Cemetery[43]

1944:	3,226	1948:	
1945:	4,106	1949:	6,000
1946:	5,000	1950:	
1947:			

9. INTERPRETIVE SERVICES, 1942-1950

a. Guided Tours and Lectures

Of the eight summer travel seasons involved between July 1, 1942, and June 30, 1950, the National Park Service provided the services of a seasonal ranger-historian during only four of those years, 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1950 (See page 229 for the names of the interpretive personnel).

The regular uniformed staff of the park during these years was one man, the superintendent. With the battlefield open from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, seven days a week and only two uniformed men on duty during the heavy travel season, it was not possible to give guided tours and lectures, except in the case of organized groups that had made arrangements in advance. These same restrictions applied during the spring and fall seasons, when only the superintendent was available for interpretive work. The Washington and regional offices during this period, as during the 1930s, had still not yet developed models of guided tours and talks that could be of assistance to the new and usually inexperienced seasonal ranger historians when they entered on duty.

---

[42] Monthly report for May 1944.

[43] Data extracted from monthly reports for May, 1942-1950, also annual reports. Sometimes no figure was mentioned.

b. Interpretive Literature, 1942-1950

(1) Self-Guiding Leaflet. The seven-page mimeographed self-guiding leaflet, with two maps, developed by superintendents Beckenbaugh and Taute in 1935 and 1936, was issued to visitors during this period to supplement the printed material. The self-guiding booklet suggested the best way to tour the battlefield and made up for the lack of guided tours and lectures to some extent.

(2) Printed Informational Leaflet (1940). The 1940 edition of the six-page printed informational folder on Antietam was used at the park during these years. A second shipment of 25,000 copies of the leaflet was received at the park on May 1, 1942. On December 4, 1946, Superintendent Younger reported that he had about 14,400 copies of the folder on hand.[44]

It was the duty of the park historian during these years to write drafts for the text and to revise the texts of park free folders. In July 1942, assistant historical technician Steere made several suggestions for the possible revision of the Antietam folder.[45] Lacking copies of the folder issued during the 1940s, it is impossible to tell if these changes were made. With World War II in progress, the printing of National Park Service publications and the revision thereof probably ceased. Any revisions made to the leaflet from 1946 to 1950 would have been the responsibility of Coordinating Historian Tilberg.

(3) Sixteen-page Sales Booklet. The excellent 16-page history of Antietam, based on a text written by Dr. Tilberg and published in 1941, was sold to visitors for 10 cents. On April 22, 1942, as has been mentioned, Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray had authorized the sale of the booklet in the park headquarters building in the national cemetery. The original stock of the 16-page booklet was sold out at the park by December 4, 1946, when no copies were reported as

---

[44] Monthly reports of superintendent, May 1942, and December 1946.
[45] Monthly superintendent's report for July 1942.

being on hand.[46] The history was reprinted by the U.S. Superintendent of Documents after World War II and was available to the public until about 1960.

c. Park Library

The small park library, some 240 books, grew slightly during this period. In June 1948 "six books, five on the Civil War, were purchased for the Library." In November 1948 Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park donated one book, A. J. Bennett's Story of the First Massachusetts Battery, to the Antietam park library.[47]

d. Park Museums, Temporary and Permanent

The small park "temporary" museum established by Superintendent Beckenbaugh in two rooms on the second floor of the cemetery lodge in 1936-37, with some 230 articles on display, exclusive of pictures, vegetated from 1942 to 1947. Regional Historian Appleman inspected Antietam battlefield on November 4, 1947. After conferring at the site with Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, park historian Tilberg, and custodian Younger regarding interpretive programs, Appleman described the temporary museum in these words:

> Antietam National Battlefield Site needs an interpretive program. At the present time, there is a very poor temporary museum exhibit in two upstairs rooms at headquarters in the national cemetery. These exhibits are poorly displayed and most of them are in need of rehabilitation and cleaning. It is a question whether these exhibits, in their present condition, are not worse than none at all. The condition of the Antietam museum exhibits underlines once again that one of the most urgent needs in Region One is for a full-time, competent museum technician who can be detailed for periods of days, weeks, or months (as circumstances may require) to various parts of the Region which will never have sufficient need for a full-time museum curator, but do need the services of such a technician for short periods of time each year. A park custodian cannot be expected to give museum exhibits the attention they need and deserve.
>
> Since my return, I have sent Custodian Younger a copy of Ned Burns' Field Manual for Museums.

---

[46] Monthly report of supt. for December 1946.

[47] Superintendent's monthly reports for June and November 1948.

> Dr. Tilberg has enlarged and mounted a number of Civil War period photographs relating to the battle of Antietam. When these are installed in the temporary museum, there will be some improvement over the present exhibits.[48]

The meeting apparently started wheels turning. In his monthly report for January 1948, Superintendent Younger wrote, "A start has been made in rearranging the museum exhibits as suggested by Regional Historian Appleman." In February he noted that the two museum rooms were being painted and in March Younger commented:

> A good start has been made on a complete rearrangement of the museum exhibits. Guns on exhibit cleaned. The two panels of Civil War pictures, 12 in each panel, which Gettysburg National Military Park prepared...have been installed in the museum.[49]

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, Custodian Younger proudly reported:

> All articles which are placed on exhibit have been cleaned and treated and placed in cases. A set of twenty-four Civil War photographs were made and installed in the museum, an exhibit which has been the cause of much favorable comment by visitors.
>
> This area has purchased a slide projector and have at the present time about fifty slides of interesting and important positions on the battlefield.[50]

On January 18, 1949, Coleman, Tilberg, Younger, Appleman, and regional landscape architect Abbott held another meeting at Antietam to consider its problems. Regional historian Appleman wrote under the heading of "Temporary Museum":

> Historian Tilberg has during the past year, undertaken to help Superintendent Younger revise and improve the temporary museum that prevailed a year ago at the time of my visit.... Both are to be complimented on this achievement .... Still more can be done....

Appleman suggested that the newly appointed Region One Museum Curator J. Paul Hudson, if possible, be permitted to work at

---

[48]. R.G. 79. Box 2603, File 207.03. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, November 12, 1947.

[49]. Superintendent's monthly reports, January, February, and March 1948.

[50]. Superintendent's annual report, fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

Antietam. Hudson could produce better and larger labels and special exhibits for handwritten letters.[51]

On April 4, 1949, Hudson visited Antietam and made suggestions regarding the temporary museum.[52] In July 1949, as had been mentioned, radiators were installed in the two museum rooms on the second floor thus providing heat for that area.

Superintendent Younger's ill health in 1949 and 1950 apparently prevented further improvements being made to the exhibits during this period.

On January 8 and February 28, 1942, the director had decided that a permanent museum, to cost about $40,000, would be erected on the New York and Maryland plot.

Then on September 14, 1942, Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, historian Tilberg, Superintendent Nett of Antietam, assistant historian Steere, Chief of Planning Tom Vint, Regional Chief of Planning Emerson, landscape architect Sheffield, and Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Appleman assembled at Antietam "for the purpose of going over the proposed tour route and examining the proposed sites for an administration-museum buildings and 6 or 7 pullouts for interpretive exhibits at key points on the tour." Appleman reported, with regards to the permanent museum site:

> There was general agreement that the area around the New York Monument plot offered the best location for an administration museum building. A few acres of land will have to be acquired at this point. The vantage point is excellent, giving panoramic view of the entire general area of the battle and of important points on the horizon associated with the maneuvering of the armies in reaching the battlefield....[53]

All seemed satisfied with this decision. But with World War II in progress and no funds for construction available, nothing was done toward erecting a permanent museum from 1942 to 1950. During the

---

51. R.G. 79, Box 2601. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, February 3, 1949.
52. Superintendent's monthly report for April 1949.
53. R.G. 79, Box 2602, file 833.05. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, September 28, 1942.

1950s, when construction money did become available, the battle over the location site for the permanent museum or "visitor center", as it was then called, was to break out anew.

e. Trailside Exhibits and Entrance Signs

In July 1942, assistant historical technician Steere reported that five actual size sketches for use in the trailside exhibits he was developing had been completed.[54] In August 1942 he completed work on the self guiding tour and his "Blitz-Krieg" style combat maps were submitted to Coleman and Tilberg of Gettysburg National Military Park for approval.[55]

At the important September 14, 1942, conference held at Antietam Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Appleman described the results with regards to trailside exhibits. He wrote:

> Mr. Steere guided us around the battlefield and at certain points proposed for tour/exhibits and the museum building gave the group an interesting and informative discussion of the battle....
>
> It was agreed that the several points on the tour selected for tour exhibits would serve their purpose well. There was some question about eliminating one of these. Mr. Vint suggested the substitution of a higher site for the last of the tour stops along the Harpers Ferry Road. There was an agreement that his suggestion offered a superior location. It will be necessary to acquire an acre or two of land at each of the 6 or 7 stops. The present land status consists of a narrow avenue or road, for the most part, thus giving no opportunity for roadside development. The land acquisition problem at Antietam should be easily solved. The acquisition of 20 acres in all, judiciously selected, should answer Service needs for an indefinite period into the future...[56]

Historian Steere completed his work on the self-guiding trailside exhibits in October 1942.[57] His research and interpretive reports were submitted to Gettysburg for approval on December 28, 1942, and January 3, 1943.[58] The matter of trailside exhibits thus rested, with nothing being done, from 1943 to 1947.

---

[54] Superintendent's monthly report, July 1942.

[55] Superintendent's monthly report, August 1942.

[56] R.G. 79, Box 2602, file 833.05. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, September 28, 1942.

[57] Superintendent's monthly report for October 1942.

[58] Superintendent's monthly reports, December 1942, January 1943.

On November 4, 1947, regional historian Appleman, in company with Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, Historian Tilberg, and custodian Younger, again considered the problem. Appleman reported his findings:

> As another aspect of the interpretive program that is so much needed at Antietam National Battlefield Site, there should be a series of roadside exhibits at key points, similar to those which are now being erected at Gettysburg National Military Park and at Yorktown battlefield.
>
> The park also needs good entrance markers and a suitable headquarters sign. The two entrance markers now placed on the highway on either side of Sharpsburg at the park boundaries are placed obliquely to the road and so situated that they are seen only about the time the traveller passes them, and, accordingly, cannot read them. The headquarters sign is entirely too small, with small lettering. This sign should be at least three times its present size, with large lettering and a suitable color scheme.
>
> There should be identifying markers along the highway indicating what features may be seen from the numerous park entrance roads. (An example of this would be at the road leading into Bloody Lane.) At the present time there are no markers at all at these points.
>
> Suitable study should be given to former Historian Steere's report, and specific action initiated to provide interpretive facilities based on this report.[59]

On February 20, 1948, Appleman informed Regional Director Allen:

> I am interested in having the cast-aluminum park entrance markers at Antietam National Battlefield Site (discussed in Superintendent Coleman's memorandum of February 17) manufactured and given experimental use. If they prove satisfactory at Antietam, we may wish to use similar entrance markers elsewhere.[60]

On May 14, 1948, Acting Regional Director Elbert Cox, Region One, approved the proposal for a series of outdoor exhibits for Antietam that Coordinating Superintendent Coleman had submitted on May 3.[61]

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, Superintendent Younger had written:

---

[59] R.G. 79, Box 2603, File 207.03. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, November 12, 1947.

[60] WASO file.

[61] Ibid.

> A new entrance sign has been purchased for the battlefield, a new type of sign ... which, if it proves successful, will be purchased for all the main entrance roads to the battlefield.
>
> Five trail-side exhibits are now under preparation for Antietam. The trail-side exhibits will be an outstanding development for this area as nothing of this nature has been done before to assist the visitor on the field.[62]

In September Younger reported the "Trailside exhibit located at the Observation Tower in Bloody Lane is attracting attention and seems to be a real help."[63] In December 1949 Younger commented that he was still working on plans for the proposed field exhibits. He noted that while many plans had been drawn up, little had been done to erect the exhibits.[64]

On April 13, 1950, Superintendent Younger and historian Tilberg visited the Washington Office and the Museum Laboratory, relative to the outdoor exhibits for Antietam.[65] But within one month Younger was dead.

During the years July 1, 1942, to June 30, 1950, as in the period August 10, 1933 to June 30, 1942, the National Park Service was able to maintain Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery in excellent condition, but the Service was unable to implement an effective interpretive program or develop the park.

---

62. Superintendent's annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.
63. Superintendent's monthly report for September 1948.
64. Superintendent's monthly report for December 1949.
65. Superintendent's monthly report for April 1950.

CHAPTER VIII

ANTIETAM FINDS A PLACE IN THE SUN, JULY 1950-JULY 1960

In this study we now reach a point in the narrative where the lack of evidence because of record destruction in 1967 and unavailable documents in the National Archives (January 1, 1954-1974) becomes a serious problem. For this reason Chapter VIII has been divided into two sections. The first covers the period July 1, 1950, to December 31, 1953, and is based on ample documentation covering all phases of park operations. The superintendent's annual and monthly reports, together with correspondence, were not available to write the history for the period January 1, 1954, to July 1960. Section two thus includes only subjects on which correspondence, chiefly from the Washington Office, was available. A number of park operations are not considered because there were no data available.

General, 1950-1960

On June 15, 1950, at a time when the National Park Service appeared to be making progress in inducing Congress to appropriate larger amounts of funds, the Korean conflict broke out. Once again, money for the National Park Service was reduced and this situation prevailed until after the armistice was signed on July 27, 1953.

Two events occurred during the summer of 1955 that were to dramatically affect and improve the operation and development of Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery and also that of every other park in the National Park System. The first of these was Director Wirth's successful inauguration of Mission 66 Program, a 10-year effort intended to provide enough money to properly rehabilitate, develop, interpret, and maintain every park in the system. Director Wirth's memorandum directing the superintendent of every area to submit detailed studies and proposals for carrying out this program in their own areas was issued on June 27, 1955. When Congress accepted this plan, the National Park Service undertook a nationwide program of construction, restoration, reconstruction, and historical, architectural, and archeological research that previously would have been considered impossible. The plan for each park was to incorporate the best of the master planning, developmental, and interpretive studies that had been carried out from 1933 to date while new ideas and suggestions were also welcomed.

The second event that was to greatly affect Antietam and all parks east of the Mississippi River was the regional reorganization that took place in 1955. On July 1 old Region One was subdivided into a new Region One, which administered parks in the southeastern United States, and new Region Five, headquartered at Philadelphia, to supervise the parks, which included Antietam, that were in the northeastern and Ohio Valley portion of the nation. The new regional director, Daniel J. Tobin, and his assistant regional director, George A. Palmer, entered on their new duties on July 1, 1955. This reorganization permitted the staffs of the two regional offices to devote a great deal more of their time and effort to considerably fewer parks than had previously been the case. Moreover, Regional Director Tobin and Assistant Regional Director Palmer were sincerely interested in Antietam and this facilitated the planning and development of the park that got underway in the 1950s.[1]

PART I, 1950-1953

1. PERSONNEL

On August 23, 1950, former Chief Ranger Harry W. Doust of Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia, arrived at Sharpsburg to assume his duties as the new superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery.[2] As a matter of fact, following the death of Superintendent Clarence Nett, on June 1, 1945, Regional Director Allen had written to the director recommending Chief Ranger Doust as custodian at Antietam at $2,600 per year. "This [transfer] solves

---

[1] These remarks are based on the personal observations of the writer, who served in the field as a historian at Saratoga, Hyde Park, and Harpers Ferry from 1948 to 1960 under both old Region One and new Region Five. He also prepared the initial Mission 66 Prospectuses for the homes of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Sites, Hyde Park, New York, in July and August 1955.

[2] Monthly report of superintendent, August 1950.

Colonial's problem," Allen commented. The acting director disagreed, writing he did not see how transferring Colonial's problem to Antietam would help the latter park. He further remarked:

> Mr. Doust has evinced little interest in the historical aspects of the area [Yorktown -Jamestown] to which he is now assigned, and as, apparently, you regard his performance as deficient under immediate supervision...

placing him under the distant supervision of the coordinating superintendent of Gettysburg did not seem to be a good idea. Younger's name was then suggested.[3]

Both executives had underestimated the talents of Harry W. Doust, as events were to demonstrate, for he was to play a key role in winning a place in the sun for Antietam National Battlefield site.

The "problem" that Doust had created at Colonial National Historical Park during World War II is not elaborated upon in the 1945 correspondence, but based upon the stories that Superintendent Doust told the writer in 1957, must have been related to his operation of a laundry business during the war. Assisted by park ranger Joe Prentice, Chief Ranger Doust purchased a large number of beach towels, which they rented at a reasonable rate to the thousands of sailors and marines stationed in the Norfolk area for use on the beaches on weekends. They also did other laundry for the servicemen, with the result that the clotheslines they erected in the rear of their government quarters were ladened 24 hours a day, seven days a week with drying clothes and beach towels. The profits of this business, which was conducted with great energy, they invested in U.S. War Bonds, thereby not only helping keep up the morale of the sailors, but also supporting the war effort. Doust reported that he had purchased so many war bonds that he had been forced to acquire a steamer trunk in which to store them.[4] The park superintendent and the regional director, Region One, probably regarded the two rangers' laundry operations as a nuisance and "problem," but neither of the executives apparently dared to order them to halt because of possible public relations ramifications.

---

[3] R.G. 79, Box 2601, Letters, June 23, 1945 of Acting Director, with Regional Director Allen, June 1945 attached.

[4] During the writer's work at Harpers Ferry National Monument, 1957-60, Superintendent Harry W. Doust visited the Monument and had lunch at the writer's residence. The colonial laundry story is one that Mr. Doust used to tell with great gusto.

With the end of World War II, the laundry operations ceased and in 1950 a forgiven Chief Ranger Doust was made superintendent of the battlefield. Doust was interested in 19th century England, in Scotland Yard, crime, and the detective Sherlock Holmes. He normally reported to work dressed in the style of an English gentleman and on the very special occasions when he reported for work at the office in the standard National Park Service uniform, he adorned it with his World War I service ribbons and medals. During his service at Antietam, Doust was engaged in his off-duty hours in writing a great Gothic English novel, of which there will be some mention later.[5]

Mrs. Pearl B. Thomas (nee Pearl M. Benner) continued to serve as clerk-typist during the period 1950-60. There was no park ranger or park historian. Ranger-historian Tuckerman served during the summers of 1950, 1951, 1952, and 1953. In 1953 he had to be discharged on August 24 because of the lack of funds.[6]

During the summer of 1950, when Doust arrived, his maintenance force was made up of two permanent classified laborers and two temporary laborers. In 1951 he had three laborers during the summer, but only one in December.[7] The number employed in 1952 and 1953 are not listed in the monthly reports, but probably did not exceed four.

The director and staff of the Washington office were favorably impressed with Superintendent Doust's administration of the Antietam battlefield. In his monthly report for June 1953, Doust reported, "By memorandum FO-62-53, signed by the Director, as of July 1, 1953, this area will be removed from Coordinating Superintendent Coleman." Doust thanked Superintendent Coleman and his staff for the help they had afforded Antietam since coordinating the park on October 3, 1940. Doust was moving Antietam out of the shade of a larger park to a place directly in the sun.

---

[5] Ibid.

[6] Data for personnel from monthly reports of Superintendents, June, July, and August, 1950-1953. Ranger-Historian Louis E. Tuckerman served May 6-September 30, 1950; June to September 3, 1951; June-August 1952, and June 22-August 24, 1954.

[7] On his vacation Mr. Doust enjoyed visiting London and Scotland Yard.

2. CLOSING THE NATIONAL CEMETERY TO FURTHER BURIALS

Superintendent Doust was an administrator who gave his superiors timely hints and when they failed to grasp the implications, proceeded to solve the problem on his own initiative. In his monthly report for July 1952 he suggested that Antietam National Cemetery be closed to further burials as there are "no suitable places for new graves left." In August of the same year he reported that he was burying veterans in "the last row of graves." Neither the Regional Director, Region One, nor the director apparently got the message. On November 29, 1952, a Hagerstown newspaper carried a long article, based on an interview with Doust, saying that Antietam National Cemetery was to be closed. The number of burials was given as 5,135.[8]

In his May 1953 report, Superintendent Doust wrote, "We were notified by the War Department [sic] in January 1953 that they had informed the undertakers and veteran hospitals in this vicinity that the Antietam National Cemetery was closed. However, we have received no closing order from the Park Service."[9]

In his June report, he noted the problem had been solved, commenting, "The National Cemetery was officially closed by Memorandum of June 17, 1953, issued by Assistant Director Lee." During the same month Doust conferred with Commander Grayson of the local American Legion Post regarding the establishment of a new National Cemetery at Antietam. "I informed him...," wrote Doust, "any new project of this kind came under the control of the War Department [sic]. If one is established that it be placed in some adjacent area rather than on the Battlefield ... so as not to confuse it with the present National Cemetery. He was heartily in accord with this suggestion."[10] Trouble was headed off at the pass.

---

[8] Supt.'s monthly report for November 1952, including copy of articles.

[9] Monthly report for May 1953, underlining added.

In 1955 a bill, H.R. 7213, was introduced in Congress to provide for the enlargement of the Antietam National Cemetery. Acting Director Jackson Price wrote to the Legislative Counsel, Office of the Solicitor, on July 25, recommending that the bill not be enacted. Price explained:

> The Service is opposed to the enlargement of this relatively inactive cemetery because (1) any enlargement would result in destroying, by a modern cemetery, terrain that is a part of Antietam Battlefield, (2) the long-continued burial of veterans of wars other than the Civil War would soon destroy the integrity of the Antietam National Cemetery as a Civil War cemetery; and (3) the Service is not especially staffed and equipped to operate active national cemeteries, the burial of the soldier dead of recent wars being the responsibility of the Memorial Division of the Quartermaster Corps of the Department of the Army.

Consequently, the bill was pigeon-holed and Antietam National Cemetery was not enlarged.[11]

3. LAND ACQUISITION

Superintendent Doust seized the initiative when an opportunity presented itself in 1950 to acquire the site of the Dunkard Church for Antietam National Battlefield Site, thus carrying out a proposal that had been suggested in 1913. On October 1, 1950, Doust attended a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society and discussed with its president, Dr. W. H. Shealy, the possibility of acquiring the old Dunkard Church site, which was being threatened by the right-of-way for the new Hagerstown state road. The highway would come within 20 feet of the foundations. Doust suggested that the society put pressure on the state to acquire the church site with the idea of preserving it and donating it to the battlefield. In December, Doust reported that he was pushing the idea of the Washington County Historical Society acquiring the church site and that he had managed to also get the local American Legion interested in the project.[12]

---

[10] Supt.'s monthly report for June 1953.

[11] File 1415-H.

[12] Superintendent's monthly reports for October and December 1950.

By early 1951 Doust had raised the interest of the Washington office in the project and, on February 16, Chief Historian Lee wrote to Frederick L. Rath, Jr., director of the National Council of Historic Sites and Buildings, Washington, D.C., to gain the support of that preservation organization. Lee noted:

> The National Park Service has long been conscious of the historic importance of the Dunkard Church site.... It has long been the hope of the National Park Service that the site of the Dunkard Church could be added to the National Park Service Site. Funds for the acquisition of this property have not, however, been made available....

Lee then explained that the site was being threatened by Maryland highway construction.[13]

In March 1951 Doust reported that the Washington County Historical Society was then in the process of purchasing the church site, 0.3 acres.[14]

On May 1 the Hagerstown Evening Star reported that the Washington County Historical Society had "announced yesterday that it had purchased the tract containing the remains of the Dunkard Church." On May 9 the Society's president, Dr. Shealy, wrote Director Demaray and offered to transfer the site of the church to the National Park Service on May 30, 1951, in fee simple.[15]

Responding on May 21 Director Demaray informed Dr. Shealy that "The National Park Service was authorized under Act of Congress approved May 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 212) to accept this property." He was willing to accept the gift but noted that a title search must be made and reviewed by the Attorney General before the acceptance of the deed by the United States became final. The director also stated that Assistant Director Lee would attend and represent the National Park Service at the May 30 ceremony.[16]

---

[13] R.G. 79, Federal Record Center, Suitland, Md. - File 30-15, Box 128, Accession No. 62A362.

[14] Superintendent's monthly report for March 1951 - These 1950-53, in R.G. 79-Washington Federal Record Center, Suitland, Md. File 2823.

[15] R.G. 79, File H30-15, copy of May 1, 1951, newspaper article. Shealy to Demrary, May 9, 1951. Also Coordinating Superintendent J. Walter Coleman to Regional Director, Region One: "A dwelling now rests on the foundation of the original church but this will be removed before sale takes place."

[16] R.G. 79-File H30-15. Director to Shealy, May 21, 1951. Also National Park Service Press release, May 28, 1951, on Dunkard Church.

Lee attended the event and on June 13 informed the regional director, Region One, that during this event he had made no commitment to the Washington County Historical Society as to the reconstruction of the Dunkard Church. He also noted that the Historical Society had spent $4,000 to purchase the church tract.[17]

The title search continued and in August 1951, Superintendent Doust reported that Ranger Historian Tuckerman was assisting in the title search.[18] The search was completed and the deed to the 0.30 acre tract was officaly accepted by the United States on April 15, 1953.[19]

Total U.S.-owned land in Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery from April 15, 1953, to June 30, 1960, was 193.76704 acres, of which 182.41104 acres were in the battlefield and 11.35600 acres in the national cemetery.[20]

The successful drive to obtain authority for the Secretary of the Interior to purchase land for the Antietam Battlefield, which cumulated in the Act of Congress approved April 22, 1960, will be considered in some detail in Part II of this chapter.

4. RESEARCH

The major research project of 1950-54 concerned historical research on the Dunkard Church, occurring after Antietam's staff acquired the site on May 30, 1950. This research is discussed later in this chapter under j. The Dunkard Church Site.

As a part of his research on the Dunkard Church, ranger-historian Tuckerman discovered that President Lincoln visited Antietam in October 1862. He submitted a report on his findings in August 1951.[21]

---

[17] Ibid., Lee to Regional Director, June 13, 1951.

[18] Monthly report for August 1951.

[19] File 1423 - Antietam National Battlefield Site, Land Building, Roads & Trails, Value of Lands, 1895 - April 15, 1953, in Park Files. It took a long time however, R.G. 79, H 30 - April 18, 1952, Region One sent deed and abstract of title, provided by Superintendent Coleman of Gettysburg, to Director. July 2, 1952 Hillory A. Tolson sends data to attorney general. August 12, 1952 - Attorney General asked Director for additional information on deed.

[20] Ibid., File 1432, Park Files.

Superintendent Doust tried his hand at research, submitting to the Regional Director, Region One, on December 9, 1954, "A Short History of Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery," 18 pp. The report is undocumented. Most of the information used for writing the cemetery section was drawn from cemetery Superintendent Hess's history of the cemetery, published in 1890, which in turn was largely based on the Board of Trustees of Antietam National Cemetery history, 1865-67, published in 1869. Superintendent Doust also included a useful description of the battlefield and cementery, with buildings, structures, roads, and markers as of 1954.

5. MAINTENANCE

a. Buildings and Structures

(1) Administration-Museum Building (1867 Cemetery Lodge). On November 25, 1950, a violent windstorm, part of a hurricane, tore slate off the roof of this structure. This was replaced. Also in November the museum rooms in the edifice were being remodelled (more on this under "Museums").[22]

In November 1951 Superintendent Doust reported that the old coal furnace in the building would not burn all night, hence it "was very cold in the office to noon."[23] Doust and his clerk-typist apparently suffered from the cold conditions during the winter of 1951 and 1952, but on January 19, 1953, the superintendent noted, "An oil space heater has been placed in our office. This has greatly improved the heating condition of the old building."[24]

(2) Superintendent's Quarters (1927-28 Cemetery Lodge). On November 25, 1950, the same violent hurricane that damaged the administration-museum building also knocked wooden shingles off the

---

[21] Superintendent's monthly report for August 1951. This "discovery" had also been made in 1936. See T. L. Heffernan, "The Emancipation Proclamation and Lincoln's visit to the Antietam Battlefield," 13 pp. typescript, February 11, 1936.

[22] Superintendent's monthly report for November 1950.

[23] Superintendent's report for November 1951.

[24] Superintendent's report for January 1953.

superintendent's quarters. These were also replaced.[25] No further work was apparently done to the residence until Christmas 1953, when Doust reported, "The boiler in the Superintendent's residence sprang a leak over the holiday. It is a good thing we have received rehabilitation funds to replace this unit, as the old equipment is about worn out. Bids have been called for from heating companies," he noted, "these to be open January 15, 1954."[26]

(3) Rostrum (1879) in the National Cemetery. In April 1952 the brick columns of the rostrum were repointed and in May the structure was painted. The cost of the repointing was $150.[27]

In May 1953 Superintendent Doust reported, "the wood pergola top of the rostrum has deteriorated to the extent that it has to be replaced if the rostrum is retained. The cost will be approximately $1,500." He recommended, "Inasmuch as the rostrum is used only once a year, we think it would be more economical to remove it and use a small portable speaker's stand in its place."[28] Fortunately, Doust's suggestion was overruled and the historic structure was saved. Plans for the new top of the rostrum were prepared in August, and in November 1953 Doust noted that work on the roof was underway. He commented, "These have to be cut by hand as no power saw in the vicinity was capable of cutting the fancy scrolls used in this pergola." The project had been completed, he noted, only painting remained to be done.[29]

(4) Cemetery Garage. In October 1950 a door in the cemetery garage was widened and the door rehung.[30]

---

[25] Supt.'s monthly report for November 1950.

[26] Supt.'s monthly report for December 1953.

[27] Monthly reports for April and May 1952.

[28] Monthly report for May 1953.

[29] Monthly report for November 1953. Plans and estimates for rostrum work prepared by Engineer Ruffin, Region One, August 3-7, 1953-Supt.'s monthly report for August.

[30] Supt.'s monthly report for October 1950.

(5) Battlefield Utility Building. In October 1950 the door in the utility building was "made fire-proof" and rehung.[31]

(6) Stone Observation Tower (1896-1897). In April 1952 the stone tower was repaired at a cost of $300. Loose plaster was removed and stonework repointed. All metal work in the tower was also given two coats of paint at a cost of $263.[32]

(7) The Burnside Bridge. In March 1951 the superintendent reported that the Burnside Bridge "needs some work done on it."[33] There is, however, no mention of repairs being made.

On January 13, 1953, Superintendent Doust wrote, "A portion of the Burnside Bridge collapsed." This was reported at once to the coordinating superintendent at Gettysburg. Highway engineer Glen of Region One and Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, inspected the bridge. Repairs were in progress, but the top slab had not been put down due to cold weather. The bridge was closed temporarily while the problem was being studied. The natural solution to the problem would be to close the bridge, however, this would cause problems. It would be difficult to prevent heavy trucks from crossing. In the meantime some sort of weight limit should be placed upon the bridge when it was reopened.[34]

In a traffic count completed in April by the State of Maryland Roads Commission at the Burnside Bridge, it was found that approximately 300 vehicles used the bridge a day, or about 109,500 per year.[35]

Highway engineer Ruffin of the Region One office spent August 3 to 7, 1953, making estimates and plans for stabilizing the Burnside Bridge.[36] This work was carried out in 1958.[37]

---

[31] Ibid.
[32] Supt.'s monthly report for April 1952.
[33] Supt.'s report for March 1951.
[34] Supt.'s monthly report for January 1953.
[35] Supt.'s monthly report for April 1953.
[36] Supt.s monthly report for August 1953.
[37] Regional Historian James W. Holland, Region One, memo March 31, 1955 - reported the Burnside Bridge had been erected in 1936 and that the bridge had not yet been stabilized in March 1955.

b. Cemetery Flagstaff

During June 1953 the national cemetery flagstaff was given a "heavy coat of good aluminum paint which it very badly needed."[38]

c. Wooden Benches in the Cemetery

In May 1953 Superintendent Doust reported that "Through the years the wooden benches have become unfit for use and we are going to salvage them."[39]

d. Trees in the Cemetery

The Region One tree crew worked in the national cemetery from October 16 to 20, 1950. On November 25, 1950, a hurricane damaged trees in the cemetery.[40]

The regional tree crew were again trimming limbs in Antietam National Cemetery from May 20 to 29, 1953. Regional Forester Wilbur L. Savage was at Antietam inspecting their work on May 20 and 21.[41]

e. Cemetery Water System

In May 1953 the electrical line leading to the main pump went out of commission after being damaged by lightning. The line was promptly repaired.[42]

f. Cast-Iron Historical Markers

In December 1952 Superintendent Doust reported that there were 215 cast-iron War Department historical tablets on the battlefield. He remarked that these markers were painted every two years, explaining the process as follows: "Entire marker given a coat of black paint and then gone over the top of the raised letters with aluminum paint. We have tried several ways of doing this but find the old fashioned method of tapping on the face of the letters with a block pad does the best job."[43]

Before this, in November 1950, Superintendent Doust reported that all of the cast-iron tablets along the Hagerstown Pike had been removed and stored in the battlefield utility building. This removal was necessary because of the widening of the road from Sharpsburg to Lappan Cross Road by the Maryland State Road Commission. He noted that most of the tablets would have to be relocated because of the widening of the road. The markers were to be painted while in storage.[44] In September 1953 he noted that the markers had been repositioned along the widened Hagerstown Pike and that "all were back where they should be."[45]

---

[38] Superintendent's monthly report for June 1953.

[39] Supt.'s monthly report for May 1953.

[40] Supt.'s monthly reports for October and November 1950.

[41] Supt.'s monthly report for May, 1953. Tree Crew Foreman was Bernhard A. Kolb.

[42] Supt.'s monthly report for May 1953.

[43] Supt.'s monthly report for December 1953.

g. Fencing

In August 1951 Superintendent Doust reported that new barbed wire was put on some of the fences along the avenue because the cattle, leaning over the fences to get at grass, had caused some of the fences to sag.[46]

In July 1952 he recorded that the old wire fence and concrete posts which fenced off the foot path leading from the Burnside Bridge via the Spong Farm to the McKinley Monument had been removed. In September fences along the avenues were repaired and new barbed wire placed on top.[47] In October 1953 he noted that 9.68 miles, with 4.84 miles for one side, of fence rows had been cleared along the battlefield avenues.[48]

h. Tractor Mowing

In June 1953 Superintendent Doust wrote:

> In the past the grass in Bloody Lane was cut by hand mowing and was kept in the same condition as a lawn. Last year due to the lack of labor and funds and at the suggestion of various Park officials visiting, the practice of using hand mower was discontinued. All the avenues but Cornfield and Starke are cut with a tractor mower which leaves the grass much higher than cutting by hand. [This change has resulted in much criticism by townspeople and retired National Park Service maintenance men]. As soon as possible we are

---

44. Superintendent's monthly report for November 1950.
45. Superintendent's monthly report for September 1953. In January 1953, Doust also toyed with the idea of regrouping the historical markers in certain spots so that auto travelers could read a number at one time, monthly report for January 1953.
46. Supt.'s monthly report for August 1952.
47. Supt.'s monthly reports for July and September 1952.
48. Supt.'s monthly report for June 1953.

going to go back to the former way of cutting grass along Bloody Lane to try to eliminate this critism.[49]

i. Preserving Historic Fields, the Spong Farm

In September 1951 one field on the Spong Farm was cleared of brush and trees.[50] During July, August, and September 1952 the maintenance crew worked at clearing heavy brush out from the trail leading from the McKinley Monument to Burnside Bridge and in the adjacent area of the Spong Farm.[51]

j. The Dunkard Church Site

On May 30, 1951, the Washington County Historical Society presented the deed for the 0.30-acre Dunkard Church site, which included the foundations of the church, to the National Park Service. Title search by the United States took about two years, so that the federal government did not formally accept this donation until April 15, 1953. Meantime, however, the National Park Service took care of and made plans for the site.

(1) Plans to Reconstruct the Church. In his letter of June 30, 1951, to the regional director, Region One, Assistant Director Lee reported that he had not made any commitment to the Washington Historical Society regarding the reconstruction of the church. He also commented that both Superintendent Doust and he would like to see the structure reconstructed. In fact, both Doust and ranger-historian Louis E. Tuckerman started a preliminary study to assist in the possible rebuilding, which Lee believed would be simple. Lee obtained an estimate that the structure could be built for about $25,000 and ranger-historian Tuckerman completed his research report on the history of the church in August 1951.[52]

---

[49] Supt.'s monthly report for June 1953.
[50] Supt.'s monthly report for September 1951.
[51] Supt.'s monthly reports for July, August, and September 1952.
[52] For details see section 4, Research, this chapter.

On July 12, 1951, Chief Architect F. D. Nichols, Design Branch, advised Assistant Director Lee that the estimated cost of reconstructing Dunkard Church would be about $25,000.

On August 8, Superintendent Doust wrote to Lee, reporting that Tuckerman had finished the report on the Dunkard Church, that the owner of the extant pieces of the original edifice would sell these parts for $7,500, and that the remaining 15 acres of the original church lot would cost about $18,000. Finally, he noted that the cottage on the original church foundations had been removed.

On September 10, Assistant Regional Director Elbert Cox, Region One, forwarded a copy of ranger-historian Tuckerman's report on the church, together with a letter of review by Coordinating Superintendent J. Walter Coleman, to the Director. Assistant Director Lee responded on September 24 to the regional director, Region One, remarking that he had received a copy of the Tuckerman report and found it to be a vaulable contribution.

On March 3, 1952, a major meeting was held at Antietam of representatives of the director's and regional director's offices, and the field officials to consider the problems relating to the reconstruction and preservation of the Dunkard Church property.

From the Washington Office were Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler, messrs. Sutton and Kammer, and regional architect Higgins, who represented the Region One office. Coordinating superintendents Coleman of Gettysburg and Doust completed the committee. The group inspected the church site and discussed its problems. In a memorandum to Assistant Director Lee, Chief Historian Kahler, on March 7, 1952, described the findings and recommendations as follows:

The original foundations and steps of the buildings were found to be intact. The group recommended:

1. The area be fenced.
2. Foundation stones be bonded together to prevent the loose stone from being carried away.
3. Shoulders along the road be sloped, and seeded or sodded.
4. That a historical marker be erected at the site.
5. That the deed to the lot be accepted before further improvements could be made to the property.

Of the historical data and photographs collected thus far, Kahler reported, "Exterior photos appear to make restoration of building possible." These showed three sides of the church. None had yet been found of the fourth side and no photographs had been found of the interior. Further research, however, might supply the missing evidence.[53]

Chief Historian Kahler informed Assistant Director Lee on March 7, with regards to the meeting: "It was a pleasure to see Doust in action and it was my impression that he is doing a good job."

The group also met with Dr. Shealy and Mary V. Mish of the Washington County Historical Society. Mish volunteered her aid and by April 1952 had found additional historical photos and a plan of the interior as remembered in 1908-10. She at once set about collecting data on the history of the church. On March 12, in a newspaper article, Mish requested all people in Washington County who had old photographs of the church to bring them to the Washington County Historical Society for copying. On March 14, she provided Chief Historian Kahler with a report on the search and collection of old photos, noting that the one taken 1900-1905, showed the brick work in great detail. On March 24 she enclosed F. M. Miller's plan of the interior of the Dunkard Church as he remembered it in 1908-1910. Mish had encouraged Miller to prepare this sketch. She sent in a final report on her findings on April 10, 1952.

Mish was also very helpful with other National Park Service projects underway at this time. In March 1952 she was able to have the Maryland legislature appropriate an additional $40,000 to purchase land on Maryland Heights for addition to the proposed Harpers Ferry National Monument.

---

[53] R.G. 59, File H30-Kahler to Lee, March 7, 1952. Doust also raised at this meeting the problem of closing Antietam National Cemetery in the future. He also stated that funds for management and protection were "so limited that it is questionable if Doust will have enough fuel to see him through the winter." Regional architect A. J. Higgins also submitted a report on the meeting. (1) a cement top was to be placed on the existing foundation; (2) concrete post and wire mesh fence to be used to enclose the area.

The Tuckerman report and the photos and plan contributed by Mish completed the research work that was done on the Dunkard Church prior to July 1, 1960. No architectural study of the building was made.

The United States accepted the deed to the church lot on April 15, 1953, and Superintendent Doust pushed boldly ahead. On May 4, 1953, Coordinating Superintendent Coleman wrote to the regional director, Region One, regarding the possible reconstruction of the Dunkard Church, "Superintendent Doust informed the Washington County Historical Society of his discussion of the possible reconstruction of Dunkard Church with [U.S.] Senator Beall [of Maryland]." The Tuckerman report would be used and Coleman hoped that the Region would provide architectural assistance and study for the project.[54] Regional Director Cox, Region One, on July 3, 1953, informed Coordinating Superintendent J. Walter Coleman of Gettysburg that the Tuckerman report was valuable "but additional architectural study must be made before plans and a complete estimate are prepared. We estimate a complete reconstruction would cost in excess of $50,000."

Cox's response killed the project because: (1) the funds were not available with the Korean conflict in progress, and (2) he doubted that the church structure was historically important enough to justify expenditure of the large sum of money estimated as necessary to reconstruct the building. Cox wrote in part:

> We estimated a complete reconstruction would cost in excess of $50,000. Although we have indicated interest in the possible reconstruction of this historic building, the question immediately arises as to how valuable such a program would be, and whether, in the face of the high cost of reconstruction, we could give it any priority in our construction program. In discussing it here, we are of the opinion that this project would have to fall below many others in priority in the Region. In fact, it would be so low in priority that it would be unrealistic to the point of deception to state that it is on our priority list.
>
> I am aware of the interest which the community and town organizations have in this project and we would not want to

---

[54] R.G. 79, File H30.

> discourage them in their efforts to assist us in the development of the Antietam Battlefield. However, unless they are willing and able to undertake the project, I believe that we should tell them frankly of our situation. In other words, it is not fair to let them go on believing and hoping that we will do something about the project when really the prospects of getting money to do the job are almost hopeless. Certainly, that is the picture as I see it at this time.

Regional Director Cox requested that either Coleman or Superintendent Doust convey this message to Dr. Shealy of the Washington County Historical Society.[55]

On August 6 Regional Director Cox wrote directly to Dr. Shealy, president of the Washington County Historical Society, explaining the situation:

> Although the matter of reconstructing the Dunkard Church has been given earnest and long consideration by this Service, we have been forced to be realistic about the situation in the light of the financial problems which has faced us for many years past and which has an appearance of becoming even greater in the immediate future. We do, however, propose to mark the church site ... in an attractive manner and to undertake the protection of the church foundation. On the marking, we will, of course full recognize the role of the Washington County Historical Society in acquiring this important site.
>
> Superintendent Doust has discussed this matter with your already, but I wanted to write you directly because of my own concern and to express again appreciation of the interest which the Society made in the Antietam National Battlefield Site.[56]

Thus the effort to reconstruct the Dunkard Church, strongly supported by Superintendent Doust, ended in defeat. Nine years later, the church was to be rebuilt in 1961-62 with $35,000 in funds provided by the Washington County Historical Society.

(2) Stabilization of the Church Foundations. Assistant Director Lee suggested that regional archeologist Harrington visit Antiteam and give Superintendent Doust advice on how the foundations of the Dunkard Church might be stabilized. On September 9 Harrington informed the regional director, Region One:

---

55. Ibid., Cox to Coleman, July 3, 1953.
56. R.G. 79, File H30, Cox to Shealy, August 6, 1953.

> I visited on August 31 and discussed this matter with Superintendent Doust.
>
> The ideal treatment of these foundation walls would be the sort of thing that they do at many of the southwest ruins....
>
> The area does not have the funds at present to engage in a project of this type, and it is imperative that temporary stabilization be done immediately. Consequently some sort of emergency stabilization measures must be resorted to. Mr. Doust has already given emergency treatment to some of the wall by single spreading a thin course of mortar over a part of the top surface of the wall....
>
> This should be sufficient to hold the stones in place and should give protection to the walls for possibly two or three years... In the meantime it would seem that what he has done is about the only feasible method and it would seem advisable to complete the other walls in the same manner.

Harrington also suggested dumping a few loads of earth into the foundation "after the cross walls have been temporarily stabilized to serve as a guard."[57]

The region provided Superintendent Doust with a copy of this report on September 14, 1953.

In his monthly report for October 1953, Superintendent Doust reported that

> three days had been spent fixing the foundation stones of the old church. The old cement foundation of the garage, adjacent to the church, removed, also walk that lead to privy. Fresh fine ground was hauled to fill in on the inside of the foundation and the top of the foundation stonework was secured by a thin layer of concrete topping, as recommended by archeologist Harrington.[58]

6. INTERPRETIVE SERVICES, 1950-1953

a. Guided Tours and Lectures

Antietam National Battlefield Site remained a one-man area, with only the superintendent in uniform, from 1950 to the spring of 1958, when a full time GS-7 historian position was added to the staff. During the summer months, 1950 to 1958, Mr. Louis E. Tuckerman returned each year to work as the seasonal ranger-historian. With only two uniformed men on duty during the heavy summer travel season, it was not possible to give guided tours except in the cases of organized groups that made arrangements in advance. Despite his reputed lack of interest in things historical while serving as chief ranger at Colonial National Historical Park during World War II, Doust at once undertook a study of the Maryland Campaign and the Battle of Antietam when he became superintendent of Antietam in 1950. He did this to meet on equal footing with groups of Civil War buffs who had formed numerous groups known as "Civil War Round Tables." These, in increasing numbers during the 1950s and 60s, visited Civil War battlefields. Doust gave these groups guided tours over Antietam and its related battlefields. Tuckerman, by now an experienced hand, had also studied the campaign and both the superintendent and the ranger-historian were able to give lectures and orientation on the history of the park.[59]

---

[57] R.G. 79, File H30. Also monthly report for Supt. for August 1953.

[58] Superintendent's monthly report for October 1953. In his report for September, Doust acknowledged receipt of the Harrington report.

No private guide services were available at Antietam during these years. Visitors thus took a self-guided tour and the complete tour covered 10.8 miles and required from about one to one and one-half hours to finish it.[60] Two hundred and fifteen cast-iron historical tablets, erected by the War Department in 1897-98, and about ten field or trailside exhibits, erected by the National Park Service in 1950-51, provided visitors with additional information during their tours.[61]

b. Interpretive Publications

(1) Self-Guiding Leaflet. This seven-page mimeographed leaflet, developed in 1935-36 and used as late as 1945, probably went out of use about November 1948, when a self-guide tour route was added to the map of the battlefield that was published on the back of the six-page free folder. No self-guiding leaflet was in use from 1950 to 1960.

---

[59] "Interpretation Section, Master Plan Development Outline, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland," May 1952, 21 pp., prepared by Historian Frederick Tilberg, Gettysburg NMP, June 6, 1952, and approved by Acting Director Ronald F. Lee, February 25, 1953. Sections on guided tours and lectures, p. 19.

[60] Ibid., p. 18. The complete tour is described on pages 16-18.

[61] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

(2) Free Six-Page Informational Folder. First issued in 1940, the two-fold leaflet was revised in 1948 by adding a suggested self-guiding tour route to the battle map. The leaflet revised perhaps once or twice more was still in use in 1960.[62]

(3) Sales Literature. The 16-page booklet, authorized by Dr. Tilberg and sold for ten cents beginning in 1941, was not sold at the park during the period 1950-1960, but could be purchased from the U.S. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., during much of this period.[63]

In 1949 the National Park Service undertook a program of replacing the 16-page booklets with more elaborate 48-page publications known as the "National Park Service Historical Handbook Series." The goal was to publish about four a year. Actual rate of publication, however, was based on the availability of suitable texts and adequate funds. Thus while park historians generally began work on a text for a new booklet on their parks in 1949, many years passed before some of these histories were published by the U.S. Government Printing Office. Dr. Tilberg first wrote a handbook for Gettysburg National Military Park (Handbook No. 9) and then during the 1950s prepared the text for the 48-page Antietam National Battlefield Site booklet (Handbook No. 31).

The files relating to historian Tilberg's work on the Antietam study are not available so it is unknown why so long a time passed before the Antietam handbook was finally published in 1960. One factor that may have contributed to the delay, however, was the fact that the National Park Service's Office of Information lost the manuscript in 1958.[64] By 1960, when the Antietam history appeared in print, a total of 32 such handbooks had been issued. These sold generally for 25 cents, with one or two costing 20 or 30 cents respectively. The Antietam handbook, revised in 1961, was sold by the U.S. Superintendent of Documents and the park headquarters during the 1960 and 1970s. Many are still available, but now cost $3.00 and $4.00 each.

---

[62] Ibid., p. 19.

[63] Ibid., p. 19.

[64] File K3823-IBI, Chief of Information James J. Cullinane to regional director, Region Five, May 4, 1959:"The manuscript for Antietam handbook was used last autumn in the course of hearings at the Bureau of the Budget. . . . A follow-up on the manuscript has revealed that it is lost."

(4) Antietam Joins the Eastern National Park & Monument Association. In 1948, 31 park historians and superintendents in Region One, regional historian Appleman, and Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler contributed 4% each to charter the Eastern National Park & Monument Association a nonprofit cooperating association authorized by Congress. Before this all profits (about 25 percent) from the U.S. Government Printing Office's 16-page booklets sold as a visitor service by park personnel at the parks went to the U.S. Superintendent of Documents and in now way benefited the parks. With the organization of the cooperating association, this same 25 percent margin of profit could be turned over tot the EMP&MA which was chartered to make interpretive material available to park visitors by sale or free distribtuion and to employ its profits to support. through donated funds, the research, interpretation, and conservation programs of the National Park Service. Profits from the 16-page booklets were, of couse, small, but postcards and other items were soon added to the sales inventory. Volunteers, park superintendents, and historians sold the material, ordered it, and kept accounts. In 1951 the association was able to make its first grant: $500; in 1960 it gave $22,805, and in 1981, the National Park Service received $785,182.[65]

The publication of the 48-page Antietam historical handbook apparently induced the Antietam National Battlefield Site to join the Eastern National Park & Monument Association during the 1960 fiscal year. The park withdrew from that non-profit organization during the 1969 fiscal year.[66]

---

[65] Data drawn from Eastern National Park & Monument Association Annual Report 1981 (from New York City, 1982), p. 3, 24. The author was also one of the charter members and $5 was a lot of money when one's annual salary was $2,500.

[66] Richard D. Jamgochain, accounting manager, to Mrs. Betty J. Otto, Park Technican, Antietam NB, May 21, 1982. Eastern National Park & Monument Association. Letter courtesy of Mrs. Otto.

c. Trailside Exhibits

During the period 1941-42, assistant historical technician Steere studied and worked out in detail a plan for eight trailside or outdoor exhibits to help guide the visitors over the battlefield, but these were not erected. In 1948-49 Superintendent Younger worked on the construction of five trailside exhibits and by September 1948 had one in place at the stone observation tower; others were apparently not completed before his death in June 1950.

Superintendent Doust, employing the talents of ranger-historian Tuckerman, resumed work on this trailside exhibit project. In October 1950 Doust noted that "Mr. Tuckerman, aided by the Superintendent worked on field exhibits to be done next Spring."[67] In December the Superintendent commented "New outside exhibit map prepared by Tuckerman, being constructed."[68] In January 1951 he reported "Due to lack of funds to buy the necessary material, work on the exhibits has to be done on a touch and go basis."[69]

Some money was found, because in April he reported that three new field exhibit maps had been put in place and in May proudly submitted photographs of the new devices.[70] In August Doust noted that ranger historian Tuckerman was working on the series of outdoor maps and had two more to go to complete the series.[71]

In October 1951 Doust commented on the first summer operations with the maps, writing:

> The slanting map exhibits which were placed on the Battlefield during the summer months have not proven satisfactory inasmuch as the glass is broken too easily-Only one of five left on field, the others damaged by rain getting through the cracks.

The Superintendent reported that he hoped to solve this problem by adopting the "upright type now in use at the New York Plot."[72]

Ranger-historian Tuckerman resumed work on the exhibits during the summer of 1952. These consisted of ten troop movement exhibit maps.[73] In September Doust wrote: "Last two outdoor exhibits are completed and are to be put in the field soon." The superintendent himself was studying the Battle of South Mountain preparatory for visits of Civil War Round Tables.[74]

---

[67] Supt.'s monthly report for October 1950.
[68] Supt.'s monthly report for December 1950.
[69] Supt.'s monthly report for January 1950.
[70] Supt.'s monthly reports for April and May 1951.
[71] Supt.'s monthly report for August 1951.
[72] Supt'.s monthly report for October 1951.

Museum Specialist Hudson of Region One visited Antietam on March 17-19, 1953, and reported to the regional director regarding the outdoor exhibits and interpretive program at that park:

> In my opinion Superintendent Doust has made remarkable progress in the field of interpretation at Antietam. During my visit to the area 4 years ago the park tour route was not marked and there were no trailside exhibits to aid the visitor. Today the park tour route is well marked, and at ten strategic points along the route are exceptionally fine trailside exhibits. Four years ago the visitor got little or no interpretation by driving around the battlefield; today he gets a complete story of the battle, provided he stops and studies the colorful trailside exhibit maps. The next step in aiding the visitor is to improve the museum exhibits, and Superintendent Doust has shown that he is keenly interested in this project by his very act in calling a meeting to discuss ways and means of improving the museum.
>
> Not many officials visit Antietam, and few who visit it today were there four years ago. Wonderful progress has been made, and in my opinion the ten trailside exhibits are superior to any others I have seen in Civil War areas. I believe Mr. Doust should be commended for his excellent work.[75]

d. The Temporary Museum

Superintendent Doust also undertook to improve the "temporary museum" on the second floor of the cemetery lodge. The two-room museum was expanded to include the three second floor rooms. In November 1950 Doust reported:

> Museum is being renovated and maps (14 in number, which were prepared by the Antietam Battlefield Board (in 1904), have been placed in a more advantageous position so that the visitor will be able to use them to better advantage.

He also noted that "Many original documents (had been) found in the attic of the Administration building."[76]

---

[73] Supt.'s monthly reports for July and August 1952.
[74] Supt.'s monthly report for September, 1952.
[75] Hudson to Regional Director, Region One, March 20, 1953.
[76] Superintendent's monthly report for November 1950.

In December several rifle-muskets found stored in the garage were placed "in the gun room of the museum" and labels made.[77] In March 1951 "Captions of 13 battlefield maps, courtesy of Gettysburg Historian Tilberg," were being retyped for use on the exhibits.[78]

On March 17-19, 1953, Superintendent Doust held a meeting at Antietam for the purpose of planning ways and means of improving the temporary museum exhibits at that park. Present were Coordinating Superintendent Coleman, park historian Tilberg, Superintendent Doust, museum specialist Hudson of the Region One Office, Ralph H. Lewis of the museum branch, and Harold L. Peterson of the history division; the last two from the Washington Office.[79]

The existing state of the temporary museum was described:

> Three rooms on second floor of Park Headquarters Building are used to house museum exhibits.
>
> Room 1 -- Contains a series of 14 maps which describe in detail the action at Antietam on September 17, 1862....
>
> Room 2 -- Contains 3 museum cases, 3 gun racks, 1 sword rack, a cast iron camp stove, and a Civil War drum. The drum rests on a small table. One of the cases (upright wall case, Remington-Rand type) houses uniform coats, sash, cap, sword and scabbard. A second case (table case, Remington-Rand type) houses pistols, and the third case (table case, Remington-Rand type) houses medical equipment used by a Union surgeon (William B. Wheeler). Small arms on one of the gun racks have been cleaned and preserved, those on two of the racks have not been preserved. The swords have been cleaned.
>
> Room 3 -- Contains a panel of photographs and a Remington-Rand type aisle case. The aisle case houses Civil War objects, of which many have a direct bearing on the Antietam campaign. The objects include shells, shrapnel, canteens, buttons, belt buckles, a fife, cartridge cases, knives, powder flask, dirks, bit, etc.
>
> With the exception of the map room (Room 1) no attempt is made to tell the story of the battle in the museum.[80]

On March 30, 1953, Chief of Museum Branch Ned J. Burns submitted a six page memorandum entitled "Suggestions for Temporary

---

[77] Supt.'s report for December 1950.

[78] Supt.'s report for March 1951.

[79] Hudson's memo of March 20, 1953, to the Regional Director, Region One.

[80] Hudson to Region One Director, March 20, 1953.

Changes in Antietam Museum," to the regional director, Region One. This embodied the suggestions of historian Peterson and Ralph Lewis of the museum branch.[81] Region One museum specialist Hudson concurred in them and on April 7, Assistant Regional Director Dan Tobin, Region One, sent the March 30 memorandum to Superintendent Doust, together with a set of plans for making temporary cases, and authorized Doust to proceed with the suggested plan.[82]

Hudson described the proposed changes:[83]

> Recommendations for improving the museum:
>
> 1. A series of 8 panels will be installed in Room 1. By using maps, photographs, prints, and labels the battle of Antietam will be explained in sequence on the panels. Messrs. Doust and Tilberg will prepare layouts and label text for the panels and these, in turn, will be reviewed by the Regional Office and Washington staffs.
>
> 2. By raising the aisle case in Room 1 and inserting a plywood panel across the middle of the case (in a vertical position), two upright display backgrounds will be available. Objects will be attached to both sides of the panel, and stories will be built around them. As an example, the story of martial music can be "built" around the drum and fife owned by the Antietam museum. Dr. Douglas Freeman, in describing the invasion of the North by Lee's tattered army, mentions the Confederate bands, "The first dusty troops to reach the Potomac halted, stripped, or pulled frayed trouser legs high over aching knees, and plunged into the shallow water of the boundary river. As they clambered up the northern bank they cheered in the proud knowledge that they had carried the war into the enemy's country. The few and battered bands played 'Maryland, My Maryland,' and the soldiers cheered the more."
>
> 3. The results of the battle will be given in Room 1, probably on Panel No. 8. One important result was that Lincoln was given the opportunity to issue his [preliminary] Emancipation Proclamation. A copy of the Proclamation and an old print--showing Lincoln reading the Proclamation to his cabinet--will be displayed.
>
> 4. Two cases will be built by the park staff and placed in Room 2, making a total of 5 cases in the room. These two additional cases will make it possible to house all objects under glass. At present the shoulder arms and

---

[81] File D6215 ANT-N, March 30, 1953.

[82] Tobin to Doust, April 7, 1953, File D 6215-ANTI-N.

[83] Hudson to Regional Director, Region One, March 20, 1953.

swords are on racks and are handled frequently by the public. Probable use of the 5 cases in Room 2:

> Case 1 -- Swords used at Antietam
> Case 2 -- Shoulder arms used at Antietam
> Case 3 -- Uniforms
> Case 4 -- Pistols used at Antietam
> Case 5 -- Medical practices

5. New labels will be made for all objects displayed in the museum.

6. Minor improvements will be made in Room 3 -- the map room.

7. Guns, swords, uniforms, cartridge boxes, buttons, buckles, and other objects in need of preservative treatment were packed and sent to the Museum Laboratory. These objects will be cleaned and preserved at no expense to the park.

Doust made a progress report in June 1953, writing:

> Eight wall panels and two cases for museum, which were built here, have been completed.
>
> Various items which were taken to Washington for treatment by the Museum Division have been returned. Ranger Historian Tuckerman, who entered on duty June 22, as well as the Superintendent, busy working on maps and other data to be used in telling the story of the battle. It will take to mid-August to finish. Through the Eastern National Park and Monument Association we were able to purchase the plate glass and material for the construction of the wall panels and museum cases.[84]

In July Superintendent Doust reported that all the maps had been completed and that Tuckerman and he were working on short texts for the maps. He hoped to reactivate the museum in August.[85]

---

[84] Superintendent's monthly report for June 1953. On June 24, Doust and Tuckerman also made a visit to Manassas National Battlefield Park "to get a first-hand glimpse of other historic areas such as Antietam." Manassas had a fine new "permanent museum." They heard Superintendent James B. Myers give a lecture on the Second Battle of Manassas.

[85] Supt.'s report for July 1953.

In the April 7 memorandum, the regional office had promised that after the wall panels and cases had been constructed by the park, "we shall do everything possible to aid with the installation of the revised exhibits."[86] Doust accordingly wrote to the Region One office on July 31, 1953 requesting the promised help and was given the run-around by both the regional and Washington offices. Assistant Director Tobin wrote to the director on August 6 suggesting that because Washington was closer to Antietam than Richmond, that perhaps Peterson and Lewis could install the exhibits.[87] Museum Branch Chief Burns responded in kind on August 12, suggesting that museum specialist Hudson do the work and the Washington Museum Branch would be happy to inspect the final results.[88] On August 17 Tobin finally informed Superintendent Doust:

> If you have not begun work on an exhibit plan, we will assign Museum Specialist Hudson to visit Antietam for a day or two to discuss the matter with you. Because of a heavy work schedule, however, he will not be able to make the trip until late September or early October.[89]

To add to Doust's difficulties, he was forced to discharge ranger historian Tuckerman on August 24 because of "lack of funds."[90]

Superintendent Doust proudly reported in August 1953 that the eight panels in room one were completed and described the room:

> Starting with panel one at the door, each panel depicts with map, short texts, and pictures Lee's first invasion of the North for the Confederacy.
>
> The first seven panels are 36" x 48" faced with 1/4" glass, the background is dark or federal blue; Map brown and gray. All picture are labeled; all texts are short. Troop movements are simple arrows in red and blue; outside panel frames are in flat white; and the whole effect is rather pleasing.
>
> Panel Eight contain pictures in sepia of the important State monuments on the field; it is 36" x 38" faced with glass.
>
> These eight panels are arranged on two sides of the Room, four on each side, and stand on their own upright from the

---

86. Tobin to Doust, April 7, 1953.
87. Tobin to Director, August 6, 1953, File 6215.
88. Burns to Regional Director, Region One, August 12, 1953.
88. Tobin to Doust, August 17, 1953, File D6215-N.
90. Supt.'s monthly report for August 1953.

> floor and out from the wall to get away from the low eaves and to overcome the difficulty of trying to attach these frames to the stone walls.
>
> The center glass case in this room is approximately 36" x 72", 44" high, rising from a base 30" high. It contains an old Civil War drum, weapons, and articles. All of this standing on a low platform 17" x 42", 4" high, allowing the grouping of artifacts along this base. Colors done in blue and gray.[91]

In September Doust reported that he had given a private showing of the eight panels in Museum Room No. 1 and "We are now starting to arrange the exhibits in Room 2."[92]

In December it was noted: "Work in the museum is progressing nicely and will be completed in a very short time. Several displays of historical papers and documents were put in Room 2. The floors were given two coats of paint, ready for the opening of the museum to the public."[93]

The museum, closed for renovation and improvement since November 1952, was reopened to the public in January or February 1954.[94]

e. The Park Library

The park library during this period was on the first floor of the park administration-museum building. Doust described it as "a small Civil War Library, containing approximately 450 volumes, for use of the staff and public."[95]

f. Artillery Exhibits

In June 1953 Superintendent Doust noted that "A 12 pound[er] Napoleon Civil War cannon has been placed in the National Cemetery near the rostrum and flag pole and has been of much interest to visitors. We placed this piece of artillery at this point to mark the battery site of the Confederate artillery ....[96]

---

[91] Ibid., the report includes a two-page detailed description of the contents of each of the eight panels.

[92] Supt.'s monthly report for September 1953.

[93] Supt.'s monthly report for December 1953.

[94] Superintendent's monthly report after December 31, 1953 now found at Washington National Record Center, Suitland, Md.

[95] Harry W. Doust, "Short History of Antietam National Battlefield Site," p. 9. This report was submitted to the Regional Director, Region One, on December 9, 1954. For some strange reason, however, the description given on pages 8-9 of the three-room park museum and its contents, describes conditions as of 1950-52, rather than as it was renovated in 1953-54.

In his "Short History of Antietam National Battlefield Site," Doust wrote:

> Ten cannons, used during the Battle, have been mounted on carriages to depict some of the artillery positions of both sides during the engagement. Four cannon have been mounted on Cornfield Avenue, two at the end of Branch Avenue and Harper's Ferry Road, and two at the National Cemetery. Two more cannons have been recently provided with carriages to mark the site of Lee's batteries at the New York plot opposite the Dunkard Church site. We have fourteen unmounted cannons to be placed on the field."[97]

g. Contact with Visitors

During this period all visitor contact was made when the public visited the administrative-museum building. Figures for public contact have been found covering the period July 1, 1949, to December 31, 1953. These indicate that of the estimated total of 104,000 visitors, approximately 25,988 were contacted by the park staff. (See chart on pages 276-77).

7. LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS: VANDALISM IN 1953

Superintendent Doust did not mention any law enforcement problems in his monthly report until March 1953, when vandals began attacking his new trailside exhibits, particularly at the Observation Tower on Bloody Lane. On March 24 the heavy glass in the exhibit at the tower was shattered and scattered on the ground. The case was also pushed off its foundation and the troop movement map stolen. Doust wrote:

> The Observation Tower is our worst spot for considerable travel by rioting parties who use the road as a short cut from the Hagerstown Pike to the road going to Keedysville and Boonsboro.

On March 30, he recorded, the glass on the trailside exhibit on Branch Avenue was broken after having been hit by a bottle, but the map and frame were not damaged.[98]

---

[96] Supt.'s monthly report for June 1953.

[97] Short History (1954), p. 7.

[98] Supt.'s monthly report for March 1953.

Superintendent Doust returned to the problem of vandalism in June, 1953, writing:

> The Observation Tower has been a source of trouble for a good many years due to acts of vandalism and other depredation. We had policed this area effectively as we can with our limited personnel. Most of the vandalism is traceable to local persons. Signs were placed against parking after dark in the area but were quickly destroyed. After our large map exhibit had been broken up and carried away, we came to the conclusion that it was impossible to keep any such work in the locality. A new map was placed further down Bloody Lane next to a residence.
>
> The American Legion has agreed to help patrol the area at night and work to keep the rowdyism to a minimum.
>
> Each week our maintenance force visits that area and eradicates as quickly as possible the weekend depredations as soon as possible and beer bottles strewn about and smutty writings in lipstick on the walls of the tower. Lately we have even gone to the length of locking the heavy iron gate of the tower after dark but each time the lock is broken.[99]

Doust reported new problems in October:

> Five large cannon balls stolen from the National Cemetery. These iron cannon balls have been groups around two upright cannon. They have stood here for at least 75 years and weigh approximately 46 pounds each.

The superintendent added that he was now locking the front gates to the cemetery at night to try to keep persons from entering after dark.

On October 29, 1953, "A large stone slab at entrance to the Observation Tower was damaged by dynamite. Tower itself not damaged." The cost of repair was about $50.[100]

The monthly reports for January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1960, are not available so that the outcome of Superintendent Doust's struggle against vandalism during those years is unknown.

8. MASTER PLANNING, 1950-1955

During this period the regional and Washington offices continued preparing sheets for the Antietam master plan. Drawing No.

---

[99] Supt.'s monthly report for June 1953.

[100] Supt.'s monthly report for October 1953.

VISITORS CONTACTED, JULY 1, 1949 TO DECEMBER 31, 1953

TRAVEL TO ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE BY FISCAL YEAR (JULY 1 - JUNE 30)

		CONTACTED AT PARK OFFICE AND MUSEUM						
Month	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
July		941	877	1,097	1,162	Not open		
August		847	1,278	1,366	1,190	Not open		
September		724	807	1,008	1,409	Not open		
October		477	721	345	1,753	Not open		
November		150	308	350	Not open +	Not open		
December		147	75	50	Not open	Not open		
January			65	60	Not open	Not open		
February		713	158	175	Not open	Not open		
March		178	473	245	Not open	Not open		
April		489	783	628	Not open	Not open		
May		1,441	489	896	Not open	Not open		
June		565	134	1,414	Not open	Not open		
Total		6,672	6,168	7,634	5,514			
No. of Cars								
Total Travelers		36,142	44,585	44,206	59,600	45,099		

+ Museum not open to visitors as new exhibits being built and installed and interior renovated.

TRAVEL JUNE 1, 1950 TO DECEMBER 31, 1953 (a)

TRAVEL TO ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE - BY FISCAL YEAR

Month	June 30, 1951	June 30, 1952	June 30, 1953	June 30, 1954	June 30, 1955	June 30, 1956
July	4,454	4,913	7,492	8,010		
August	5,484	5,741	5,561	10,031(1)		
September	3,692	4,999	6,976	10,482		
October	4,203	1,688	8,236	7,175		
November	1,980	1,697	2,839	4,515		
December	636	595	1,868	4,886		
January	728	690	985			
February	943	1,353	2,195			
March	2,647	1,353	2,195			
April	3,955	2,972	4,274			
May	12,324*	12,227	12,064			
June	3,539	5,955	5,684			
Total	44,585	44,206	59,500	(45,099)		
No. of Cars						

(a) Data drawn from the monthly reports of the Superintendent. These reports not available for years January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1960.

*8,000 visited on May 30, Memorial Day.

(1) Electric auto counter installed on Bloody Lane in August 1953.

NBS-ANT-2017-3, Road and Trail System, dated October 6, 1950, was approved by the director on January 15, 1951.[101]

The Interpretive Section for Antietam National Battlefield Site, dated May 1952, 21 pages, and prepared by Historian Tilberg of Gettysburg National Military Park, was approved by Acting Director Lee on February 25, 1953.[102]

The Land Status Section of the Antietam Master Plan was approved by Acting Director Allen on June 5, 1953.[103]

A topographical base map, Drawing No. 3003, dated 1953, was also added to the Antietam Master Plan.

Plans for construction, for which files are not presently available, include the following:

a. Plan and Profile of Burnside Bridge at Antietam Creek, Drawing No. 2019-1953.

b. Grading, Drainage, Surfacing Smoketown Road, Mansfield Ave., to Battlefield Ave., April 26, 1955, Drawing No. 3000-1 & 2.

c. Plan, Elevations, Details, Repairs to the Burnside Bridge at Antietam Creek, August 1, 1955, Drawing No. 3002, Sheets 1 to 4.

9. TRAVEL TO ANTIETAM, 1950-1960

From January 1, 1934, to August 1, 1953, travel to Antietam National Battlefield site had been estimated by counting the number of visitors to the administration-museum building in the national cemetery. During the week, this number was multiplied by three and on Sundays by five, to obtain an estimate for the total number visitors to the park. In August 1953 an electric traffic counter was installed at Bloody Lane in the center of the park; the actual number of vehicles counted was then multiplied by set figures for the estimated average number of passengers on weekdays and weekends.[104] Travel jumped from about

---

[101] Record Group 79, File 18 (61A362, Box 65), Washington Record Center, Suitland, Md. Acting Chief, Landscape Branch Paul C. Thomas to Regional Director, Region One. Acting Director A. E. Demrary signed January 15, 1951.

[102] Ibid., File D-18, Chief, Landscape Design Branch to Regional Director, Region One, February 27, 1953.

[103] Ibid., Chief, Landscape Branch to Regional Director, Region One, June 9, 1953. File D-18.

[104] Supt.'s monthly report for August 1953.

AVAILABLE

60,000 to 100,000 visitors per annum, based on the use of the electric counter.

An estimated total of 975,857 people visited Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery between July 1, 1950, and June 30, 1960, as follows:

Travel: July 1, 1950-June 30, 1960

By Fiscal Year, to June 30	Estimated Number of Visitors
1951	44,585
1952	44,206
1953	59,600
1954	71,727[105]
1955	115,000[106]
1956	105,000
1957	125,000
1958	118,739
1959	151,000
1960	141,000
Total:	975,857

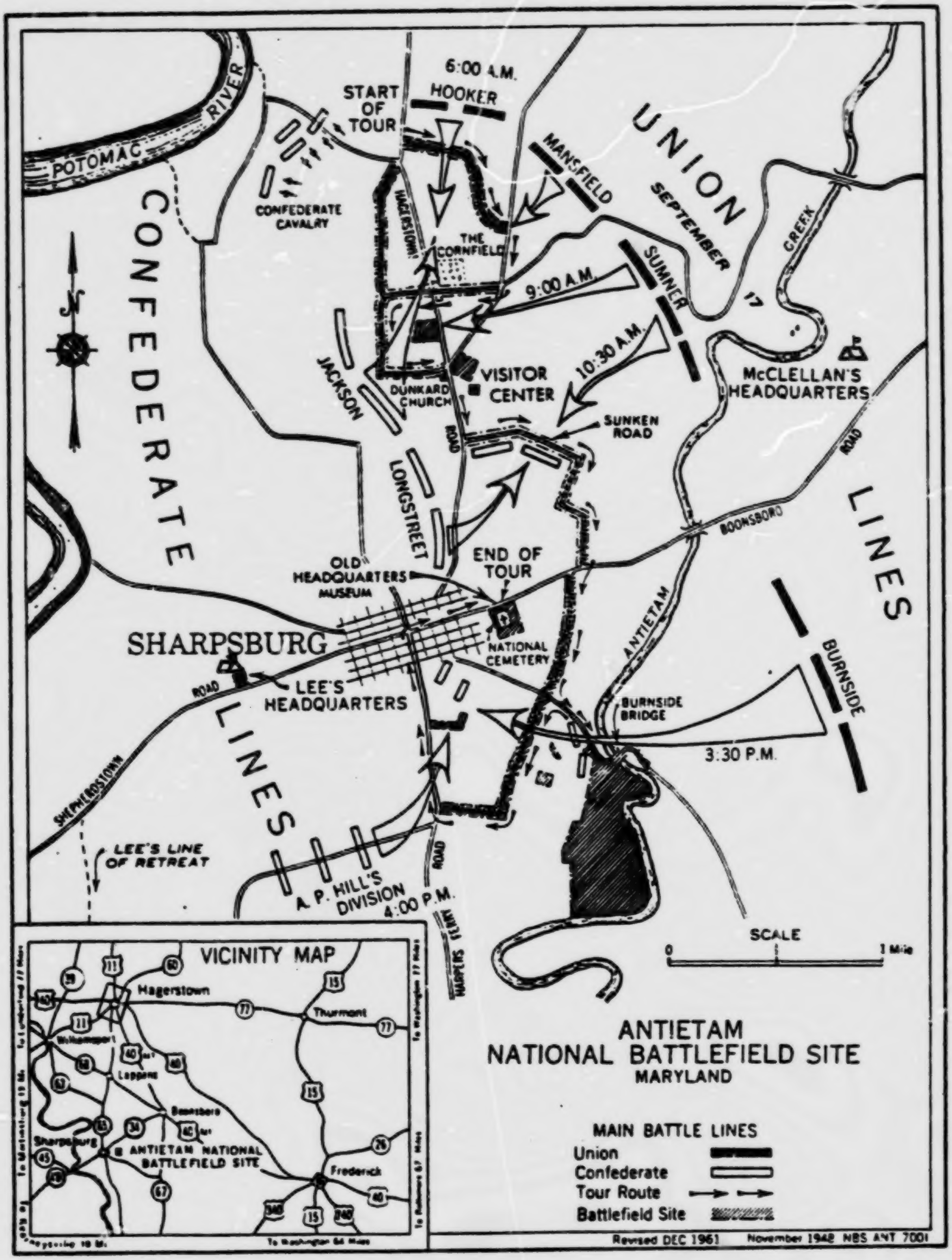
From January 1, 1934, to June 30, 1960, the period that the National Park Service had administered Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery, an estimated total of 1,418,917 persons had visited the park as follows:

Period	No. of Visitors
January 1, 1934 - June 30, 1942	248,134
July 1, 1942 - June 30, 1950	194,926
July 1, 1950 -June 30, 1960	975,857
Total:	1,418,917

---

[105] Includes 45,099 counted to December 31, 1953, plus estimated 16,628 for January to June 30, 1954; figure may be low, but records not available.

[106] Figures for 1955 to 1960 drawn from Master Plan of Antietam National Battlefield Site, Chapter I, Basic Information, July 7, 1964, "The Visitor", p. 10.


POTOMAC RIVER
CONFEDERATE LINES
UNION LINES
6:00 A.M.
HOOKER
START OF TOUR
CONFEDERATE CAVALRY
HAGERSTOWN
THE CORNFIELD
MANSFIELD
SEPTEMBER 17
SUMNER
CREEK
9:00 A.M.
10:30 A.M.
McCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS
JACKSON
DUNKARD CHURCH
VISITOR CENTER
SUNKEN ROAD
ROAD
LONGSTREET
BOONSBORO ROAD
OLD HEADQUARTERS MUSEUM
END OF TOUR
NATIONAL CEMETERY
SHARPSBURG
ROAD
LEE'S HEADQUARTERS
ANTIETAM
BURNSIDE
BURNSIDE BRIDGE
3:30 P.M.
SHEPHERDSTOWN
LEE'S LINE OF RETREAT
A. P. HILL'S DIVISION
4:00 P.M.
HARPERS FERRY ROAD
SCALE
0
1 Mile
VICINITY MAP
Hagerstown
Thurmont
Williamsport
Lappans
Boonsboro
Sharpsburg
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE
Frederick
To Washington 64 Miles
ANTIETAM
NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE
MARYLAND
MAIN BATTLE LINES
Union
Confederate
Tour Route
Battlefield Site
Revised DEC 1961
November 1942 NBS ANT 7001

PART II--1954-1960: SELECTED PROBLEMS

This section of Chapter VIII is based largely on records of the Washington Office, plus a few scattered park files that escaped destruction in 1967. Most of the regional office correspondence and the park files are not available for study.

1. HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND A FULL TIME HISTORIAN'S POSITION

Despite many statements to the contrary, the National Park Service, with but a few exceptions engaged in little historical or architectural research between 1934 and 1955. There were two reasons for this: (1) Many ranking officials in the regional and Washington offices believed that research had no practical use and hence was a waste of the taxpayer's money; and (2) most congressmen had a similar view. Between 1934 and 1955 Congress probably did not vote one nickel for any project that was labeled "Research."

The National Park Service, however, was not against all research, but favored studies that did not cost much money. Thus park historians were expected to devote their time and effort to interpretive and visitor contact work, but if there were slack time when no visitors showed up, historians were not prohibited from engaging in historical research, provided that it did not cost extra money for frills such as travel. From 1933 to 1955, historians stationed in areas with a seasonal visitation had an opportunity, if the individual felt so inclined, to conduct research in original sources on the history of the park. Results were uneven and there was no central guidance. At some seasonal parks, where the historians were interested in research, much usable work was accomplished, but at similar parks with seasonal visitation, where the historian was not interested in research, little or nothing was accomplished. At historical parks with year-round visitation, the park historians had little opportunity to carry out extended research on their areas.

The National Park Service functioned well under this hit-or-miss type of research activity until 1956-57, when suddenly the Service began to receive millions of dollars in construction funds, appropriated for Mission 66, for the purpose of restoring or reconstructing historic structures in park areas. At this point the National Park Service became aware of the fact that while it had been talking about, or interpreting, its historical areas for many years, it had little or no idea of how the parks and their structures looked at their time of greatest historical significance. Under the law and regulations, construction funds could not be legally expended unless the buildings, etc., were restored accurately. This crisis forced a revolution in the field of research. It was decided that the historical, documentary, and architectural research necessary to provide the evidence so that a structure could be accurately restored or reconstructed could be charged to construction accounts, as a normal part of the planning process.

Congress would not vote a penny for "research," but was willing to provide millions for "construction." After 1956 construction monies provided considerable funds for research. To solve the crisis of lack of historical and architectural data at two parks where large amounts of construction money were available but could not be utilized, the new Region Five central office established two "crash research programs." The first of these, headed by historian S. Sydney Bradford, was based at Fort McHenry in the spring of 1957 and functioned until about 1960; the second crash research project, headed by historian Charles W. Snell, was assigned to a new park, Harpers Ferry National Monument, in August 1957 and functioned until 1962. For perhaps the first time in National Park Service history, teams of historians and architects worked eight hours a day, five days a week, conducting documentary and structural research and writing up their findings in "historic structures reports." As the teams collected and analyzed their data, archeologists, usually working under contract, were employed to investigate the foundations and grounds of historic structures and sites.

With evidence that historical and architectural research need not necessarily be "useless," with construction money becoming available to be used in all the parks, the National Park Service, by 1957, began to change its position on research in the parks and to encourage park historians to engage in this type of activity. The Washington and regional offices also undertook to provide guidance in the final selection of proposed projects to ensure that study was undertaken on priority projects first.

Antietam was to be affected by this change in attitude.

In October 1956 staff historian Appleman, having returned to the National Park Service after serving with the U.S. Army during the Korean Conflict, visited Antietam. On October 23 Chief, Division of Interpretation, Lee informed Regional Director Tobin, Region Five:

> Mr. Appleman has commented to me on the excellent graphic battlefield markers that Superintendent Doust and Seasonal Historian Tuckerman jointly have caused to be prepared and erected on the battlefield during the past few years. These are the large painted map markers on flexboard which I understand Mr. Tuckerman himself has drawn and painted. That being the case it seems that Mr. Tuckerman is due for compliments on his artistic ability as well as his recognized ability as an historian for his knowledge of the Antietam campaign. I would like Mr. Doust and Mr. Tuckerman to know that we appreciate the form of self-help they have exhibited in getting these markers up on the battlefield through their own efforts.
>
> Superintendent Doust is rightly concerned over his need for an historian on the Park staff. A seasonal ranger-historian is inadequate. The park, one of the most important of the Civil War group, has never had a permanent historian. It needs one badly. This is particularly a pressing matter right now in view of Mission 66 plans for Antietam. If the Service is able to carry through with the current general planning to complete, or approximately to complete, the development of the Civil War battlefield parks prior to the 100th Anniversary of the events commemorated in each of them it will mean that Antietam will come in for a high priority of development. The Battle of Antietam, as we all know, was fought in the fall of 1862 and the development accordingly should be well underway by 1961. Since so much of this will depend upon adequate historical research and information, particularly the planning for a suitable Visitor Center, it seems to us it is mandatory that the Antietam Park staff include a competent historian as soon as possible.
>
> In this connection, Mr. Appleman discussed with Superintendent Doust the possibility of having the historian position Grade GS-7, carried for Antietam in the 1958 fiscal year estimates, raised to Grade GS-9. Mr. Doust seemed agreeable to this and even suggested that Mr. Tuckerman be considered for the position. So far as we know, Mr. Tuckerman would be an admirable selection if he is eligible for appointment and if he can be persuaded to give up his teaching job at Hagerstown to take the park historian job. Superintendent Doust thought that Mr. Tuckerman might be

> interested if a position can be established in Grade 9. Mr. Ramsdell points out that such action may be difficult if the Superintendent's position is also Grade 9.
>
> We have no doubt that Superintendent Doust and your Office have this important need in mind and will give consideration to it as soon as you can, in an appropriate grade. In our judgment, the problems are more difficult than a GS-7 would normally be equipped to handle.[107]

The full-time historian position, GS-7, was established at Antietam and Robert L. Lagemann reported for duty in 1957.[108]

Park superintendents could facilitate or hinder the research efforts of their park historians. Some did not understand the process. There were parks where the historians were not allowed to read a book on government time as the superintendents believed this to be a waste of the taxpayer's money. At another park the GS-7 historian was required to clean the public rest rooms daily even though there was an ample maintenance staff and the historian was not permitted to use a government typewriter, with the result that he compiled his research notes in longhand.[109] There were, on the other hand, of course, a number of Superintendents who rendered their historians every possible assistance to facilitate research efforts. The range, however, was great.

Superintendent Doust, however, was among that group of custodians who did not facilitate the research efforts of their historians. Historian Lagemann's chief duty during his first year on the job, after taking care of the interpretive or public contact duties, was to type the manuscript of the great Gothic novel that Doust had written. The manuscript was submitted and rejected by a publisher. The shredding of the novel by the would-be author that took place in the park office undoubtedly caused pains of anguish in some quarters, but it also resulted in the liberation of historian Lagemann. The second obstacle to progress in research matters was Superintendent Doust's belief that the 128 volumes of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, the prime source of information on the Civil War, were too valuable to permit historian Lagemann to use them. This rather narrowed the research that Lagemann could do at the park administrative-museum building.

---

[107] WASO File P72-H.

[108] Park Research File. Supt. Doust to Supt., Fort McHenry, September 13, 1957 - H2215- "...we do not have a historian here at the moment...." On March 10, 1958, Robert L. Lagemann, Historian (Park) provides the data that the Supt. of Fort McHenry had requested in September 1957. On April 18, 1958, Historian Lagemann visited Harpers Ferry National Monuments, W.Va., and spent about 2½ hours with the author discussing park research problems.

[109] The author personally observed superintendents using their historians in this manner during the years 1951-57.

On September 8, 1958, Lagemann attended the meeting held at Gettysburg National Park, at which regional historian Frank Barnes discussed the research projects necessary for an adequate preparation for the battlefield centennials that would be upcoming in 1962-1963 at Region Five's three Civil War areas. On September 10 historian Lagemann submitted through the superintendent to the regional director a four-page memorandum outline of the "Historical Research in Preparation for the Battle Centennial at Antietam" that he thought would be necessary. He wrote in part:

> Because our most immediate needs here will require the acquisition of additional lands in order to provide the visitor with the physical facilities he expects in travelling to a National Battlefield area, I believe research into the physical aspects of the Battlefield itself are of first priority. Therefore, I believe additional information on the battle conditions should be secured first on those properties for which title exchange to the NPS is proposed by Mission 66.

This would include study of the farm buildings on the Poffenberger, D. R. Miller, Mumma, Roulette, and Piper farms; the 1862 farm drives and road system, their fences, the dimensions of and the crops growing in the fields in 1862, the extent and type of forestation in east, north, and west woods, and the stream drainage and water supply of the battlefield area. He commented:

> The above are necessary in the event any restoration of the battlefield properties included in Mission 66 improvements are to be contemplated.
>
> In addition, I would suggest that the same type of research be done on other properties involved in the Battle of Antietam, in order to answer inquiries on nearby properties which visitors may be expected to be interested in, even though not technically a part of Antietam National Battlefield Site.

These would include farm buildings, roads, fences, crops, fields, etc. on the Otto, Sherrick, Rohrback, Snavely, Nicodemus, Hauser, and Pry farms, the Line buildings, and the Grove House in Sharpsburg. The upper, middle, and Burnside bridges should be studied.

With regard to research on military units involved in the Battle of Antietam, Lagemann wrote:

> It would be desirable to have detailed information about each military unit participating in the battle, down to and including the individual regiments. However, I do not believe it would be practical to plan on such a comprehensive research in preparation for the centennial because:
>
> a) The average visitor does not request such a detailed interpretation of the combatants;
>
> b) Under current conditions much of such information is available, as a special small scale research project, when requested by an individual about a particular unit;
>
> c) Data on all the regiments are not available here;
>
> d) Such a complete project would require too large a portion of the time available for research on all subjects prior to the centennial; and
>
> e) The general public visiting this NPS installation would not sufficiently benefit proportionately from the investment in time and effort this subject would require as compared to other areas of interest which would necessarily be neglected in the process.
>
> f) Therefore, I believe research into the individual units engaged here should be fairly complete down to and including the Divisional level, instead of the Regimental. Twenty-nine divisions were on the Antietam Field on September 17th, 1862, so it will be difficult to complete this project as it is without some assistance in research personnel.

He also suggested that the studies made on artillery at Antietam be reviewed for accuracy, adding information discovered since they were prepared, and reorganizing them into a new summary.[110]

Lagemann recommended that a survey be made of the effect of the battle on Sharpsburg. This would include damage and destruction of property, what the inhabitants did during the battle, what changes occurred as a result of the engagement and whether the citizens favored the north or the south.

---

[110] This was J. M. Hanson, "A Report on the Employment of the Artillery at the Battle of Antietam, Maryland, with a View to Marking Battery Positions at the Antietam National Battlefield Site," 72 pp. typescript, February 14, 1940.

Time should also be allotted from the scheduled research to fill in such "gaps" in the Antietam story that might appear as the work progressed.

Funds and additional staffing would be necessary to execute the suggested research program. Lagemann wrote in this regard:

> In order to make some of this research possible, additional funds will have to be made available to:
>
> a) Purchase materials needed, especially
>   i. Recent and current books,
>   ii. Reports published by the states represented here on their units and state records of personnel in the Civil War.
>
> b) To provide for travel by the Historian to libraries and archives where the data is available.
>
> It is my opinion that in order to accomplish this research preparatory to the centennial year and at the same time to adequately provide interpretive services to the visiting public the services of an assisting historian will be required. Especially during the period of heavy visitation, May 15 through September 15, will it be desireable to have an additional man to either maintain the research program or to assist in interpreting the battle story to the visitors thereby allowing me some additional time to continue the research in preparation for the centennial. Otherwise this research program which the Regional Historian outlined this week will be interrupted for several months each year.

Later in the week historian Lagemann departed to attend the 12-week course given for new employees at the National Park Service Training School in Yosemite National Park.[111]

On March 31, 1959, Regional Director Tobin approved the research program for Antietam (the Forms 10-20 and 10-21, however, are not included in the H2215 file). He added

> We think also that a project involving documentation of the existing Troop Movement Map should be added to the list, and a supplemental form should be submitted on this. Though it

---

[111] Lagemann to Supt. Doust, September 10, 1958; Doust, transmitting memo to Regional Director, Region Five, September 12, 1958, File H2215. Park File. Murray H. Nelligan, Regional Chief of Interpretation, acknowledged receipt of these letters on September 25, 1958, calling this "a very good summation."

> cannot be shown as part of this research program, we trust Mr. Lagemann is keeping in mind the need for an Interpretive Plan for the area as park land proposals come along...."[112]

On April 2 regional historian Barnes wrote a memorandum to Superintendent Doust noting:

> You may not be happy with me for this, but I fixed up your 1961 Preliminary Estimate to include an additional Historian position. This may not materialize, of course, but there is no harm in trying. An additional Historian Position was recommended by the Area Management Team a year ago and that gives ample justification for including it in the preliminary estimates.[113]

Responding to Tobin's letter, Doust wrote with regards to the troop movement maps and historian Lagemann's time during the summer of 1959:

> To aid us in the study of what took place here in 1862 we are fortunate in having the excellent maps made by Colonel Cope under the orders of the War Department in 1899. Some fourteen in number these maps outline the battle positions and movements from dawn to the battle's end at dusk. These maps are considered to be equal, if not superior, to any battle maps of the great Civil War. They are used at the Army War College and West Point. I do not think we could improve on them.
>
> We also have the fine work of a man named Steere who conducted quite a research program under the NPS back in the Thirties and his work is used by many historians and is considered an authority on the events that happened here back in those hectic days of '62.
>
> There are, of course, a great many other historians who have contributed much, so that today about everything has been said or written on this seemingly inexhaustable subject. Not that we should close our minds on it, but it is a question of doing over again and again work which has already been done well. There is plenty of research in new fields to exploit, in the line of interpretation in order to tell the story best so the visitor knows what took place here. This is one of our most important tasks as I see it, with a limited staff.
>
> Most of Mr. Lagemann's work through the heavy travel season will be taken up with direct interpretation to the visitor. He will continue with the research as outlined.

---

112. Tobin to Doust, March 31, 1959, Park File H2215.
113. Park File H2215.

> As far as future land aquisition is concerned, it has very little to do in telling the story. They are a vital part of the battlefield, and ownership of them plays a great part in our present Mission 66 program. But, we include these lands in the story of the battle whether we own them or not.[114]

Historian Lagemann completed one research study, "Historic Structure Report, Part I, Dunkard Church," 71 pp. typescript, May 25, 1960, during the period 1958 to July 1, 1960.

On April 25, 1960, Regional Chief of Interpretation Murray H. Nelligan wrote to Superintendent Doust and suggested that historian Lagemann be permitted to visit and examine two collections of manuscript material relating to the battle of Antietam. Superintendent Doust responded:

> In answer to Regional Chief of Interpretation Nelligan's memorandum of April 25 on the above subject, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Historian has several things of high priority already on the agenda, namely the Dunkard Church Report, due May 30, Master Plan Narrative, Chapter 1, due July 1, as well as several other reports now pending.
>
> I may be wrong but it is becoming apparent to me since the President has signed the Antietam Bill and this area is becoming more important, we will have to consider, even on a temporary basis, the loan of one or two Historians, to furnish the necessary material required from a historical standpoint in our Mission 66 program.
>
> While I agree with what Mr. Nelligan says regarding the visit to Baltimore as well as Washington to track down certain materials, I do not see how we can meet the deadliness as required in following down all these leads as well as the interpretive demands which are becoming greater and greater as the season progresses. As things look now, this will probably be our greatest travel season so far. Unless we receive the financial assistance to the amount of $50, Historian Lagemann cannot make the two trips suggested in Mr. Nelligan's memorandum.[115]

---

[114] Doust to Tobin, April 6, 1959, Park File H2215. In April 1959, Superintendent Doust also apparently considered employing historian Edward Steere, who produced two fine studies in 1942-43. Doust to Gettysburg; Supt. James B. Myers, Gettysburg to Doust April 8, 1959. The whereabouts of Mr. Steere in 1959 was unknown. He had worked with the Bureau of Geographic Names in the Department of the Interior after his service at Antietam.

[115] Lagemann to Doust, June 3, 1960; Doust to Regional Chief of Interpretation, June 3, 1960.

Historian Lagemann was permitted to visit the Maryland Historical Society on June 1. He reported his findings:

> Among the papers in the Steiner collection are the original map and accompanying notes on the location and operation of the battlefield hospitals. Although this has proved to be negative research insofar as the Clara Barton story is concerned (Miss Barton was not mentioned in the materials), the data available in these original documents will prove very valuable whenever any of the battlefield hospital sites are studied.
>
> I took the liberty of requesting photostatic copies of the map and three pages of the notes which describe the "hospital" locations, the surgeon in charge of each, the number of patients served, the operating conditions, etc. The cost will total $5.95.
>
> The map, prepared by Dr. Harris and submitted as part of the official report to the Surgeon General, was the original map from which data were obtained for the drawing of Plate XXVII, No. 2, in the Official Atlas . . . . It was also studied by E. A. Carman who was in charge of the preparation of the troop positions for the "Cope" series of maps.[116]

On June 8 Lagemann was allowed to visit the Library of Congress. He reported of this trip:

> While in the Library of Congress yesterday, I consulted the six volumes of the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, and five other works pertaining, in part, to the medical activities on Antietam Battlefield in September-October, 1862. In none of them did I find any reference to Clara Barton.
>
> However, in one of these other sources, The Medical Department of the Civil War, by Capt. Louis C. Duncan, Medical Corps, U.S. Army, I encountered an extraordinarily informative chapter on the medical services and facilities at Antietam. The forty-five pages of this chapter contain a veritable wealth of detailed information on this subject. In my opinion, based on my experience to date in this field, this book is possibly the most comprehensive account of the surgeon's work at Antietam that we will find.
>
> It contains a thorough section on the field hospitals, which has several additions to and clarifications of the material contained in the Official Records . . . . and the Medical and Surgical History . . . . A map shows clearly the locations of

---

[116] Lageman to Doust, June 3, 1960; Doust to Regional Chief of Interpretation, June 3, 1960.

> the thirteen Union divisional field hospitals; and is accompanied by a text clearly describing them. In the future, when more extensive work is in order on the general field hospital situation as a main subject for research, in contrast to its localized application to the "Clara Barton Story," I would recommend the Duncan reports as the prime source to consult.[117]

These two one-day trips opened vistas on a phase of the Battle of Antietam that had never been considered by either the War Department or the National Park Service in interpreting the Battle of Antietam.

Historian Lagemann spent the summer of 1960 meeting visitors. Pending was his study on the location of the farmhouse in which Clara Barton established her hospital during the Battle of Antietam.

2. MISSION 66 AND THE NEW VISITOR CENTER,1956-1960

In 1942 in meetings and actions taken on January 8, February 28, and September 14, and after much discussion, the director of the National Park Service had decided that the permanent museum for the Antietam National Battlefield Site would be erected on the New York and Maryland plot. Implementation of this decision remained in limbo for 14 years. As the case with "research," Congress refused to provide money to construct "museums" in the National Parks.

The issue was reopened in 1955. On June 27 Director Wirth called upon the superintendent of every park to submit a Mission 66 prospectus for his area that would provide for the development, preservation, and staffing of his park. Superintendents submitted their proposals in July and August 1955 (Superintendent Doust's plan is not available for study).

In the development of the Mission 66 planning, Ronald Lee substituted the term "park visitor center" for "park museum." Events were to prove that Congress, which was unwilling to vote any money for a "museum," was eager to appropriate hundreds of thousands of dollars to erect large and modern "visitor centers." With construction money becoming available for this purpose, the question of the best location for the permanent "visitor center" again became important.

---

117. Lagemann to Doust, June 9, 1960; Doust to Nelligan, June 10, 1960, Park File H2215.

In 1956 there was a different park superintendent and a different regional director and staff, as well as another director, to consider this problem. The debate, which could well be called "the Second Battle of Antietam," was joined in August 1956 and ended on March 1, 1957. Regional and park correspondence is not available, so full credit cannot be allotted to the authors of the various proposals. The outlines of this contest were brought to a head, however, when the general development plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, drawing NBS-ANT, 3007, was reviewed. Washington staff historian Appleman, in a letter to the chief, division of interpretation, on August 31 fired the opening salvo in an engagement that was intended to stop Superintendent Doust and the Region Five staff from changing the 1942 proposed site for the visitor center. Appleman wrote:

> I have written a comment on the review cover sheet of this plan recommending against approval. This action is based primarily on the proposed location of the Visitor Center.
>
> The Visitor Center is proposed at a point immediately adjacent to the National Cemetery in Sharpsburg. In an early Mission 66 submittal the Superintendent wanted it retained in the National Cemetery in the old outmoded building now being used for park headquarters and temporary museum exhibits. This was turned down. Now, the next closest thing to that is a location just outside the cemetery grounds wall. This should be firmly rejected.
>
> For many years in the 1930s and the 1940s the then Region One staff, the Park Superintendent and Coordinating Superintendent (Superintendent Coleman, Gettysburg) studied this matter and reached the conclusion that the best site for a visitor center was on a high ridge giving a good -- an excellent--overlook of the major part of the battlefield. This site is adjacent to the New York Monument tract on the Hagerstown Road. It is also opposite the site of the Dunkard Church. Its advantages are, that better than any other place it would give the best general view of the field of operations, and accordingly permit the best visitor comprehension from any one spot of what happened at Antietam. This site is near the center of the most important field of action. Located just off the Hagerstown Road, the most important and most heavily travelled one passing through the battlefield, it would be ideally situated for visitor convenience.
>
> The site proposed adjacent to the national cemetery has nothing in its favor as an interpretive point for telling the story of the Antietam battle. The ground of action cannot be seen, and it is distant from the scene of that action.

> The plan should show the Piper Farm land between Bloody Lane and the Town of Sharpsburg for acquisition. This is needed for historical reasons and to protect one of the most important landmarks of the battle--the Sunken Road.[118]

In October staff historian Appleman brought forward reinforcements, presenting Chief, Division of Interpretation, Lee with a summary and historical review of the different viewpoints that the National Park Service had taken on the location of the visitor center at Antietam from May 17, 1939, to February 27, 1953.[119]

In December 1956 two possible plans were being considered on a General Development Plan, Schemes A & B, NBS-ANT-3007-A. Scheme A proposed placing the visitor center on the New York-Maryland Plot. Scheme B had apparently been developed by the region five office. In a report dated December 28, 1956, staff historian Appleman reviewed the situation:

> I favor Scheme A. This whole subject, you may remember, was considered in a field meeting a few weeks ago in which the Washington Office, Regional Office, and the Eastern Office of Design and Construction were represented. At that time all members of the group in a vote favored Scheme A, with the exception that Mr. Palmer of the Region Five Office favored Scheme B.
>
> This field conference has been reported in writing by Mr. Palmer. A copy of his memorandum has circulated in the office here, and I believe you have seen it. I will not here go into a detailed explanation of why Scheme A is preferable to Scheme B, but if you should desire, I shall be very glad to discuss the subject or if you want, put the reasoning in writing.[120]

On January 16 Appleman had his heavy artillery zeroed in on the proposals advanced by the Antietam superintendent and the Region Five staff and he opened a deadly fire of logic that devastated the other plans. As Appleman explained the situation:

> Antietam General Development (3 sheets) NBS-ANT-3007-A
>
> I have placed a comment on the review sheet for the above listed plan, recommending in favor of scheme A.

---

118. Appleman to chief, August 31, 1956, WASO File.
119. Ibid., memo dated October 15, 1956, 2 pp.
120. Appleman to chief, December 28, 1956. Mr. Palmer was George A. Palmer, Assistant Regional Director, Region Five.

I have reviewed Superintendent Doust's memorandum of December 27, 1956, proposing that the visitor center be located on the west edge of the park several hundred yards west of the Dunkard Church site. I have also reviewed Regional Director Tobin's memorandum of January 11, 1957, recommending that the visitor center be at the present national cemetery headquarters site or nearby. I disagree with both of the proposals recommended by the Superintendent and the Region Five Office.

I can see no advantage at all in the superintendent's recommendation. It does not get the visitor to any place within the park where he can have the view of the field of action nor does it place him at the beginning of the tour. Furthermore, it is located on a proposed new by-pass road which involves many difficult problems that must be solved before that road can be built. This may be years off. A visitor center should not be so located in view of the Centennial period only a few years away.

Much of the reasoning stated briefly in the Region Five memorandum placing so much emphasis on the alleged fact that it was at Sharpsburg that Lee decided to stand and fight is, as I see it, irrelevant and somewhat specious with respect to the problems involved in locating the visitor center. The course of the battle was not determined by the fact that Lee may or may not have decided at Sharpsburg that he would stand and fight. He was wholly on the defensive. His true problem was to concentrate his army, which had been divided into three or more parts, before any of them could be brought to battle and overwhelmed by McClellan's pursuing army. In choosing to stand at Sharpsburg, Lee was selecting a very good defensive position that was in reach of the other parts of his separated army. He had the Potomac River at his back; he had the sizeable Antietam Creek at his front. He had taken position on the ridge between Antietam Creek and the Potomac River near the point of the V formed by the juncture by these two streams. McClellan's army was approaching from the east--that is, from across Antietam Creek. Lee's guns and infantry commanded the bridges across Antietam Creek in his front. No sensible commander ever attempts a stream crossing in the face of an enemy who holds the opposite height with his army in position and commands the crossing sites with his artillery.

The question of whether the Union Army would attack Lee in this position at all, or if so, how it would do it, rested entirely with the Union Commander--the initiative was his. It was his action that decided whether the battle would be fought at all and if so how it would be fought. He decided to attack Lee. His plan of battle was to move his army around the Confederate left flank, cross Antietam Creek up stream from where the crossings were defended by Lee and move down the Sharpsburg Ridge in a southerly direction

> into the Confederate position. For all intent and purposes, this was along the axis of the Hagerstown Road. At the same time, he had demonstration forces in front of the bridges the Confederates were defending. The Union attack from the north down the ridge was the only practicable point of attack. On the other three sides, Lee was protected by a water barrier. The main battle, therefore, at Antietam was fought at the north end of the Confederate position beginning at what was known as Poffenberger Farm. The initial attack was launched from the North Woods. Lee fed reinforcements into his army's left as the Union army brought up more and more reinforcements to push its attack. It was here that the main and critical battle was fought, and here also it began to pick up again at the end of the fighting of the first day. The northern half is the important part of the Antietam Battlefield and the visitor center should be located there.
>
> I have gone to this length to refute what I consider an irrelevant argument for locating the visitor center at Sharpsburg because it has been said that it was there Lee decided to stand and fight. There are many other arguments I should make as to why the visitor center should be located at the north and because of terrain factors and visibility over that important part of the battlefield. But not wishing to make this comment over long, I will stop here. I am prepared, however, to go to any lengths desired to put these views in writing or express them verbally.[121]

Director Wirth made his decision on the Antietam Master Plan on March 1, 1957. He wrote in part and with regard to the location of the Visitor Center:

> Drawing NBS-ANT-3007-A, General Development Plan, Scheme A, and Scheme B, transmitted with Mr. Cornell's memorandum of December 21, 1956, Superintendent Doust's overlay sketch, transmitted with his memorandum of December 27, 1956, and Mr. Tobin's memorandum of January 11, have been reviewed....
>
> After the review of the possible locations for the visitor center, a site at or near the New York Monument was selected. This location is well adapted to a building designed somewhat along the lines of the Yorktown Visitor Center in which visitors will go to the roof of the building to obtain a view of the battlefield and surrounding country. Visitors would receive initial orientation at this point, and then proceed northward via the West Woods to the Poffenberger Farm and swing south.[121]

---

121. Appleman to chief, Division of Interpretation, January 16, 1957. WASO file.
122. Director to chief, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, WASO file. File D18. For the Visitor Center Development Plan, dated October 3, 1958, see drawing no. 3012.

After savage in-fighting, the 1942 decision to locate the permanent museum or visitors center at the New York-Maryland Plot was sustained in 1957. Available evidence suggests, however, that without the intervention of Chief, Division of Interpretation, Lee and staff historian Appleman, the location of the existing park visitor center might well have been at some other site.

3. MISSION 66 AND THE PROPOSED EXHIBIT PROSPECTUS

Again, many of the files are unavailable for study. In his comments on the review of the exhibits prospectus for the new Antietam visitor center, staff historian Peterson wrote:

> Generally the facts set forth seem to be accurate and acceptable. The writing and the use made of the facts, however, are susceptible to considerable improvement.
>
> The portion of the propectus with which I find the most fault is that relating to the exhibits. Important aspects of the story are overlooked, and both the selection of topics and the methods and materials suggested for treating them are weak.
>
> Specifically we fail to see how a museum at Antietam can avoid devoting one exhibit to the significance of the battle in terms of the war as a whole. This significance is indicated in the discussion of the battle but completely overlooked in the list of exhibits. Antietam was a crucial battle, and this needs to be pointed out.
>
> We also fail to see how the story of the [preliminary] Emancipation Proclamation can be ignored entirely. It was the battle of Antietam that gave Lincoln the opportunity he had been seeking to release this document, and at least one exhibit on it should be included.[123]

On December 3, 1957, at the request of Ronald F. Lee, chief, Division of Interpretation, staff historian Peterson submitted a "suggested alternate list of exhibits for the Antietam Visitor Center." The detailed memorandum proposed 15 exhibits:

1. Leaders of the Two Armies
2. Confederate Plans
3. The Union Follows
4. Hooker's Attack
5. Diorama--Fighting in Cornfield or near Dunkard Church
6. Artillery

---

[123] Peterson to Ralph H. Lewis, Chief, Museum Branch, October 23, 1957.

7. Mansfield and Sumner Attack
8. The Infantry Soldier and His Arms
9. Burnside in the Afternoon
10. Diorama of Charge
11. The Retreat
12. Care of the Wounded
13. The Significance of the Battle
14. The Emancipation Proclamation
15. The Losses[124]

Chief of Museum Branch Lewis, reviewed the proposal on December 17 commenting, "The list of exhibit subjects seems fine...," but he added that perhaps more than 15 exhibits would be needed to present all of the suggested information.[125]

The problem of exhibits lay dormant for another six years until the new visitor center was constructed in 1961-62.

4. MISSION 66 AND LAND ACQUISITION

a. Plans to Expand the Park

On April 23, 1956, Chief of the Division of Interpretation Lee, informed the Chief of Lands:

> I recommend that land acquisition in the Mission 66 program for Antietam National Battlefield Site be placed in high priority in the Service program. I suggest that it be scheduled for the 1957-1958 fiscal years. We have no reliable and recent estimate for cost. This will have to be obtained. Conditions have changed rapidly in the scale of land values in the vicinity of the park in the past few years, and this accelerating change is one of the reasons we recommend high priority in this case.
>
> The Director approved the park prospectus by letter to the superintendent January 23, 1956, and specifically concurred in the prospectus land acquisition recommendations. The prospectus names several tracts for acquisition:

Miller Cornfield	40 acres
Turner Tract near Dunkard Church Site	17 acres
North Woods	10 acres
East Woods	20 acres
West Woods	30 acres

---

[124] Peterson to Burns, December 3, 1957, File D6215-H, WASO.

[125] Lewis to Chief, Division of Interpretation, December 17, 1957. WASO File, 153.

The prospectus also mentions lands along the Hagerstown Road and in the battlefield area generally that would bring the total to approximately 640 acres recommended for acquisition. These tracts are not identified.

The latest approved Boundary Status Report was signed by Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson on July 28, 1945. It mentions many of the tracts enumerated in the 1955 Mission 66 prospectus and several others including a tract near the New York monument for administration and visitor center building purposes, a small tract east of the National Cemetery to permit improvement of the road to the utility area, and other tracts for improvement of the park road system and to preserve and protect the historic area.

The Boundary Status Report refers to the 1941 Edition of the Antietam Master Plan for details of the land acquisition program, mentioning 26 parcels of land totaling 548 acres. It will be noted that this is approximately 100 acres less than the recommendations of the Superintendent in his Mission 66 prospectus approved by the Director.

Legislation is not needed to change or expand the boundaries of the park, nor is there any present limitation in acreage to which the park may expand. There is a limitation, however, in that additional lands have to be acquired by donated funds, and only when it is shown that the tracts in question have historical interest relating to the battle. At the present time, therefore, appropriated funds cannot be used for land acquisition at Antietam.

A bill has been drafted and submitted by the Service to the Department with the recommendation that it be introduced in Congress which would permit the Service to use appropriated funds as well as matching funds for land acquisition in all National Park Service areas already established. If this bill is enacted its provisions would permit land acquisition of Antietam with appropriated funds, and a special bill for that purpose would not be required.

To emphasize the need for action, Lee continued:

The February 1956 report of the superintendent points to the danger of much longer delay in acquiring the lands needed for the battlefield. The following passage is quoted from that report:

"The farm property of Mr. Patterson Roulette consisting of 180 acres, in the center of the battlefield and adjacent to Sunken Road or Bloody Lane, was sold. It is rather a shame that we were unable to acquire this property due to its historical significance. On its fields perhaps was fought some of the most savage battles of the Civil War. Most of the farm buildings including the old spring house, which was used by

> soldiers on both sides during the engagement, are still standing. Just what the new tenant intends to do with the property is not yet clear.
>
> There has also been considerable land buying action along the Hagerstown Pike just out of the village of Sharpsburg. Several new houses already have been erected and more are contemplated. There are several tracts along this road as far out as the Miller Farm which will make good building sites. In the near future, unless the Park Service does something to prevent it, the entire battlefield along this road will be hidden from view by these buildings.
>
> If there is any way in which I can assist you in scheduling for early acquisition the land needed at the Antietam Battlefield and in carrying out the acquisition subsequently, please tell me.[126]

On July 24, 1956, Superintendent Doust informed Regional Director Tobin in a "confidential" memorandum:

> I have just learned that the Piper Farm of approximately 225 acres, bounded by the Sunken Road or Bloody Lane on the north and running along the Hagerstown Pike to the outskirts of Sharpsburg, is to be taken over by a real estate group in Hagerstown for the purpose of breaking the farm into small tracts for rural housing development. Work is progressing on the plan at the present time, but I do not know when it will be placed on the market.[127]

Tobin informed the director of the situation at the Piper Farm property on July 26 and expressed hope that the law could be changed so that land could be purchased at Antietam.[128]

Staff Historian Appleman, apprised of the situation, expressed concern to Lee that without a new law or a donation of approximately $40,000, nothing could be done.[129] After visiting Antietam, Appleman reported:

> 1. . . . that all of Piper Farm (194 acres) should be in park land acquisition program. This farm is a critical one for the battlefield. It fronts on the north side of the Boonsboro Road for a distance of approximately 1,936 feet immediately north of Sharpsburg and opposite the National Cemetery. It

---

126. Lewis to Chief of Lands, April 23, 1956. File 1417-L.

127. Doust to Regional Director, Region Five, July 24, 1956. File 2223-Park.

128. Regional Director Tobin to Director, July 31, 1956. File L1425.

129. Acting Chief Historian Appleman to Chief, Division of Interpretation, August 22, 1956; Also Acting Director E.T. Scoyen to Regional Director, Region Five, August 30, 1956, responding to July 31 report - nothing can be done under existing law. File 1425.

fronts on the east side of the Hagerstown Road for a distance of approximately 2200 feet immediately north of Sharpsburg to the Bloody Lane. All of it was involved in the battle and its acquisition is important, in fact mandatory, to rounding out the park boundary.

2. Conferred with Mr. Samuel W. Piper of 133 East Antietam Street, Hagerstown, Maryland (Tel. No. 132-M) on his plans for the Piper Farm. Mr. Piper came to the Superintendent's Office from his home in Hagerstown for the meeting. Title is in his mother's name. She is now 80-some years old and virtually blind. He acts as her agent in all property matters. Mr. Piper professes a desire to keep the farm intact and have it added to the battlefield park. Already he has turned down several requests for the sale of tracts of land fronting on the Boonsboro and Hagerstown roads. He has considered subdividing the farm for real estate purposes. He at first placed an evaluation of $100,000 on the farm. Later he indicated he would consider $75,000. He might reduce this amount after he has checked to determine the tax rate on sale of real estate. He will then submit a proposal in the form of an option to the Superintendent for sale of his farm to the NPS. In my opinion Mr. Piper was reasonable and genuinely concerned with saving the historic farm for the park but also desirous of obtaining a good price for the land. Mr. Piper said the farm now grosses about $12,000 a year, principally from dairy use. The farm has several historic structures on it dating from the battle and earlier.

3. Agreement that Antietam Mission 66 Prospectus should be revised with regard to land Acquisition. The Superintendent will submit a request on this. Mr. Thompson has already partially competed a new land acquisition proposal. The principal land needs consist of the following farms north of Sharpsburg:

Miller
Poffenberger
Roulette
Mumma
Piper

4. A special word should be said about the Poffenberger Farm. It, like the Piper and Mumma farms, has historic structures on it that are of great value in recreating the atmosphere of the Civil War period and earlier. One of the buildings here is the one room stone and board siding structure where Clara Barton carried on her work of mercy among the Union wounded. The old and picturesque wood pump still exists just outside the building. Both the Piper and Poffenberger farms have blacksmith shops on them. The Piper farm has also an old Dutch cider press. But the point to be made here is that the Clara Barton building has a special significance because in a sense it may be said that the work of the American Red Cross began there.

> 5. It is not too late to acquire the historic land needed to guarantee the Antietam battlefield. But that time is running out. The 100th Anniversary of the battle is 1962. Before that time all the land needed should be acquired and related development completed for the Centennial Celebration we know will take place. Land acquisition at Antietam should have the very highest priority among the Civil War Battlefield parks. It needs land more than any other, and, too, there is scarcely a single battle of that war that had more profound significance[130] on the final outcome of the struggle than did Antietam.

Some 20 months later, on February 24, 1958, Director Wirth reviewed with Regional Director Tobin the proposed boundaries for Antietam and his meetings with Congress in an effort to obtain authority to purchase additional land:

> We have reviewed your memorandum of December 19, 1957, and attached map recommending proposed boundaries for Antietam. It is the consensus that the proposed boundaries exceed the needs of the Park for preservation and development purposes as shown on Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3007-C, approved May 6, 1957. The tentative boundaries and general scheme of development shown on this plan were based on conclusions reached at the Master Plan Conference held at Antietam on November 26-27, 1956, with Superintendent Doust and representatives of this Office, EODC and your office in attendance. The approved plan reflects modifications decided upon during the plan review here at which your office and EODC were represented.
>
> The approved plan of May 6, 1957, formed the basis of our testimony on H.R. 9581 at a hearing of the Public Lands Subcommittee on February 11, 1958. At this hearing we advised the subcommittee that a total of approximately 1,800 acres, including presently owned lands, is needed for Antietam. Further, we estimated that $300,000 would cover the cost of acquisition. The Committee made it clear that these figures should not be exceeded without clearing with it. In other words, the Committee does not wish to give an open ended authorization to acquire lands at Antietam.
>
> Recommended boundaries should now be detailed to conform as closely as possible to the schematic line shown on the approved Master Plan Drawing and keeping within the limitations recited above. The Master Plan line includes the

---

[130] Appleman to Lee, September 6, 1956, with copy to Regional Director, Region Five.

> lands of prime historical importance and, subject to adjustment to insure workability, appears to be adequate for protection and development purposes. We agree that it may be desirable for the proposed boundaries to follow existing property lines, but only to the extent that minimum adjustment of the Master Plan line is required. Service agreement on a justifable boundary now does not preclude its later modification, if necessary, to avoid excessive severance costs during the acquisition stage. Now, however, we are concerned primarily with recommending a workable boundary which can reasonably be expected to meet Park needs, provide for unavoidable disruptions it may cause in the community, and be suitable for public discussion. As you know, we are committed to furnishing Senator [John Marshall] Butler information as to our land needs for Antietam, and he has again asked the Department when it will be available.
>
> Using Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3007-C as a base, please let us have a firm boundary recommendation agreeable to your office, Superintendent Doust and EODC. The plan must be suitable for Senator Butler's use, as well as our own, and should appropriately identify existing Park lands and those proposed for acquisition. The proposed by-pass roads should be indicated as well as the proposed Park tour route and interpretive points. Please indicate also, in relation to the proposed boundary, how means of ingress and egress will be provided for private land owners, particularly on the east side between the Park and Antietam Creek. To be acceptable, the plan must provide these people, or others similarly affected, means of access other than by the Park road system.

Director Wirth went before the House Public Land Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs as the Interior Department's witness in favor of H.R. 1805, bill "To Amend the Act entitled 'An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire property for the Antietam Battlefield site in the State of Maryland'." As a result of his statements the amount of land to be authorized was changed from 1,300 to 1,800 acres and an American Legion proposal to enlarge the national cemetery was fended off.[131]

On April 10, 1958, Acting Director Evind Scoyen approved the latest proposed boundaries for Antietam, informing Regional Director Tobin:

> With the following minor modifications, we concur in the proposed boundaries for Antietam recommended in your memorandum of March 6:

---

131. WASO File 1415, Acting Director E. T. Scoyen to Assistant Secretary, Land Management, March 4, 1959.

> On the north side in the Elmer Poffenberger farm area, we prefer to have leeway to locate the boundary more nearly in conformity with the schematic line shown on approved Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3007-C. It is preferable that the boundary here be clear of the proposed by-pass road. However, since the actual location of the road is not known, it would seem desirable not to limit ourselves too closely in this area at the present stage. There is the possibility, too, that the Federal Government may have to acquire and turn over to the State the right-of-way for this road as well as the proposed Hagerstown by-pass road. This probably will require additional legislation since much of the road will be outside the boundary.
>
> The other change involves the exclusion of lots 25-34 on the west side. This possibility was discussed in your memorandum. At the hearings of the Public Lands Subcommittee on H.R. 9581 the members expressed the thought that if the bill passed, the Service should not exceed the $300,000 land acquisition cost figure or the 1,800-acre figure without clearing with the committee. There was some talk of writing a limitation in the bill. Recently, the bill, after having been reported to the full committee, was referred to the subcommittee for further consideration, probably on the question of fund and acreage limitations. In view of this history, it seems desirable to exclude these properties. We believe this can be done without seriously affecting the ultimate development and protection of the Park. Both of these changes were made on the copy of the Boundary Study Map NBS-ANT-2021 which we sent to Senator Butler and on our copy of the map.
>
> Now that agreement has been reached, please revise Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3007-C to show the proposed boundaries. The schematic boundary line should be deleted. The revised drawing should show also the means by which property owners on the east side of the Park whose holdings may be severed will gain ingress and egress to their properties other than by the proposed Park road system.[132]

Superintendent Doust also contributed to success of the effort to obtain a law that would permit the purchase of land. On January 9, 1959, Chief Historian Kahler provided the director with

> a copy of the booklet which Congressman [John R.] Foley requested be supplied to him in sufficient copies for distribution to each Member in Congress. The booklet was originally prepared by Superintendent Doust and Historian Lagermann for the Washington Civil War Round Table. It has been reproduced

---

[132] WASO. File L1417. Scoyen to Regional Director, Region Five, April 10, 1958.

by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association to assist Congressman Foley in his land acquisition program at Antietam.[133]

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee visited the Antietam National Battlefield Site to see the land acquisition problem at first hand. Staff Historian Peterson described their visit:

> On Friday, April 10, Congressman Foley and eight members of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee visited Antietam to examine the land problems first hand. In the group were Representatives Aspinall, Pfost, Anderson, Burdick, Collier, Langen, Rutherford, and Ullman, as well as several members of the committee staff. Joining the delegation were representatives of the Washington County Historical Society and members of the Maryland House of Delegates. The press contingent contained reporters and photographers from *Life*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the Washington *Evening Star*.
>
> Superintendent Doust led the tour and made an excellent presentation. Dr. Coleman and I answered individual questions from Congressmen and the press as we walked along, pointing out areas where troops from various states fought, etc. The Committee members arrived at 9:30 A.M. and despite a very rainy day, a number remained for lunch at 12:30. The reaction seemed most favorable, but those attending were apparently previously inclined towards the Service point of view.[134]

b. Law Permitting Expansion of the Park, 1960

Congress passed "An Act to provide for the protection and preservation of the Antietam Battlefield in the State of Maryland," which was approved by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on April 22, 1960. Under this law:

> The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire such lands and interests in land and to enter into such agreements with the owners of land on behalf of themselves, their heirs and assigns with respect to the use thereof as the Secretary finds necessary to preserve, protect, and improve the Antietam Battlefield comprising approximately 1,800 acres in the State of Maryland. . . to assure the public a full and unimpeded view thereof, and to provide for the maintenance of the site (other than those portions which are occupied by public buildings and monuments and the Antietam National

---

[133] WASO File, Kahler to Wirth, through Chief, Division of Interpretation, January 9, 1959. This was a guide book that had been prepared during the summer of 1958 for the visit of the District of Columbia Civil War Round Table, Doust to Director, August 28, 1958.
[134] WASO File 5415, Peterson to the Director, April 15, 1959.

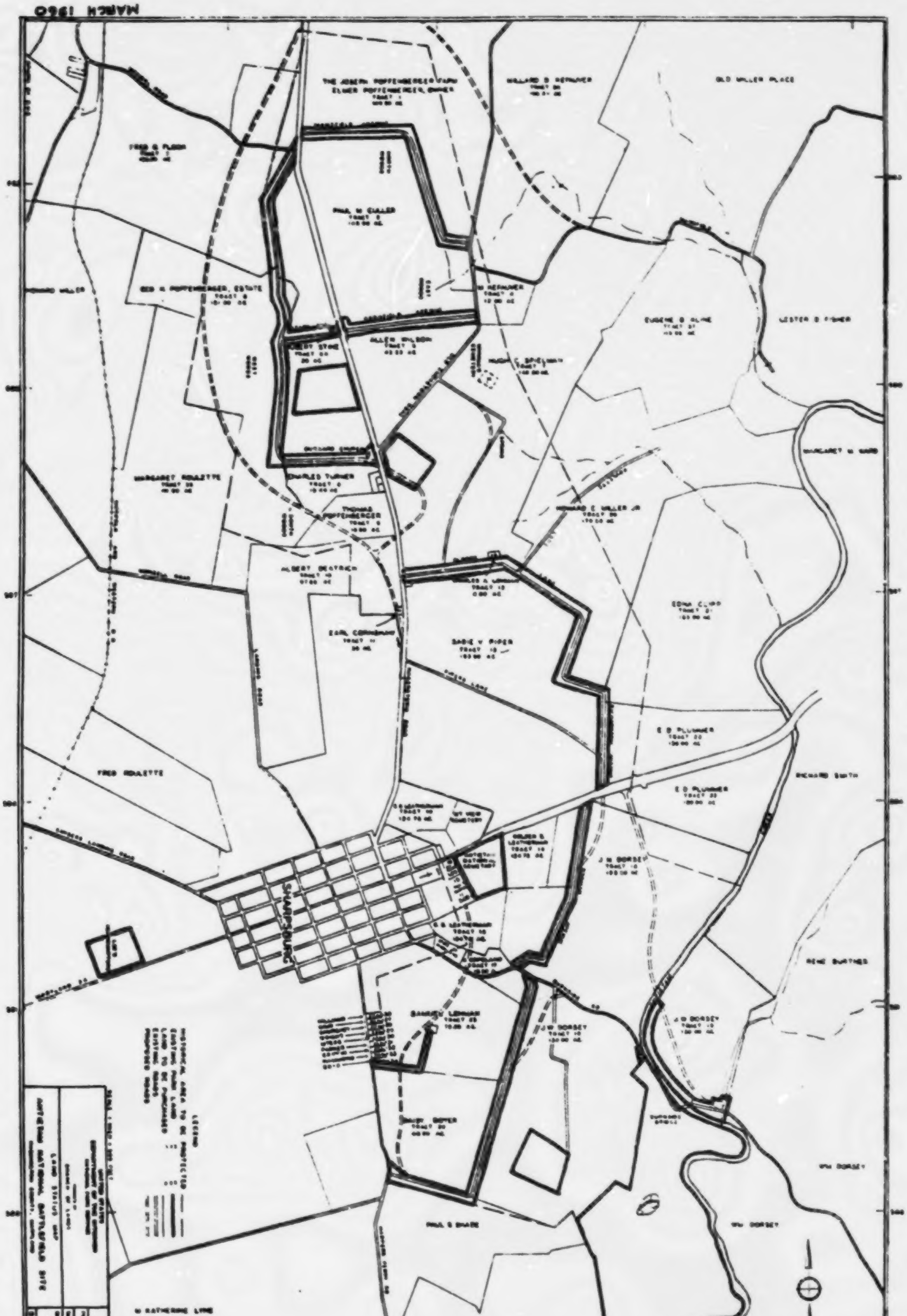
> Cemetery) in, or its restoration to substantially the condition in which it was at the time of the battle of Antietam. Not more than 600 acres of land, however, shall be acquired in fee by purchase or condemnation, but neither this limitation nor any other provision of law shall preclude such acquisition of the fee title to other lands and its immediate reconveyance to the former owners with such covenants, restrictions, or conditions as will accomplish the purposes of this Act . . . .[135]

Land Status Map-Drawing No. NBS-ANT-7003, dated March 1960, reproduced on the following page, shows the existing and proposed boundaries of the park.

Superintendent Doust, who had served as superintendent of Antietam for ten years, retired on June 10, 1960. Taking charge of a neglected and little-appreciated area in 1950, Doust, by a display of initiative, energy, and good sense, succeeded in interesting the officials of the regional and Washington offices in his park. He played an important role in the acquisition of the Dunkard Church site (1951); the closing of the national cemetery to further burials (1953); and the passage of the act of April 22, 1960, which granted the Secretary of the Interior authority to purchase 600 acres of additional land, to secure scenic easements on 1,017 more acres, establishing the total acreage at 1,800 for Antietam. Employing the artistic talents of Ranger-Historian Tuckerman to design and construct the outdoor exhibits, Superintendent Doust provided Antietam with a set of ten trailside exhibits in 1950-52. In 1952-54 the "temporary" museum exhibits in the old administrative-museum building were converted from amateur to professionally designed exhibits by Doust and Tuckerman, with advice and some help from the museum staffs of the Washington and regional offices. Perhaps only in the field of historical research, 1950-60, was the potential not fully realized, but progress had been made.

---

135. *U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 74*, p. 79.


MARCH 1960
THE JOSEPH POFFENBERGER FARM
ELMER POFFENBERGER, OWNER
TRACT 1
WILLARD D. HERNAMER
OLD MILLER PLACE
FRED G. FLOOR
TRACT 2
PAUL M. CULLER
TRACT 3
GEO. H. POFFENBERGER, ESTATE
TRACT 8
HOWARD MILLER
W. HERNAMER
TRACT 4
EUGENE D. KLINE
LESTER D. FISHER
ALLEN WILSON
TRACT 5
HUGH C. SPIELMAN
TRACT 7
MARGARET M. WARD
MARGARET ROULETTE
CHARLES TURNER
TRACT 6
THOMAS POFFENBERGER
TRACT 9
HOWARD C. MILLER JR.
ALBERT DEATRICK
TRACT 10
EDNA CLINE
EARL CORNSHAMAN
TRACT 11
SADIE V. PIPER
TRACT 12
PIPER'S LANE
E. D. PLUMMER
FRED ROULETTE
RICHARD SMITH
MT. VIEW CEMETERY
ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY
J. W. DORSEY
SHARPSBURG
RENE SURTHES
DANNIEL LEHMAN
J. W. DORSEY
WM DORSEY
PAUL S. SHADE
M. KATHERINE LYNE
G. W. GRIFFITH
LEGEND
HISTORICAL AREA TO BE PROTECTED
EXISTING PARK LAND
LAND TO BE PURCHASED
EXISTING ROADS
PROPOSED ROADS
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
LAND STATUS MAP
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE
WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

CHAPTER IX

ANTIETAM DEVELOPED, 1960-1967: SELECTED SUBJECTS

Because the monthly and annual reports of the superintendents, together with many other key documents, are not available, this chapter will be devoted to selected subjects rather than a history of all phases of the park's operations.

Certain events occurred during the years 1960 to 1967 that were to affect the development of all national parks. Perhaps most important among these was the resignation, for political reasons, of Director Wirth on January 7, 1964, and his replacement by George B. Hartzog, Jr., on January 8, 1964. Director Hartzog expanded the traditional functions of the National Park Service--involving the preservation, conservation, and interpretation of "the scenery and the natural and historic objects...therein"--to include recreation. Thus recreational facilities for biking, boating, camping, fishing, hiking, horseback riding, and picnicking were introduced at many historical areas and battlefield sites in the years that followed.

Thirty-five years earlier, in January 1929, when congressmen on the House Committee on Military Affairs had been considering the transfer of the administration of the national battlefields from the War Department to the Interior Department, one had warned, "the Department of the Interior does not know what they [the battlefields] are and what they mean." A second had remarked that the National Park Service would soon transform these historic sites where thousands of Americans had died into "national playgrounds." Some who did not agree with Director Hartzog's views feared that this ancient prophesy was coming true and that the addition of recreational facilities would convert nationally important historic sites into local playgrounds.

A second important event was the reorganization of the old Division of Interpretation which had supervised the functions of interpretation and research. On June 19, 1967, the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation was established to supervise and execute all architectural, archeological, and historical research in the

National Park Service.[1] Park historians who had demonstrated a marked ability and interest in research by their work in the parks had been assigned to Washington in the spring of 1966 to staff an expanded Division of History. This eliminated or curtailed the capacity of the staff of most historical parks to perform research. The Division of Interpretation was also established in June 1967 and its chief became an assistant director on January 14, 1968.[2] The new Division of Interpretation also designed all exhibits for the visitor centers and prepared all National Park Service literature (free informational folders and handbooks) for publication. As there was little coordination between the two new divisions, this sometimes produced interesting results in "the facts" that were being presented to the public.

To return to Antietam, however; Ronald F. Lee, who had acted more or less as the guardian angel of Antietam National Battlefield Site since 1941, assumed the position of regional director, Region Five, on January 11, 1960, and held that office until his retirement on December 30, 1965.

1. MISSION 66 INCREASE IN STAFFING, 1962-1964

The two men who served as superintendents of Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery during the years 1960 to 1967 both began their National Park Service careers as park historians. Benjamin H. Davis arrived at Antietam, on August 7, 1960 and served as superintendent until January 26, 1963.[3] Park historian Lagemann

---

1. This office was headed by Dr. Ernest A. Connally, an architectural historian. The branch of history was under former park Historian Robert M. Utley.

2. This was former park historian William C. Everhart, who began his career at Gettysburg. Mr. Everhart also developed the interesting theory, perhaps based on his experience with the Gettysburg non-Park Service guides, that a good interpreter, with extensive training, could talk about anything--history, archeology, nature, or architecture, without really having a professional knowledge of the subject.

3. Benjamin H. Davis began his National Park Service career at Mammoth Cave, July 1946-January 1947; then served as historian at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, January 1947-June 1951; historian at Kings Mountain National Military Park, June 1951-March 1953; superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, March 1953-January 1958; supervisory historian at Roosevelt-Vanderbilt, January 1958-August 1960, and then came to Antietam. Data from telephone conversation with Superintendent Davis at the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, North Carolina, in July 1982.

was the acting superintendent from January 27 to September 14, 1963. Harold I. Lessem was the next superintendent, serving from September 15, 1963 to October 21, 1967.[4] The position of superintendent, established at GS-9 during the 1950s, was boosted to GS-11 during the 1960s.

The position of park historian, established at GS-7, was increased to GS-9 in the 1960s and held by Robert L. Lagemann from 1958 to 1967.

The position of Mrs. Pearl B. Thomas, which she had occupied since 1942, was changed to secretary (typing), GS-5, in the 1960s. Mrs. Thomas served in that post from 1960 to 1967.

This staff was increased in 1962-63 by the addition of the following three full-time positions:

1. Historian GS-5 Dwight E. Stinson, July 1960 to April 1962; to be followed by Historian GS-5 John W. Bryce May 1962-1967.
2. Park Ranger, GS-7, Hugh Crenshaw, August 1962-July 6, 1965.
3. Clerk-Typist Position, GS-3, 4th Quarter 1963 fiscal year.[5]

The GS-3 typing position was established in the division of interpretation to support the activities of the two park historians.

The GS-4 seasonal ranger historian position was retained and filled during the summer months. A new park guide position GS-4, also seasonal, was established and filled for the first time during the fourth quarter of the 1963 fiscal year. Breaking with thirty years of National Park Service tradition at Antietam, a "female" was hired for the first time to fill the guide position.[6]

---

[4] Harold I. Lessem began his National Park Service career as a WAE assistant historical technician at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, February 1941 to April 1942, leaving to serve in the U.S. Army. Returned to Fort McHenry as park historian in January 1946 and served in that position until 1956. Superintendent of Salem Maritime National Historic Site, Massachusetts, from 1956 to September 1963. Arrived at Antietam September 15, 1963. Data from telephone discussion with Mr. Harold I. Lessem, retired and living in Cherry Hill, N.J., during July 1982.

[5] Summary of staffing, Antietam National Battlefield Site-Group A, No. of existing positions, June 24, 1963. Prepared by Acting Superintendent Robert Lagemann.

[6] Data on filling of three positions from Statement of Objectives, 1964, Management and Protection, June 24, 1963, by Acting Superintendent Robert L. Lagemann.

The permanent maintenance positions were increased from three to four by the filling of a janitor position during the third quarter of the 1963 fiscal year.[7] Mr. Gatrell was chief of park maintenance in 1967. Total permanent positions stood at 10 and the seasonal and temporary positions at two on June 24, 1963, making a total of 12. By November 27, 1964, the number was 16, which included 10 permanent and six seasonal positions.

The staff in November 1964 comprised:

Division	Permanent	Seasonal	Total
Administration	2	0	2
Interpretation	3	3	6
Protection	1	0	1
Maintenance	4	3	7
Total	10	6	16[8]

The staff had thus doubled since 1958.

2. TRAVEL AND VISITOR CONTACTS, 1960-1967

Reports on travel and the number of visitor contacts during the years July 1, 1960, to December 16, 1967, are not available. The following data, however, have been extracted from the visitation sections of the Antietam Master Plan narratives that were written in 1962, 1963, and 1964:

Calendar Year Travel	
1961	125,000
1962	175,000
1963	103,252

---

[7] Ibid.

[8] Master plan of Antietam National Battlefield Site, Chapter 3, Management Programs Narrative, Staff Activities, Page 3, Existing Organization, prepared by Superintendent Harold I. Lessem, November 27, 1964. The maintenance force was composed of 1 maintenance man, 2 caretakers, 1 janitor, and 3 seasonal laborers. Three ranger-historians made up the seasonal force of the interpretive division. Master Plan of Antietam National Battlefield Site, Chapter 1, Basic Information, the land and the visitor, prepared by Antietam staff, July 6 and 7, 1964. Figures from chart for years 1961, 1962, 1963. Figure for 1964 from July 7, 1965, revision of Antietam master plan narrative, page 3. Figure for 1965 arrived at by adding 39,160 to the 101,000 total of 1964, as stated in 1965 calender year highlights.

1964	101,300
1965	140,160
1966	?
1967	?
Total	644,712

Seasonal Distribution of Visitors During 1964

January	2,700	July	17,500
February	1,900	August	14,600
March	6,100	September	7,500
April	8,600	October	8,900
May	14,200	November	5,100
June	11,800	December	2,400

Total for 1964: 101,300[9]

Visitor contact figures for the year 1963, in which total visitation was 103,252, were:

By Conducted Tours	1,541
By Attended Stations	59,736
By Self-Guiding Auto Tour	103,252
By Walks or Hikes	67
Estimated total of contacts	167,025[10]

The Mission 66 projections of future increases in travel to Antietam estimated that the 200,000 per year mark would be reached in 1969 and that about 235,000 would be visiting the park by 1974. In reality, 274,115 were to visit Antietam in 1969 and 436,888 during the 1974 calendar year.[11]

3. MISSION 66 LAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM, 1960-1967

On July 1, 1960 Antietam comprised 193.76704 acres of U.S.-owned land. Of this total, 11.356 acres were in the national cemetery and 182.411 acres were in the National Battlefield Site. The Act of April 22, 1960, had established a total acreage of 1,800 acres for the park and granted the Secretary of the Interior authority to purchase in fee 600 additional acres and to acquire scenic easements on approximately 1,017 other acres. Congress appropriated $300,000 to execute this plan.

---

[9] From July 7, 1965 revision of Antietam master plan narrative, page 3.

[10] Master plan of Antietam National Battlefield Site, Chapter 1, Basic Information, the land, the visitor, prepared by Antietam staff, July 6 and 7, 1963, p. 13, chart compares activities in 1958 and 1963.

[11] Ibid. Projections for increased travel were provided by the Washington Office.

Land Acquired in Fee Simple, by Purchase July 1, 1960-1967

Name of Tract	Map 4- Tract No.	Acres Purchased	Price Paid	Acquired
1. Hugh C. Spielman Tract, 1961	7	148.50	$50,000	12/18/61
2. J. W. Dorsey Tract (Part of)	19	0.76	200	
3. Albert Turner Tract (Part of)	8	0.90	11,000	
4. David Krupshaw Tract (formerly Golden B. Leatherman) (Part of)	14	22.12	15,700	
5. John E. Turner Tract (Part of)	8	0.17	6,500	
Subtotal to December 8, 1962:	-	172.45	$83,400[12]	
6. Charles Clark Tract	6	13.48	7,500	
7. Sadie V. Piper Farm	13	193.00	75,000	6/25/64
8. J. W. Dorsey Tract	18	213.50	43,000	5/5/64
Subtotal, Dec. 8, 1962-June 30, 1964		419.98	$125,500[13]	
Total Spent, 1960-June 30, 1964:		592.43	$209,900	
Balance Available:		7.57	91,100	
Total Authorized by Congress:		600.00	$300,000	

---

[12] Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, to Wayne N. Aspinall, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, December 8, 1962, WASO File L1425. The $300,000 for land was appropriated in 1962 fiscal year funds. Purchase No. 6 lay next to the Antietam National Cemetery and plans were underway to develop the tract. Purchase No. 7 was held by the Antietam-Sharpsburg Museum Corporation, who planned to subdivide for commercial and residential use. Purchase 1, site of new visitor center.

[13] D. Otis Beasley, Secretary of the Interior to Michael J. Kirwan, Chairman, House Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Committee, House of Representatives, October 31, 1963, WASO L1425 - RLR. Purchase No. 8 was made because it was needed for the construction of the road to the Burnside Bridge.

The plan to secure scenic easements over important historical lands at Antietam met with little success because the landowners were uninterested. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall explained the problem to Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on December 8, 1962, as follows:

> Using every means of friendly persuasion occurring to them, representatives of the National Park Service have endeavored to negotiate agreements with several farm owners in the Antietam area for the placement of covenants, restrictions and conditions on the farmland. The owners readily recognized that they would be free to continue to farm and use their lands substantially as they had in the past. However, the negotiations for less-than-fee interests were disappointing and completely negative as far as reaching any reasonable price basis was concerned. The owners requested from 65 to 75 percent of the appraised fee value of the land even though it was pointed out to them that they, their heirs, successors, and assigns could continue to farm and use the lands in perpetuity as they had in the past.
>
> It is evident in the several negotiations with the landowners that the limited use plan itself was not the sole obstacle to reaching prices that could be considered reasonable for the partial interest the Government desired to acquire. Landowners and farmers in the Antietam area are becoming increasingly aware of the desirability of their holdings for homesites, motels, restaurants, museums, helicopter scenic tours, subdivisions, sales booths, and other commercial activities which they feel are bound to be required as greater visitation occurs. Several of them envisage Antietam as a second Gettysburg with a similar commercial potential. Therefore, the owners either refuse to subject their land to limited use agreements or ask almost the full fee value of the land if such agreements are to be entered into now.[14]

Little progress had been made in acquiring scenic easements by the end of 1963 and Assistant Secretary of the Interior D. Otis Beasley informed Chairman Michael J. Kirwan of the House Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations on October 31, 1963:

> The National Park Service is continuing its efforts to purchase less-than-fee interests, as described in the act, but prospects of purchasing any tracts on such a basis at a reasonable price appear remote.

---

[14] Steward L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, to Wayne N. Aspinall, Chairman Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, December 8, 1962.

> The land acquisition program at Antietam has been advanced substantially as far as possible within the existing statutory framework and under appropriations made to date. The National Park Service has purchased in fee 589.03 acres of the maximum 600 acres authorized to be acquired in fee.
>
> It is evident that the logical completion of the land acquisition program at Antietam cannot be achieved within the framework of the Act of April 22, 1960 (74 Stat. 79) .... The steadily mounting threats of commercial enterprise, housing and industrial uses indicate that steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment to acquire and consolidate in Federal ownership the minimum battlefield area of 1,800 acres. Delay will be bound to result in higher prices for property or, even worse, conspicuous and incongruous developments in critical places, so that the visitor concept of the battle will be adversely affected. This epic battle was so important in our history that we feel the site is deserving of adequate and reasonable protection.

Assistant Secretary Beasley noted that

> specific recommendations are being prepared separately for submission to Congress through approved channels on (1) supplemental legislation that will permit completion of the acquisition program and (2) an estimate of needed funds.[15]

On July 7, 1964, the federally owned land within the existing park boundaries was computed at 784.14 acres.[16] A more accurate figure (based on later computer printouts) was probably 786.19704 acres.

During the period 1963-1967 Congress refused to lift both the limitation of 600 acres to be acquired in fee simple or appropriate additional monies to purchase land and scenic easements.

Meanwhile the land acquisition program proceeded as best it could. Between 1964 and 1967 three additional purchases in fee with a total of 3.27 acres were acquired at a cost of $31,500. They were:

Name of Tract	Map No. 4 Tract No.	Acres Purchased	Price Paid
9. Antietam-Sharpsburg Corp.	2	2.50	$30,000
10. Thomas Poffenberger	1A-B	0.34	1,000
11. Leon Charles Spielman	17	0.43	500

---

[15] For a detailed report on the efforts of the National Park Service to enter into contracts for scenic easements with owners of 11 tracts, see Assistant Secretary of Interior, D. Otis Beasley to Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall, March 7, 1963, 3 pp., WASO L1425-RL.

[16] Master Plan of Antietam National Battlefield Site, Chapter I, Basic Information, The Land, The Visitor. Prepared by Antietam Staff, July 7, 1964, p. 8.

Subtotal: 1964-67:	3.27	$31,500
Subtotal 1960-1963	592.43	$209,900
Total, Fee Simple, 1960-67	595.70	$241,400
Balance left	4.30	$58,600[17]

That the scenic easement program was not a success is documented by the fact that between 1960 and 1967 the National Park Service obtained contracts covering 42.44 acres at a cost of $41,300.00. The tracts were:

Name of Tract	Tract No.	Acreage	Price Paid
1. Leon Charles Spielman	17A	0.47	$1,050
2. Leon Charles Spielman	17B	10.00	12,000
3. Rene W. Burtner		1.67	1,000
4. Charles Turner, et al	2,3,6,8,9 and 10	28.70	25,950
5. Samuel Lohman		1.63	1,300
Spent for Scenic Easements, 1960-67		42.47	$ 41,300[18]
Spent for purchase of land in fee, 1960-67		595.70	$241,400
Total Expenditures for land, 1960-67		638.17	$282,700

This left a balance of $17,300 available from the original appropriation of $300,000 to purchase title in fee to 4.30 acres or to acquire scenic easement over additional land.

The National Park Service also obtained land for Antietam by exchange and donation during these years. On May 31, 1962 Congress passed "An Act to authorize the exchange of certain lands at Antietam National Battlefield site." This directed that "to effect changes in land ownership made necessary by the widening and relocation of Maryland State Route 34 at Antietam National Battlefield site, the

---

[17] Data extracted from computer printout, National Park Service Division of Land Acquisition Master Deed Listing, December 31, 1972; Copy in Park File-Lands, L 1425.

[18] Ibid.

Secretary of the Interior may accept for the United States title to a parcel of land [described in full in the law] containing 0.66 acre, more or less...." In exchange, the secretary was authorized to convey "an approximate 0.05-acre parcel of United States land comprising the southerly portion of Richardson Avenue ... in Antietam National Battlefield site, extending from the northerly right-of-way line of the widened and relocated Maryland State Route 34 southwestward about 65 feet into the said Maryland State Route 34 right-of-way at station 20 + 40."[19] Under this exchange the park gained 0.61 acres of land.

On April 7, 1962, members of the Mumma Grave Yard Board wrote to Superintendent Davis and offered "to convey the Mumma Cemetery to the United States government free of restrictions and reservations providing it will assume full responsibility for the upkeep of the cemetery."[20] This cemetery was some 200 yards northwest of the Mumma farmstead and was surrounding by U.S.-owned land (Tract 7, the Spielman Farm, on Map No. 4). It was "rather close to the Mumma Lane which is part of the proposed tour route." Regional Director Lee reported:

> The cemetery consists of approximately one-half acre of land enclosed by the stone wall with iron gates and the grounds are in fair condition. It is our recommendation that the Service accept the offer of donation of the Mumma Cemetery for inclusion in the Antietam National Battlefield Site on the basis of its historic association with the Dunkard Church (Samuel Mumma had donated land for both the church and cemetery).[21]

Assistant Director Jackson E. Price responded on June 22, 1962, writing:

> We recongize the desirability of controlling all inholdings within any unit of the National Park System and therefore approve the proposal to add the cemetery. Responsibility for upkeep, however, must be made subject to the availability of funds.[22]

---

[19] *U.S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. 76, p. 81.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Regional Director, Region Five, Ronald F. Lee, to director, May 4, 1962, WASO File A58.
[22] Price to Lee, May 3, 1962, WASO File A58-CHA.

The cemetery was thus apparently taken over by the park but available records do not indicate if title was legally transferred to the United States.

According to the Division of Lands Acquisition Master Deed Listing as of December 31, 1972, Antietam consisted of 870.12 acres over which the U.S. had some degree of control, as follows:

How acquired 1865-1967	Acreages	Cost, 1960-67
By Exchange	19.34	0.00
By Transfer (from War Dept.)	42.58	0.00
By Donation	140.79	0.00
By Purchase	595.67	$241,400.00
Total in fee simple	798.38	$241,400.00
In less than fee		
By easement	42.47	$41,300.00
By R.O.W.	29.27	0.00
Total, Less than fee	71.74	$41,300.00
Grand Total	870.12	$282,700.00

4. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DUNKARD CHURCH

In February 1961 the National Park Service accepted a $35,000 donation from the State of Maryland for the reconstruction of the Dunkard Church. Built in 1852-53, the brick church was destroyed by a wind storm in May 1921. The Washington County Historical Society, under direction of President Dr. Walter M. Shealy, had purchased the site and foundations with 0.30 acres for $4,000 in 1951 and had donated the site to the Antietam Battlefield. Efforts to reconstruct the church had failed because of the lack of money in 1953.[23]

With strong support from the Washington County Historical Society and as a part of preparations for the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, the State of Maryland had provided the aforementioned funding in 1961. Groundbreaking ceremonies were held at the church site on May 6.

---

[23] Data on gift from National Park Service press release, February 3, 1961.

Dr. Shealy represented the Washington County Historical Society and the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission; Russell H. McCain represented Maryland Governor J. Millard Tawes, and Associate Director Evind T. Scoyen acted on behalf of the National Park Service.[24]

Bids for the contract to reconstruct the church were opened on July 20 and the contract was awarded to the Blake Company of Hagerstown, the low bidder, for $12,884.[25] The contractor was to begin work about August 1, 1961, and to finish by February 1, 1962. A change order reduced the amount due to the Blake Company to $12,777.

The National Park Service prepared the foundations and furnished all the bricks, windows, doors and shutters used by the contractor, as well as all other speciality millwork. This work and the supervision of this construction was the responsibility of Archie W. Franzen, supervising architect of Harpers Ferry National Monument. Original bricks had been salvaged and there were enough to build about two-thirds of the wall fronting on the Sharpsburg Pike. These also served as samples for Victor Cushwa & Sons of Williamsport to manufacture bricks that replicated the originals in appearance. Cost of these bricks was $1,192.50 and that of the specialty lumber and millwork, $1,399. Total cost of construction, including the contractor's fee, supplies services, and salaries, but not including the original planning by the Eastern Office of Design and Construction, was $20,046.90.[26]

---

24. National Park Service press release, April 27, 1961.

25. Park File D52-Contract No. 14-10-0529-2501-Reconstruction of Dunkard Church, 1961-62. Antietam National Battlefield Site press release, July 31, 1962. Blue prints: "Reconstruction of the Dunkard Church, Junction of Hagerstown and Smoketown Roads, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, Drawing No. NHS-ANT-3015-three sheets, March 24, 1961, prepared by Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, Philadelphia. Specifications for Reconstruction of Dunkard Church, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Md., 33 pp. prepared by Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction."

26. Discussion with Architect Archie W. Franzen, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, August 4, 1982, drawing data from a 1962 completion report.

Supervising Architect Franzen and Antietam Superintendent Davis inspected and accepted the church on January 16, 1962.[27]

As a part of the centennial activities, the reconstructed church was rededicated in ceremonies held on the afternoon of September 2, 1962.

Present were F.R. Saunders, chairman, Antietam Division, Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association; Dr. Walter H. Shealy, president, Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association, secretary-treasurer, State of Maryland Civil War Commission, and President of Washington County Historical Society; Governor Tawes of Maryland, and Superintendent Davis.[28]

> Rain dampened the crowd but not the spirit of the occasion as many gathered Sunday afternoon to witness the rededication ceremonies at the historic Dunkard Church the Hagerstown Daily Mail reported.

The initial part of the program was held outdoors, adjacent to the church. Governor Tawes was the principal speaker and presented the reconstructed church to the park. Accepting on behalf of the National Park Service was Assistant Regional Director of the Northeast (formerly Region Five) Region George A. Palmer. Rain forced cancellation of further ceremonies at the church so the "large crowd proceeded to the Sharpsburg Community Hall," where the religious part of the services was held.[29]

5. SPECIAL EVENTS: THE BATTLE CENTENNIAL, 1962

A meeting was held at Hagerstown on December 4, 1956, for the purpose of organizing an Antietam Centennial Committee "spear-headed by the Washington County Historical Society." Some 20 organizations attended. Chief Historian Kahler spoke for the National Park Service and the group passed a resolution requesting $5,000 for initial expenses from the Maryland Assembly for use of a steering committee to make plans for the centennial.[30]

---

27. Park File D52-Letter of acceptance, January 16, 1962. Davis was contracting officer.

28. Leaflet, 8 pp. The Dedication of the Reconstructed Dunker Church, September 2, 1962, 1:30 p.m. Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Maryland.

29. The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Md., September 4, 1962. Copy courtesy of Betty Otto.

30. WASO File A8215-H. Kahler to Director, December 6, 1956.

Final planning on the part of the National Park Service was underway in April 1962, when the draft of a proposed cooperative agreement with the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association, Inc., for conducting commemorative programs at Antietam Battlefield was prepared. It was modeled on the cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the First Manassas Corporation for ceremonies in 1961.[31]

The meeting to approve and sign the agreement was held at Hagerstown on May 8. The *Hagerstown Daily Mail* described the results:

> The National Park Service gave full approval to local plans for the Antietam Centennial after conferring with local Centennial offícals yesterday.
>
> Local plans for seating, sanitary facilities, traffic control, public relations and so on were praised by the National Park Service officials.
>
> A co-operative agreement was signed, giving the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association full use of right-of-ways, facilities, and grounds under National Park Service control.
>
> The Spong Farm [near the Burnside Bridge] will be used as a bivouac area for skirmishers and their families. Over 2,000 people from all over the United States, some traveling thousands of miles, are expected to camp there. Water and sanitation will be furnished, and a well dug there.
>
> The National Park Service said a new road would be built to the McKinley Overlook near the Burnside Bridge sometime this summer. After the Antietam Centennial, they said, it will become a recreational and picnic area on the Antietam battlefield.
>
> A 400-bed hospital and ambulance unit will be set up on the Battlefield to handle casualties, under the supervision of the 136th Evacuation Hospital Unit, U.S. Army Reserve. An elaborate traffic control plan is being developed by the [Maryland] State Police.
>
> At the meeting yesterday were Jackson E. Price, assistant director, National Park Service; George A. Palmer, assistant

---

[31] WASO File A8215 and A44, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, Region Five, to Director, April 6, 1962; also Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch, Region Five, to Director, April 20, 1962.

regional director, Region Five, N.P.S., Benjamin H. Davis, superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Robert M. Brown, Washington County Health Department, J. Walter Coleman, historian, Washington office, N.P.S.; Paul Henderson, U.S. Public Health Service, and Dr. Walter H. Shealy, C. Lease Bussard, V.D. Miller, Jr., Myron L. Bloom, J. R. Fiery, H. L. Mills, and Francis R. Saunders, Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association, Inc.[32]

For the purpose of this study, the centennial ceremonies will be considered under two headings: the dedication of the Clara Barton Monument that took place on Sunday, September 9, and the re-enactment of the Battle of Antietam on September 15 and 16, 1962.

a. Clara Barton Monument Dedication

As early as March 1960 park historian Lagemann had been fascinated by and was wrestling with the problem of where Clara Barton's field hospital had been located during the Battle of Antietam. The activities of the future founder of the American Red Cross were of considerable historical interest and Lagemann did not believe her hospital was sited on the farm where tradition placed it.[33]

On December 28, 1961, historian Lagemann completed his research and writing on this subject and submitted his report "Clara Barton at Antietam," 89 pp., typescript, dated December 26, 1961, to the regional director, Region Five, for review. As Lagemann wrote:

> An early appraisal of this subject will be appreciated. Because the conclusions of this report differ from those held by local interest groups, and of previous efforts by the Historian here, we are attempting to hold the findings of this report semi-confidential, pending receipt of your review."[34]

Historian Lagemann proved to his satisfaction that the Clara Barton hospital was not where tradition claimed but on the Middlekauf Farm. In his review of the study, regional historian Frank Barnes wrote, "This is a rather convincing case for the Middlekauf Farm as the probable site of Clara Barton's nursing activities at Antietam...." Only one aspect caused some doubt:

---

[32] *The Daily Mail*, May 9, 1962.

[33] Park File H2215-Historical Research, see Lagemann to Superintendent Harry W. Doust, "Research on Clara Barton." March 22, 1960.

[34] Park File H2215. Acting Superintendent Lagemann to Regional Director, Region Five, December 28, 1961. This was Research Project No. ANT-2.

"The number of structures on the farm today bothers me a little, especially since Miss Barton speaks only of a house and barn..."[35]

Regional Director Lee accepted the report on the basis of Regional Historian Barnes' review and commended historian Lagemann "for his critical persistence in this matter." The Middlekauf Farm was accepted "as the probable site of Clara Barton's nursing activities," and in conclusion Lee wrote: "We agree with your cautious approach on disseminating the conclusions of this report, and we are keeping in mind the ramifications in terms of the land [acquisition] situation."

Historian Lagemann's "semi-confidential" findings remained a secret for about two weeks following his submission of the report. On January 12, 1962, Regional Director Lee notified NPS Director Wirth:

> We have received word from Superintendent Davis, Antietam National Battlefield Site, that the National Headquarters of the American Red Cross is interested in getting a news service to carry a feature article on the findings contained in the subject report. The report, prepared by Park Historian Lagemann, was sent to your Office on January 11. The gist of its findings is that Clara Barton's activities at Antietam were centered on the Middlekauf Farm, not on the traditional site, the Poffenberger Farm.
>
> The Red Cross cooperated fully with the park in the research for this report, and is aware of its conclusions. Mr. Clyde E. Buckingham, Acting Director of its Research Information Office, has favorably received the report and believes that it has direct relation to the Red Cross project to erect a suitable monument to Clara Barton at Antietam.
>
> That the National Headquarters of the Red Cross is interested in publicizing the report is, in Superintendent Davis' view, very fortunate. Because relocating Clara Barton's hospital goes against locally cherished tradition. Endorsement of the report by the National Red Cross would be extremely helpful in gaining public acceptance of the actual location.
>
> Accordingly, we suggest that if your review of the report is favorable, Superintendent Davis be authorized to contact Mr. Buckingham and encourage him to proceed with Red Cross-sponsored public dissemination of the report's findings.

---

[35] Park File H2215. Comments by Regional Historian Frank Barnes on the Clara Barton site, attached to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee's memo of January 11, 1962, to Superintendent, Antietam.

> To avoid premature release of Mr. Lagemann's findings,[36] we would appreciate your early consideration of this matter.

Consequently, on February 1, 1962, Daniel B. Beard, Assistant Director, Public Affairs, informed Regional Director Lee:

> The interested divisions in the Washington Office have reviewed Historian Lagemann's report ... with considerable interest. It is we feel an excellent job and worthy of publication. If you feel that its release at this time does not jeopardize the acquisition of land or do other harm, we are happy to authorize you to proceed with the publicity and publication in cooperation with the American Red Cross.[37]

On February 5 Acting Regional Director Palmer authorized Superintendent Davis to pursue both publicity and publication of the study.[38] But on April 20 Davis reported to the regional director that no action had been taken because the American Legion was raising funds to acquire a portion of the Joseph Poffenberger farm, the traditional site of Clara Barton's activities, and "to publicize the research findings at this time might jeopardize, or at least prejudice, their efforts to obtain funds. It is for this reason we are holding action on the Report."[39]

At the Washington County Chapter of the American Red Cross meeting, held in Hagerstown on April 10, the program for a Clara Barton Day to commemorate and dedicate a monument to her on September 9, as part of the 100th anniversary, was adopted.[40] On May 18 Superintendent Davis arranged an appointment for Historian Lagemann to meet with Clyde E. Buckingham, Director, Office of Research and Information, American Red Cross, Washington, to discuss the research report and to help prepare the publicity release.[41]

---

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid. Staff Historian Dr. J. Walter Coleman may have reviewed the study for the Washington Office in 1962.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid. Copy of newsletter No. 3--progress report.

[41] Ibid., Davis to Buckingham, May 18, 1962.

On July 9, Assistant Director Edwin H. Powers, Red Cross Office of Public Information, informed Superintendent Davis:

> I want to thank you for your letter of July 5 and your assurance that Mr. Lagemann's research report and other material will be made available to Mrs. Meyers and other officials of the Red Cross chapter in Hagerstown.
>
> As I explained in replying to Mr. Lagemann's letter of July 4, copy of reply attached, it will be necessary for us to hold up the release of our story until the chapter officials have reviewed Mr. Lagemann's report. I feel quite certain the report will convince them, as it has us, that Mr. Lagemann is right in stating that Clara Barton worked at the Middlekauf Farm. I said as much to Mrs. Meyers on the phone one day last week--that we, Mr. Clyde Buckingham, our historian and I, were convinced after reading the report that Mr. Lagemann is right.
>
> So I don't think we'll have any great problem in obtaining their consent to release the story, once they have had a chance to study Mr. Lagemann's presentation--at least, I hope not.
>
> The main point now will be to get this material to them and to have it reviewed and studied by the Hagerstown officials who should see it.[42]

The Antietam National Battlefield Site's press release entitled "Battlefield Historian Locates Site where Clara Barton Nursed Antietam Wounded" was issued on August 1, 1962. Presumably the Red Cross issued a similar notice on the same date.[43]

The Hagerstown Daily Mail on September 6, 1962, carried a long article on "Clara Barton Day," commenting in part:

> Through its participation in "Clara Barton Day" ceremonies on the Antietam Battlefield this coming Sunday..September 9, the American National Red Cross will give official recognition to the conception on a Maryland battlefield a century ago of its humanitarian role in society.
>
> Gen. Alfred M. Gruether, President of the American National Red Cross, is scheduled to give the main address at the unveiling of the monument to Clara Barton which has been erected by our local chapter of the Red Cross. The public is

---

[42] Powers to Davis, July 9, 1962; also Powers to Lagemann, July 9, 1962, in Park File H2215.

[43] NPS release in file; also press release National Headquarters of Red Cross, dated Hagerstown, Md., July ____.

> invited to attend the ceremony, which will start at 2:30 Sunday afternoon, on Mansfield Avenue, Antietam Battlefield....

The commemoration was held as planned with "a throng of nearly 1,000 at the monument site."[44]

The Clara Barton story was a success both as a research and public relations operation and so it remained for nine years, until 1971, when the work of another park historian demonstrated beyond a doubt that Historian Lagemann was mistaken in his belief that Clara Barton's field hospital had been on the Middlekauf Farm. This development will be considered under the research section of this chapter. It should also be noted that if money for purchasing lands had been available, the National Park Service during the years 1962-1971 would have acquired the "wrong site" if it had purchased the Clara Barton hospital location on the basis of the Lagemann study.

b. Re-Enactment of the Battle

Eighteen thousand parking spaces were established in three 6,000-car parking lots. One was within walking distance of the re-enactment site near Bloody Lane. Parking fees at this lot were $1. The other lots were at Tilghmanton and Keedysville. Shuttle buses were to take these people to the re-enactment site. The charge of $2 covered costs of parking and transporting one carload of people. About 50,000 persons were expected to attend the two-day affair. Some 150 Maryland state policemen were to control traffic.[45]

By September 15 the Daily Mail reported that more than 1,000 troops who were taking part in the re-enactment were camped in a 130-acre bivouac area two miles from the re-enactment site. The Maryland Department of the American Legion also presented a $4,500 check to the National Park Service for the purchase of additional land for the park.

---

[44] The Daily Mail, September 10, 1962.
[45] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, September 12, 1962.

An estimated 18,000 people attended the ceremonies: 10,000 on Saturday and 8,000 on Sunday (far below expectations). The Daily Mail described these events:

> Cannon roared, horsemen charged, and musket blazed as some 2,000 troops from 17 states re-enacted the Bloody Lane phase of the Battle of Antietam at a cost of $140,000.
>
> Saturday and Sunday's re-enactments may have been the last re-enactment of a Civil War battle during the five-year Civil War Centennial observance. The Battle of Gettysburg will be commemorated next year, but the National Park Service has said no more battle re-enactments will be held on government property.
>
> Spectators in general had high praise for both re-enactments although a few commented on the reluctance of some of the soldiers to fall dead when being fired upon at point-blank range ....
>
> For a second straight day spectators enjoyed near-perfect weather ....
>
> Monumental traffic jams that had been feared...failed to develop....
>
> In general the sham battles were fought with a minimum of casualties. State Police reported that they had a fairly quiet day yesterday. On Saturday, three participants suffered slight injuries, there was one heart attack and one case of heat prostration.
>
> The main disappointment involving the centennial program was the absence of past or present Presidents. Franklin D. Roosevelt had attended the 75th anniversary program in 1937. But President Kennedy declined an invitation to be on hand, and former President Eisenhower, after saying maybe, decided not to make the trip down from his Gettysburg farm.[46]

The ceremonies on the date of the battle, September 17, to consist of memorial services to be held at Antietam National Cemetery, were cancelled because of rain.[47]

Annual visitation increased about 50,000, probably because of the centennial year, leaping from 125,000 in 1961 to 175,000 in 1962 and falling to 103,252 in 1963.

---

[46] The Daily Mail, September 17, 1962.

[47] Ibid., September 18, 1962.

c. Additional State Monuments

As a part of the Civil War Centennial three states erected monuments to their troops that had fought in the battle of Antietam. Texas put up a monument in 1963 to commemorate the activities of the Texas Brigade and Delaware erected three monuments, one in 1962 and two in 1964, in memory of its three regiments that took part in the battle. Times were changing, because in 1865-77, Delaware had refused to donate its quota of $577.48 to help establish Antietam National Cemetery. Georgia erected a monument on Confederate Avenue in 1961.

Other states with monuments already on the battlefield generally held rededication ceremonies at their memorials during 1962. These states were New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Indiana, and New Jersey. With regard to the new monuments, Park Superintendent Davis, working with the state committees, selected sites for the monuments along the tour route, and the park historians reviewed the proposed texts for historical accuracy. These recommendations were then reviewed by the staffs of the regional director and director, with final permission being granted by the director as to site and text.[48]

d. Presidential Visit

President John F. Kennedy visited Antietam National Battlefield Site for 90 minutes at 11:45 a.m. on Sunday, April 7, 1963. He had visited Gettysburg National Military Park the week before. The official party included Senator Edward M. Kennedy and his wife Joan.

The president toured the battlefield in a white convertible, stopping at four places to look at markers and monuments. He viewed the cornfield and the Bloody Lane, walked to the New York State Monument and crossed the Burnside Bridge.

---

[48] WASO File D66-DCL, correspondence, April 17, 1963-July 28, 1963, regarding Texas monument. Several changes were made in the proposed text at the suggestion of Park Historian Robert L. Lagemann and Chief Historian Charles W. Porter, III, with Staff Historian J. Walter Coleman, Washington Office, handling this problem. For Delaware Monuments, 2 in 1964, File D66, January 27, 1964-February 17, 1964.

Acting Superintendent Robert L. Lagemann accompanied Kennedy as official guide and answered the president's questions concerning troop movements and the status of land acquisition. The tour was originally scheduled for one hour, but ran a half hour over. The president's party did not have time to visit Antietam National Cemetery.[49]

6. MISSION 66 DEVELOPMENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS, 1961-1963

Not all of the records for a history of Mission 66 accomplishments at Antietam from 1961 to 1967 are presently available. The essay that follows is an outline and may not be complete. Records indicate that the National Park Service planned to spend $6,286,200 over a five-year period to make improvements at Antietam and to preserve and restore the historic scene and buildings on the battlefield. Of the total, $3,609,200 was for "Buildings, Utilities, and Miscellaneous" and $2,677,000 for "Roads and Trails." A detailed breakdown of these proposed expenditures is given on the charts that follow.

In practice, however, this rate of spending could not be maintained and some proposed projects could not be carried out because the National Park Service could not purchase the necessary land. The general plan was thus modified each fiscal year and some projects were eliminated entirely.

The land (the 148.50-acre Hugh C. Speilman tract-no. 7) necessary to build the new visitor center was acquired for $50,000 in 1961. Surveys, plans, estimates and specifications for the structure were completed by the Eastern Office of Design and Construction. William Cramp Scheetz, Jr., was the architect.

Bids for the construction of the visitor center and installation of utility lines to serve it were opened on November 14, 1961. The low bid of $128,450 was submitted by W. Harley Miller, Inc., of Martinsburg, West Virginia, and a contract (No. 14-10-0529-2504) was awarded to that firm on December 30, 1961.[50]

---

[49] WASO File D66-DSL, correspondence, April 17, 1963-July 28, 1963 regarding Texas monument.

[50] Park File Completion D2621.

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE

DEVELOPMENT SCHEDULE (PROPOSED)

UTILITIES AND MISC.	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	Total
Visitor Center	$22,000	$196,000	--	$2,000	13,000	$233,000
Tour Route	17,000	165,800	$165,800	165,800	148,800	663,200
Recons, asphalt portion of Bloody Lane	--	--	--	--	--	--
Resurfacing Tour Roads	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lee's Headquarters	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cemetery	--	--	--	--	--	--
McClellan's Headquarters	51,000	456,000	--	--	--	507,000
Gathland Memorial Development	10,000	--	--	--	--	10,000
Mumma Farm Restoration	--	--	--	235,000	--	235,000
Group Activity Area	--	--	15,000	134,000	--	149,000
Rohrback Well	2,000	--	--	--	--	2,000
Luncheon Area	--	--	400	3,600	--	4,000
Clara Barton Hospital	--	--	--	14,000	126,000	140,000
Sherrick House Interior Reno.	118,000	--	--	--	--	118,000
Picnic Area	--	--	13,000	125,000	112,000	250,000
Demonstration Farm	54,000	486,000	--	--	--	540,000
Observation Tower Repairs	--	--	50,000	--	--	50,000
Maintenance Area	--	--	--	10,000	86,000	96,000
Residences (9)	19,000	176,000	23,000	23,000	21,000	262,000
Scenic Farms (9)	18,000	175,000	157,000	--	--	350,000
Subtotals - BU&M	$371,000	$1,654,800	$424,200	$712,400	$506,800	$3,609,200

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE

DEVELOPMENT SCHEDULE (PROPOSED)

UTILITIES AND MISC.	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	Total
Visitor Center	$ 3,000	$ 27,000	--	51,000	456,000	$537,000
Tour Route	143,000	1,284,000	--	--	--	1,427,000
Recons, asphalt portion of Bloody Lane	20,000	--	--	--	--	20,000
Resurfacing Tour Roads	--	--	--	--	112,000	112,000
Lee's Headquarters	2,000	18,000	--	--	--	20,000
Cemetery	2,000	13,000	--	--	--	15,000
McClellan's Headquarters	100,000	--	--	--	--	100,000
Gathland Memorial Development	--	--	--	--	--	---
Mumma Farm Restoration	--	--	--	--	--	--
Group Activity Area	--	--	15,000	130,000	--	145,000
Rohrback Well	--	--	--	--	--	--
Luncheon Area	--	--	2,000	13,000	--	15,000
Clara Barton Hospital	--	--	--	6,000	49,000	55,000
Sherrick House Interior Reno.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Picnic Area	--	--	5,000	55,000	50,000	110,000
Demonstration Farm	6,000	54,000	--	--	--	60,000
Observation Tower Repairs	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maintenance Area	--	--	--	4,000	32,000	36,000
Residences (9)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	5,000
Scenic Farms (9)	1,000	10,000	9,000	--	--	20,000
Subtotals R&T	$278,000	$1,407,000	$32,000	$260,000	$700,000	$2,677,000

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE

DEVELOPMENT SCHEDULE (PROPOSED)

SUMMARY SHEET

UTILITIES AND MISC.	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	Total
Subtotal R&T	$278,000	$1,407,000	$32,000	$260,000	$700,000	$2,677,000
Subtotal BU&M	311,000	1,654,800	424,200	712,400	506,800	$3,609,000
GRAND TOTAL	$589,000	$3,061,800	$456,200	$972,400	$1,206,800	$6,286,200

The contractor began work on January 16, 1962. By the end of the month the contractor had completed the rough grading for the building and the power line trenches. By this time, too, another contractor had drilled a 300-foot well that assured a good supply of water for the future structure. Unfavorable weather occasioned delays in February, but from March on work progessed at a satisfactory rate.

In April the Department of Defense made funds available for the construction of a fallout shelter which was tied in to the south end of the building. The installation of this facility was undertaken by the contractor. The shelter was a welcome addition since it also served as an auditorium for audiovisual presentations.

During the course of the contract a total of seven change orders were made to the construction contract, bringing the final cost to $170,742. By far the largest increase was the addition of $39,500 for the fallout shelter.

Project supervisors for the National Park Service were David O. Smith from January 16 to May 7 and Erino V. Melacarne from the latter date until October 12.

Without doubt the most difficult aspect of the construction was the location of fieldstone of the hue or cast desired by the architect, Mr. William C. Scheetz. The installation of the fallout shelter required regrading work. The contractor claimed reimbursement for supplying and spreading extra fill; however, he subsequently waived this claim.

On September 6 a pre-final inspection of the construction work was held at the site, and certain minor defects were called to the contractor's attention. By the end of the month the visitor center was 99 percent complete. The final inspection took place on October 10, 1962. Present were Superintendent Davis; architect Dow Nutt, EODC; architect Petrillo, Regional Office; project inspector Malacarne; and W. Harley Miller. The building was accepted subject to the correction of about 10 minor defects. These were subsequently remedied by the contractor.

The project completion report listed a number of problems with the new building: the stain on the exterior wood surfaces fails to hold up;

the flat roof lets water pond and cascade down on visitors during high winds; the water tank installation was questionable, and; the building was deficient functionally in that it lacked storage space.[51]

Acting Superintendent Lagemann wrote, "During the third quarter (i.e., January 1, to March 31, 1963], park headquarters were moved into the new visitor center, which since installation of the exhibits in Feburary has been open daily to the public."[52]

News of the new facility was carried in local papers, and the Hagerstown Daily Mail, for November 14, 1962, reported:

> Many rare Civil War relics, acquired years ago, are being assembled in the National Park Service [museum] laboratory in Washington to form interpretive exhibits for the new visitor center along the Hagerstown road about one mile and a half north of town.
>
> The center building, which has been completed will be opened to the public at least by Jan. 1, 1963, according to Benjamin H. Davis, superintendent of Antietam Battlefield. The center was constructed for the NPS through a Congressional appropriation . . . .
>
> The exhibits will be arranged so that they tell a complete story relating to the battle which took place near Sharpsburg on Sept. 17, 1862. The displays will be shown in a large room on the first floor of the building . . . .
>
> An auditorium at the new center has a capacity of 75 persons. Historians and other NPS personnel will deliver lectures before special groups at various times. Moving pictures and slides will be shown.
>
> There is a large parking area adjacent to the center where free parking for 65 cars will be provided . . . .

All facilities at the center will be free, according to the present plans.[53]

On January 18, 1963, Hagerstown's The Daily Mail reported:

> Surprise Awaits Visitors to Antietam
>
> A surprise is in store for people living in the local area and for visitors to nearby Antietam Battlefield when they inspect the new National Park Service visitors center . . . which was opened to the public for the first time a few days ago.

---

[51] Ibid.

[52] Management and Protection - Statement of Objectives, 1964. June 24, 1965. File D22.

[53] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Md., November 14, 1962. Copy courtesy Betty Otto.

Work on the center was begun early last year but some unavoidable delays prevented its opened to the public during the centennial observance and re-enactment of the Battle of Antietam last September.

While the building has been completed and the NPS personnel are occupying offices in the building, none of the exhibits and special displays have yet been received and put in place, said Superintendent Benjamin H. Davis.

Many of the exhibits are now being made and assembled [sic] at the laboratory in Washington, D.C. But they are all expected to be in place some time next month when there will be a "house warming." Dedication of the structure will probably take place in the summer.

The beauty, uniqueness and extensiveness of the center cannot be realized without an inspection of the interior with its several different rooms. The building was constructed on three levels but all are easily accessible.

The observation room on the top level affords a wonderful panoramic view of most of the battlefield and mountains to the east . . . .

In the exhibits room will be seen the Antietam "diorama" consisting of miniature figures of soldiers in the foreground with a painted background on a concave base. This three-dimensional scene depicts a portion of the action at Bloody Lane.

Skilled artists and sculptors are now employed in the NPS laboratory in Washington, D.C., constructing and assembling the "diorama."

There will also be several explanatory panels and historical exhibits. All the valuable historical objects or relics will be places [sic] in special cases.

Another feature of the center is the audio-visual room with a seating capacity of 66 persons or over. There will be a special screen upon which from the rear will be projected slide pictures and movies pertaining to the battle and the Civil War. The projection equipment is largely automatic. There will also be a portable map upon which can be shown movement of the troops at different times during the day.

The lectures by NPS historians will be given to groups which make reservations in advance while during the busy summer period schedules will be set up so the public may take advantage of these shows . . . ."[54]

---

54. The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, January 18, 1963.

In his report of Mission 66 accomplishments during the 1963 fiscal year, Acting Superintendent Lagemann reported that "Contracts [were] let in the third and fourth quarters of the F.Y. 1963 for Planting; for Trails and Waysides; and for Monument Cleaning." These were expected to be completed in the first and second quarters of fiscal year 1964. "Initiation and partial completion of the Burnside Bridge Bypass road was expected in 1964."[55]

The Burnside Bridge overlook parking area had been constructed and completed in 1962.[56]

Contracts awarded in 1963 covered work on the Dunkard Church trail (PCP R-16-1) and Burnside Bridge overlook (PCP R-6-4). These were awarded to E.D. Plummer, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, for $72,971, and the contract covering the planting work in the vicinity of the visitor center and Burnside Bridge areas was given to Treeland Nurseries, Frederick, Maryland, for $15,049.86.[57]

With funds available late in the 1963 fiscal year, Acting Superintendent Lagemann reported the park had procured a large quantity of new hand tools and heavy equipment for the maintenance force. The new equipment included: "a L.C.C. tractor and rotary cutter, 1½ ton dump truck, ½ ton pick-up truck, power lubricating equipment, cutting tools and accessories. A ½ ton pick-up was also acquired as a patrol vehicle for the Park Ranger."[58]

7. PROGRESS DURING FISCAL YEAR 1964

a. Visitor Center

Superintendent Harold I. Lessem, on June 12, 1964, reported, "The construction of the Visitor Center was finally terminated with decision of the prime contractor to wave all claims for extra payment." He also noted that the visitor center water system, which had broken down in June 1963, had been resolved by installation of two water tanks in the center's utility room. This system was

---

[55] Ibid. File 22D.

[56] File D22, Acting Superintendent Robert L. Lagemann to Regional Director, Northeast Region, March 26, 1963.

[57] Park File D22, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee to Supt., Antietam, March 5, 1963. Contract Nos. 14-10-0529-2509 (Planting Visitor Center and Burnside Area). Contract No. 14-10-0529-2510 (Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, Burnside Bridge Area, Visitor Center and Dunkard Church Area).

[58] Park File D22, June 24, 1963.

Form 10-174
(June 1962)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

FACE SHEET FOR COMPLETION REPORT

Work Order No. B-4-ANTI; CD-B-1-ANTI

Fund Symbol 14X1035, Cons., NPS 1423910 Cons. Working Fund, NPS, 1962

Year Programmed 1962

PCP No. B-5-7, U-3-3, U-4-3, U-5-3

Master Plan No. NBS-ANT 3007-B

Master Plan Corrected By

As Built Drawings By

Park: Antietam National Battlefield Site

Region: Northeast

Location in Park: Adjacent to New York Monument Plot

State(s): Maryland

County or Counties: Washington

☒ Contract and/or ☐ Day Labor

Work Order Title:
Visitor Center and Utilities
Fallout Shelter - Visitor Center

Date Started: January 16, 1962

Date Completed: October 10, 1962

DESCRIPTION OF FIXED ASSETS (For completion by employee in charge of project)		TOTAL COSTS (For completion by FFO)
100.6 Buildings, Visitor Use (Visitor Center)		128,770.68
(Fallout Shelter - Visitor Center)		43,500.00
100.8 Utilities		27,086.00
Sewer System	$ 9,860.00	
Sanitation System	17,226.00	
100.30 Equipment, All Other		3,572.95
TOTAL		$ 202,929.63

DISTRIBUTION No.	To
1	WASO, D&C
1	EODC
✓1	NERO
1	FFO
1	Antietam

THE FIXED ASSET DESCRIBED ABOVE HAS BEEN COMPLETED IN ACCORDANCE WITH APPROVED DRAWINGS, SPECIFICATIONS, AND AUTHORIZED CHANGES

Submitted and Approved By: Harold I. Lessem Harold I. Lessem Title: Superintendent Date: 7/16/64

By: Title: Date:

COSTS VERIFIED BY Ralph E. Motter Ralph E. Motter Title: Regional Budget Officer Date: 7/27/64

11360

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Form 10-195
(Rev. 9/60)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Antietam National Battlefield Site
(Park)

Check One:
Monthly Estimate ☐
Final Estimate ☒

LUMP SUM CONTRACT

ESTIMATE NO. 10	FOR (Period) November 15, 1962 through March 16, 1964	DATE March 25, 1964
CONTRACT NO. 14-10-0529-2504	COMPLETION DATE September 22, 1962	EXTENDED DATE November 10, 1962
CONTRACTOR W. Harley Miller, Inc., P.O.Box 902, Martinsburg, W.Va.		ORIGINAL CONTRACT $ 128,450.00
PROJECT Construction of Visitor Center and Disposal System		CHANGE ORDERS* $ 42,292.74
LOCATION Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Maryland		TOTAL CONTRACT $ 170,742.74

DESCRIPTION	COST BREAKDOWN	PERCENT COMPLETE	VALUE	REMARKS
Excavation	6,000.00	100	6,000.00	
Concrete	7,350.00	100	7,350.00	
Masonry	10,000.00	100	10,000.00	
Stone Work	19,200.00	100	19,200.00	
Structural Steel	500.00	100	500.00	
Steel Joists	2,300.00	100	2,300.00	
Hollow Metal Doors and Frames	400.00	100	400.00	
Railing, Screen Supports, Fire Extinguishers, Stainless Steel Facing	650.00	100	650.00	
Toilet Partitions	550.00	100	550.00	
Metal Letters	100.00	100	100.00	
Roofing and Sheet Metal	5,800.00	100	5,800.00	
Lumber and Millwork	17,600.00	100	17,600.00	
Plastering	3,000.00	100	3,000.00	
Acoustic Tile	1,700.00	100	1,700.00	
Ceramic Tile	2,400.00	100	2,400.00	
Finish Hardware, Weatherstrip	1,600.00	100	1,600.00	
Sliding Windows	800.00	100	800.00	
Painting and Caulking	3,200.00	100	3,200.00	
Resilient Floor	1,500.00	100	1,500.00	
Plumbing	14,300.00	100	14,300.00	
Sewage Disposal System	8,500.00	100	8,500.00	
Mechanical	10,100.00	100	10,100.00	
Electrical	10,400.00	100	10,400.00	
SUB TOTAL CONTRACT PRICE			128,450.00	

RECOMMENDED (Project Supervisor)

APPROVED (Contracting Officer)

DATE

SUMMARY

TOTAL TO DATE.......................... $

LESS RETAINED AMOUNT..............

NET...

LESS PREVIOUS PAYMENTS............

LESS LIQUIDATED DAMAGES..........

DUE THIS ESTIMATE......................

% COMPLETED TO DATE:

*Show Breakdown on Reverse

(See Reverse for Distribution)

Form 10-174A
(June 1962)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

COMPOSITION OF COST FOR COMPLETION REPORT

Work Order Number: CD-B-1-ANTI

Fund Symbol: 1423910 CWF

Park: Antietam National Battlefield Site

Region: NE

Year Programmed: 1962

Location in Park: Adjacent to New York Monument Plot

Work Order Title: Fallout Shelter - Visitor Center

COMPOSITION OF COST

COSTS CHARGED TO FUNDS ALLOTTED TO FIELD FINANCE OFFICE		
(1) Personal Services	$	
(2) Travel		
(3) Contract Work	39,500.00	
(4) Supplies and Materials		
(5) Other Direct Expenses		
(6) Operation of Equipment		
(7) Depreciation of Equipment		
(8) Purchase of Construction Equipment		
(9) Purchase of Other Accountable Equipment		
(10) Other Costs: Planning Costs	4,000.00	
(11) TOTAL COST CHARGED TO FFO FUNDS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 43,500.00
OTHER COSTS:		
(12) PS&S, AP, and/or Facilitating Services @ ______ %	$	
(13) Inventory and Other Non-Fund Costs		
(14) GROSS WORK ORDER COSTS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 43,500.00
LESS:		
(15) Residual Value of Construction Equipment on Line 8	$	
(16) Other Credits		
(17) NET COST OF FIXED ASSETS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 43,500.00

Identify other costs and other credits by line item entry, on an attached schedule, or explain in narrative.

10-195
ev. 9/60)

U ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Antietam National Battlefield Site
(Park)

Sheet 2 of 2

Check One:
Monthly Estimate ☐
Final Estimate ☒

LUMP SUM CONTRACT

ESTIMATE NO. 10	FOR (Period)	DATE
CONTRACT NO. 14-10-0529-2504	COMPLETION DATE	EXTENDED DATE
CONTRACTOR		ORIGINAL CONTRACT $
PROJECT		CHANGE ORDERS* $
LOCATION		TOTAL CONTRACT $

DESCRIPTION	COST BREAKDOWN	PERCENT COMPLETE	VALUE	REMARKS
SUB-TOTALS BROUGHT FORWARD	128,450.00		128,450.00	
ADDITION TO CONTRACT:				
Change Order No. 1 - Fuel Oil Line - Well Pump	2,034.74	100	2,034.74	
Change Order No. 2 - Construct 2 pilasters	48.00	100	48.00	
Change Order No. 3 - Fallout Shelter	39,500.00	100	39,500.00	
Change Order No. 4 - Flagstone Topping	320.00	100	320.00	
Change Order No. 5 - Waterproof Membrane	70.00	100	70.00	
Change Order No. 6 - Ventilating	220.00	100	220.00	
Change Order No. 7 - Rail and Grille	100.00	100	100.00	
TOTAL CONTRACT PRICE	170,742.74		170,742.74	

RECOMMENDED (Project Supervisor)

APPROVED (Contracting Officer)
rold I. Lessem, Superintendent

DATE
3/31/64

SUMMARY

TOTAL TO DATE	$ 170,742.74
LESS RETAINED AMOUNT	None
NET	170,742.74
LESS PREVIOUS PAYMENTS	169,742.74
LESS LIQUIDATED DAMAGES	None
DUE THIS ESTIMATE	1,000.00
% COMPLETED TO DATE	100

*Show Breakdown on Reverse

(See Reverse for Distribution)

Form 10-174A
(June 1962)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

COMPOSITION OF COST FOR COMPLETION REPORT

Work Order Number: B-4-ANTI

Fund Symbol: 14X1035

Park: **Antietam National Battlefield Site**

Region: **NE**

Year Programmed: **1962**

Location in Park: **Adjacent to New York Monument Plot**

Work Order Title: **Visitor Center and Utilities**

COMPOSITION OF COST

COSTS CHARGED TO FUNDS ALLOTTED TO FIELD FINANCE OFFICE		
(1) Personal Services	$	
(2) Travel		
(3) Contract Work	131,242.74	
(4) Supplies and Materials	2,999.34	
(5) Other Direct Expenses	117.13	
(6) Operation of Equipment		
(7) Depreciation of Equipment		
(8) Purchase of Construction Equipment		
(9) Purchase of Other Accountable Equipment	3,080.13	
(10) Other Costs:		
(11) TOTAL COST CHARGED TO FFO FUNDS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 137,439.34
OTHER COSTS:		
(12) PS&S, AP, and/or Facilitating Services @ 16 %	$ 21,990.29	
(13) Inventory and Other Non-Fund Costs		
(14) GROSS WORK ORDER COSTS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 159,429.63
LESS:		
(15) Residual Value of Construction Equipment on Line 8	$	
(16) Other Credits		
(17) NET COST OF FIXED ASSETS	xxxxxxxxxxx	$ 159,429.63

Identify other costs and other credits by line item entry, on an attached schedule, or explain in narrative.

EQUIPMENT

Jens Risom Design, Inc.

1	Two Seater Sofa Base: Aluminum		$ 449.00
1	Three Seater Sofa Base: Aluminum		590.00
1	Armless Three Seater Sofa Base: Aluminum		494.00
2	Armless Low Chair Base: Aluminum	$268.00	536.00
3	Armless Low Chair Base: Aluminum	268.00	804.00
			2,873.00
		Less 50%	1,436.50
			1,436.50
		Less 2%	28.73
			$1,407.77

Knoll Associates

2	Chairs, in Beige/White	$110.95	221.90
1	Bench, in Two-Tone Gold		280.20
5	Tables	28.00	140.00
1	Table	49.50	49.50
			691.60
		Plus Charge	33.33
			$ 724.93

Robert LeFort & Co.

38	Plastic Stacking Chairs/RO Shell	$ 14.50	551.00
11	Plastic Stacking Chairs/OC Shell	14.50	159.50
17	Plastic Stacking Chairs/PR Shell	14.50	246.50
			957.00
		Less 1%	9.57
			$ 947.43

Total Equipment $3,080.13

governed by automatic controls. Lessem wrote, "The drinking fountain in the corridor to the rest rooms [in the visitor center] was removed and replaced by a wall type which was installed on the north wall of the lobby. This substitution eliminated an acute visitor hazard."

b. Superintendent's Residence (National Cemetery)

These quarters were modernized by the renovation of the main bathroom and the installation of a small toilet facility on the first floor of the building.

c. Battlefield Utility Building

Superintendent Lessem reported:

> We improved the Utility Building by installing a drinking fountain, hot water and wash basin. In addition, the room where the maintenance staff lunches was repainted in brighter colors and better illuminated with new flourescent fixtures.[59]

d. Training

Historian Lagemann was sent to the Stephen Mather Training Center at Harpers Ferry and Historian John W. Bryce to the Horace Albright Training Center for instruction.[60]

e. Restoring the Historic Scene

The non-historic Albert and John E. Turner houses were razed under contract "thus enhancing the historic scene considerably." A handsome stone wall was reconstructed along the east bank of Antietam Creek, contributing "an additional element of realism to the historic scene."[61]

f. Improved Outdoor Interpretive Facilities

Eighteen cannon were placed on the battleground to mark battery sites. Superintendent Lessem reported, "Without doubt the most significant improvement is the attractive, scenic overlook erected on the west side of the [Antietam] Creek overlooking historic Burnside Bridge. Unfortunately the aluminum markers for this interpretive station have not yet been received." He also noted "We have received a portion of our secondary signs."[62]

---

59. Accomplishments 1964 F.Y., Buildings and utilities section, June 12, 1964, by Supt. Harold I. Lessem.

60. Ibid., personnel section.

61. Ibid., Interpretation section.

62. Ibid.

g. Roads and Trails

Lessem reported, "A handsome new trail was installed from the Visitor Center to the Dunkard Church." He also noted that "The first portion of the Burnside Bridge bypass project PCP, R-27, is practically complete." Finally, he wrote that the purchase of "inexpensive snow fence" and its erection during the winter months "reduced the serious drifting problems hithertofore experienced." The snow blade acquired for the Gravely tractor "materially reduced the man hours consumed in snow removal."[63]

h. Soil and Moisture Conservation

Funds available in fiscal year 1963 had not been utilized because the new land on which they were to be employed was not acquired. Of the 1964 fiscal year efforts, Superintendent Lessem reported:

> Excellent progress was made in our soil and moisture program. The bulk of the activity was focused on the slopes and bottom lands along Antietam Creek. In addition, efforts were made to halt erosion of the park road shoulders. In addition to filling in run-off ditches and other physical traces of erosion, we carried out some seeding and planting projects of a conservation nature.[64]

8. PROGRESS DURING FISCAL YEAR 1965: BUILDINGS

Expenses for the electrical heating of the Dunkard Church were reduced by 70 percent. A malfunctioning thermostat was replaced and other changes made in February 1964.[65]

An "Aquapure" unit was installed to reduce corrosion and calcification of the water lines to the national cemetery.

The Speilman Farm had a modern septic tank installed.

The visitor center was repainted and building reports were prepared for all recently acquired structures.

---

63. Ibid., Road and Trails sections.
64. Ibid., Soil and Moisture Section, also same section for 1963 Fiscal Year.
65. D22-Accomplishments for 1965 Fiscal Year, Building and Utilities section, by Supt. Lessem, July 6, 1965. Details of work will be found in Supervising Architect Archie W. Franzen's weekly report for Feb. 14, 1964. Park File D2623.

a. Restoring the Historic Scene

In May 1964 Supervising Architect Franzen prepared the specifications for repointing the masonry of the Burnside Bridge and for installing wooden parapet coping to restore the structure to its 1862 appearance. In June the contract for this work was awarded to the Building Maintenance Company, the low bidder, for $10,764. The contractor completed this project on October 9 and his work was accepted after final inspection on October 12, 1964.[66]

The staff also "began to repaint the cannon carriage using a color formulated from the U.S. Ordnance Manual of 1860."[67]

The recently acquired Dorsey and Piper Farms, 406.50 acres, "were turned over [under a special use permit] to a permittee who, we feel," Superintendent Lessem wrote, "has the material resources and technical skills to restore them to their former productive capacity..."[68] This was accomplished by publicly advertising for bids to operate these two farms which had been purchased by the United States in 1964. A local farmer won the contract. The special use permits were drawn up to insure that the historic uses of individual fields and pastures would be perpetuated.[69]

b. Interpretive Developments

Superintendent Lessem commented, "The failure to receive our long overdue audiovisual program for the Visitor Center makes it impossible to regard F.Y. 1965 as a successful year interpretively speaking." As a substitute, he reported, they are running "The U.S. Army film Clara Barton at Antietam, a stop gap, desperation presentation [that] has been favorably accepted by our visitors." The film, he noted, cost only $31.

---

[66] The progress of this work can be traced in detail in Architect Archie W. Franzen's weekly reports May 1 to October 16, 1964, in Park File 2623. Also Lessem's report for 1965 fiscal year accomplishments.

[67] Lessem, 1965 fiscal year accomplishments, July 6, 1965.

[68] Ibid., Management and Protection Section.

[69] Lessem, 1965 Calendar Year Highlights, Maintenance Section, December 31, 1965.

The new weekend 30-minute walking tours from the visitor center to the Dunkard Church were successful with the public. Park historian Lagemann revised and refurbished several of Tuckerman's troop movement maps, and he also selected alternate locations for the War Department cast-iron historical tablets that were removed from Confederate Avenue when that section of the road was turned over to Maryland for construction of a by-pass highway.[70]

Other interpretive accomplishments in the calendar year 1964 were documented in the Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, written by historian Lagemann:

> Roadside interpretation remained nearly the same throughout 1964. Chief reliance is placed on the 214 cast iron tablets installed by the War Department sixty years ago, a series of detailed troop movement maps interpreting on the site the most significant phases of the battle, and battlefield tour directional signs. The latter are comprised of numbered arrows and of cast iron plaques identifying landmarks. Four large area approach signs (designed by EODC and constructed by contract) were installed this year on each of the highways approaching the site . . . .
>
> Locations of the arrows in the vicinity of the Burnside Bridge were moved so as to direct the visitor to use the new overlook facilities instead of driving over the bridge and congesting traffic on the other side. Three cast aluminum interpretive markers were received late in the year from the Branch of Museums, to be installed at areas developed last year near the bridge.
>
> Visitor orientation was conducted in the new visitor center throughout the year, daily except Thanksgiving and Christmas. Information was provided the public by the Information-Receptionist, the Park Historians, and the seasonal Ranger-Historians. A similar service was also provided in the National Cemetery (former Park HQs) during the summer. Personal contact interpretation was available from a Ranger-Historian at the Burnside Bridge area on Sundays, June through August.
>
> There are no regularly scheduled tours conducted over the entire field at Antietam National Battlefield Site. However, organized groups receive this service upon making prior arrangements for it. Detailed verbal directions for touring the battlefield were supplied by the interpretive personnel on duty at the Visitor Center and in the National Cemetery. This type of information [was] . . . provided principally

---

70. Ibid. Soil and Moisture section, 1965 fiscal year report.

by the Information Receptionist. The Park Ranger also participates in providing this information while on regular patrol, and occasionally in the Visitor Center . . . .

In August, conducted walking tours of the Visitor Center and Dunkard Church area were initiated. These 30-minute tours, scheduled three times a day on weekends, were well received by the visitors. A similar guided tour of the Burnside Bridge vicinity did not prove so effective, and was discontinued on Labor Day.

The reconstructed Dunkard Church was open to the public on all days of clement weather in the summer and on weekends in spring and fall. The church was a regular stop on the interpretive foot patrols conducted on weekends, and on the scheduled walking tours in the Visitor Center vicinity. . . .

Historian Bryce planned and built, with the assistance of Maintenanceman Gatrell, a novel, large scale map of the Battlefield. The map surface is slotted to provide a tracking device for moving fifty 3-dimensional soldiers. The latter represent various troop units, therefore enabling the visitor to better visualize the troop positions than with the customary drawn arrows. The map proper was painted in oil colors by a professional. This map, 6 x 7 feet, is now on display in the Visitor Center Observation Room. Also added to the observation room, on the north, east and south walls, were decals, briefly interpreting and identifying important battle landmarks visible from the upper terrace. Texts were prepared by historian Lagemann and designed by the Branch of Museums.

In cooperation with the rehabilitation project of the nearby Maryland Institution For Men, Mr. Lagemann served as a professional advisor to a group of inmates constructing a large scale, plaster relief map of Antietam Battlefield. Beginning in March, he made two visits a month to the institution work shop, assisting the men in refining relief details and in determining precise locations for the 250 troop positions to be represented by electric lights. When completed, the map will be available to the Park, on a temporary basis, for special interpretive program . . . .

Historian Lagemann conferred repeatedly with Colonel Jarrett, Chief, Ordinance Museum, Aberdeen Proving Ground, in tentative planning for a jointly produced interpretive 8 mm. color film on the Battle of Antietam. Due to an insufficiency of funds, however, the program lapsed.

In August-September the Burnside Bridge was repointed and repaired. The concrete coping was removed and replaced with boards, simulating the original, 19th Century parapet covering. Details were also worked out with EODC and the Bureau of Public Roads for further restoration in the Burnside Bridge vicinity; to obliterate the pavement on the portions of the old road approaching the bridge. As soon as the bypass road now under construction is completed, the above approach roads will be returned to their unpaved, 1862 condition and become accessible only to pedestrians.

The Antietam Agency of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association sold $854.71 worth of publications, and 7,444 postcards in 1964. A new sales item, a large scale (40 x 58 inches) map of Antietam Battlefield, was added to the stock late in the year. Col. J. D. Bowlby, U.S. Army, kindly allowed Agent Lagemann to have copies of his very detailed map printed to be sold to Antietam visitors and correspondents at a near cost price. For the past several years the many inquiries by visitors for an accurate map, much larger than the one contained in the free folder, have necessarily been answered in the negative. Therefore, sale of this item is expected to fulfill a long-standing visitor need . . . .

Tentative plans were developed to improve the interpretive facilities and programs for increased visitor benefit. Progress on these plans in 1965 is expected as follows:

1. Revise portions of the Handbook.
2. Develop an effective plan for improved interpretive use of the Visitor Center Observation Room.
3. Prepare a museum plan for the proposed auxiliary park museum in the National Cemetery Lodge.
4. Install more cannon barrels and carriages on the Battlefield.
5. Repaint all carriages with authentic Civil War artillery color paint.
6. Develop remnants of Confederate Avenue (upon completion of the Hagerstown Pike bypass) into interpretive sub-stations. This will include relocation of several cast iron tablets at convenient and meaningful clusters.
7. Develop the "Bloody Lane," "West Woods," and "Cornfield" portions of the approved (1961) Wayside Interpretive Plan for Antietam. To complete, this will require installation of the case aluminum exhibits and self-operated audio devices to be prepared by the Branch of Museums.

> 8. Re-create the historic appearance of the Burnside Bridge environs; i.e., restore the unpaved road conditions, install historic type roadside fence, and remove utility poles, etc.
>
> 9. Rehabilitate the existing roadside interpretive maps, at stations that will not receive the new (1961) planned devices for at least two more years.
>
> 10. Design and install interpretive and grave locator exhibits in the National Cemetery.
>
> 11. Refine the design of an additional interpretive exhibit in the Dunkard Church vicinity; this one is to stress the battle role of the structure.
>
> 12. Put into operation in the Visitor Center auditorium a professional quality audiovisual program, either slide or motion picture.
>
> In addition to these specific, physical improvements, we expect to provide the park visitors with the maximum of personal contact interpretation and related services. We hope to offer conducted tour services to more groups, to provide more scheduled lectures, to resume the conducted walking tours, to give more museum talks, and in general to do all we can to make The Visit to Antietam an experience of quality and satisfaction.[71]

c. Maintenance Progress

Under the somewhat dubious heading of progress, Superintendent Lessem reported, "We removed numerous trees which had been indiscriminately planted between the rows of headstones in the National Cemetery." This might be deemed an alteration of the historic tree planting plan for the cemetery in some quarters. The staff also erected several thousand feet of fencing along the new exterior battlefield boundaries.

The regular maintenance force also worked to help maintain the historic scene. Lessem wrote:

> The large field east of Antietam Creek was not included in the Dorsey Farm Permit. We harrowed and seeded this tract, and the green expanse now provides an attractive backdrop for the Burnside Bridge especially when viewed from the Overlook.

---

[71] R.G. 79, File K1819, Washington Federal Record Center, Suitland, Md.

> We likewise seeded the field just south of the Cemetery thereby enhancing the vista of that section of the Battlefield which is visible from the rear of the burial ground.[72]

If both of these fields were in crops in 1862, however, then the seeding of them with grass might possibly give them a too lawn-like or "park-like" appearance.

d. Soil and Moisture Accomplishments

The funds allotted for this purpose were expended on filling gullies and planting ground cover on selected portions of the west bank of Antietam Creek.[73]

e. Protection

Army ordinance experts disarmed all of the park's loaded Civil War artillery shells. Park Ranger Crenshaw ordered fire suppression equipment for the patrol vehicles and to establish fire caches. He also posted numerous "No hunting" and boundary signs, and prepared a map showing what types of jurisdiction governed the individual sectors of the battlefield. The park's drinking fountain was relocated.[74]

f. Roads and Trails

On March 23, 1965, the Department of the Interior announced the award of a $517,542 contract for relocation of Maryland State Highway 65 passing through Antietam National Battlefield Site. The contract was awarded to Dewey Jordan, Inc., of Frederick, the lowest of four bidders.

Relocation of State Route 65 provided a new one and one-half mile road permitting through, non-park traffic to bypass the historic area. The historic route of the state highway (Hagerstown Pike) was retained in the park, with portions of it incorporated into the battlefield's road system for visitor use.

The contract also called for construction of two bridges--one over Antietam Creek and the other to permit traffic to pass under Rodman Avenue--and the paving of the Burnside Bridge Bypass. This

---

72. Ibid. Maintenance and Rehabilitation Section.
73. National Park Service Press Release, March 23, 1965.
74. Soil and Moisture Section, 1965 fiscal year report.

one-mile long bypass routed traffic away from the historic 1836 Burnside Bridge.[75]

Work apparently did not get underway before July 1, 1965, because Superintendent Lessem reported in July:

> Unfortunately the contract for improvements in our roads and trails system was not entered for technical reasons. Thus no positive accomplishment can be recorded. Our sole source of satisfaction is the decision of EODC to avoid 12' wide tour roads at this Site. A tour road, even if destined for one-way traffic, should be able to accommodate two vehicles.[76]

9. PROGRESS DURING FISCAL YEAR 1966

a. Roads and Trails

Unfortunately the superintendent's progress reports prepared by Harold I. Lessem for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 have not been found. Progress from July 1 to December 31, 1965, included:

The State Highway Route 65 Bypass, NPS project R-25, involving 2.32 miles of construction, got underway. Superintendent Lessem described the project:

> State Highway 65 Bypass. When completed, the Bypass will be transferred to the State of Maryland in exchange for that portion of the existing highway which bounds the Battlefield from Bloody Lane north to Mansfield Avenue. This arrangement will result in the separation of park visitor and through traffic. The old road will be incorporated in our tour road system thus expanding our interpretive capability. In addition it will perpetuate for all time a road [the Hagerstown Pike] which was an important factor in the Battle of Antietam.[77]

Work was also underway on the Burnside Bridge Bypass, NPS Project R-27, involving 1.25 miles of construction. Superintendent Lessem described this undertaking:

> Burnside Bridge Bypass. When finished, this improvement which includes a handsome new bridge over Antietam Creek will be transferred to Washington County. In return the National Park Service will receive an equitable section of the old historic Burnside Bridge Road. The portion of the road upstream from the Burnside Bridge will become part of the

---

[75] National Park Service Press Release, March 23, 1965.

[76] Road and Trail Section of 1965 - fiscal year - accomplishment report.

[77] Park File D22 - Superintendent Harold I. Lessem's "Highlight Briefing Statement, 1965 Calendar Year," January 1966.

> tour route to be used exclusively by park visitors. Below the structure the road will be restored to its approximate appearance in September 1862. Equally important the resultant elimination of all vehicular traffic over the Burnside Bridge will preserve one of the most significant landmarks in American military history.[78]

Construction was started on a new project, the Snavely Ford Trail, NPS Project R-34, funded at $6,400. Superintendent Lessem described the new trail:

> Snavely Ford Trail. This trail about two miles long will enable visitors to walk along the right bank of Antietam Creek from the Burnside Bridge to within viewing distance of Snavely Ford where Rodman's Division [reinforced by Ewing's brigade] crossed to attack the Confederates. For the individual who enjoys hiking the trail will provide a worthwhile experience involving elements of military history, natural beauty and a certain measure of relaxing solitude. The interpretative treatment of the trail will feature its historical associations with the Battle.[79]

Another new construction project underway was the Mumma Lane Tour Route Road, NPS Project R-18, funded at $20,100. Superintendent Lessem reported:[80]

> Mumma Lane. This timeworn, rutted country lane will be widened, graded and paved and integrated in the park tour route complex. This improvement will enable visitors to secure a better comprehension of the events which led to the sanguine Sunken Road phase of the Battle of Antietam.

b. Interpretation

With regard to the audiovisual project, M-30 funded at $5,400 for the visitor center, Superintendent Lessem reported that late in 1965 "we had a preview of our permanent, regular slide program. It was a rewarding experience since we are now certain of having a superb presentation to our visitors in 1966. All required projection equipment has been installed."[81]

In reference to the museum collection, he wrote:

> Donations. In 1965 our museum and study collection were enriched by the following additions: foot artilleryman's sword, scabbard and belt, early flute, musician's sword,

---

[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

> artillery rammer, worm and handspike, artillery chest, spurs and bayonets. Using a mine detector in construction areas, we uncovered innumerable balls, shell fragments, belt buckle and one coin.[82]

c. Land Acquisition

Superintendent Lessem expressed his thoughts on this problem:

> The 600 acre ceiling on land acquired in fee simple (see H.R. 1805) is without doubt the chief obstacle to the ultimate and optimum development of this Site. This pernicious restriction should be deleted as quickly as possible while there is still an opportunity to secure urgently needed acreage for the purpose of expanding and perpetuating our most priceless asset; namely, the relatively unspoiled character of our immediate environs. Each day poses another threat to this historically correct condition. For instance a house is now going up in the heart of the East Woods, a crucial sector of the Battlefield.
>
> During the year we did acquire the Antietam Sharpsburg Museum property, a private undertaking which justifiably could be regarded as an intrusion on the historical integrity of the Battlefield. In addition we secured a scenic easement on a 10 acre tract near the tour route.[83]

d. Park Development Program

On January 18, 1965, Lessem had submitted a Revised Park Development Schedule for Antietam to the regional director, Northeast Region, commenting:

> ...Please note that all projects dependent on land acquisition have been deleted. More emphasis is now directed to the proposition of improving our farm properties.[84]

---

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Lessem to Regional Director, January 18, 1965, in Park File D22-APC Water and Sewer Systems - $45,000. Buildings - $137,900. Miscellaneous included $26,700 for rehabilitating War Correspondents Memorial, M-31; Vista Clearing, M-34- $5,000; Reconstruct Historic Fences, M-32, five miles of, $50,000; 10 car overlook on Branch Avenue, M-35, $10,000; Develop surviving portion of Confederate Ave., H-6, $15,000; $8,000 for cast iron and surviving portion of Confederate Ave., H-6, $15,000; $8,000 for cast iron and aluminum markers and maps. $26,100 for construction Field Exhibits and Wayside shelter, M-24; rehabilitation 0.25 mile historic stone wall, M-33- $12,000. National Cemetery Research, M-10-3, $5,000. Physical Development Lee Headquarters Plot, M-40, $6,000. Monument all park boundaries, M-41, $15,000.

He estimated that $767,700 would be required to complete the development of the battlefield and would be employed:

Purpose and Development Area	PRIORITY		
	First	Second	Third
BPR ROADS			
1. Park General (Entire Park)	- - -	- - -	356,000
NPS ROADS AND TRAILS			
1. Park General (Entire Park)	- - -	35,000	- - -
BUILDINGS AND UTILITIES			
1. Park General (Entire Park)	75,900	67,000	40,000
MISCELLANEOUS			
1. Park General (Entire Park)	75,800	72,000	46,000

RECAPITULATION

Roads and Trails	$391,000
Buildings and Utilities	182,900
Miscellaneous	193,800
Grand Total	$767,700

Under the $137,900 for buildings, the interior of the old administrative-museum building in the national cemetery was to be converted for use as a museum at an estimated cost of $12,000. Farmhouses were to be rehabilitated as follows: Sherrick House (B-16), $20,000; Piper Farm House (modernize B-17), $15,000; Spielman Farm House, B-18, $15,000; and $40,000 to rehabilitate the farm dependencies of the first three farms, B-8. The battlefield maintenance building was to be modernized at a cost of $7,500 (B-11) and a garage and paint shop, B-12, were to be constructed for $15,000. The rostrum in the national cemetery, B-13, was to be rehabilitated at an estimated cost of $8,400 as was the stone observation tower (B-15).

The $45,000 for utilities included $5,000 for installing a 1,000-gallon septic tank on the Piper and Dorsey farms and $40,000 for connecting the visitor center at the national cemetery and the utility court with the Sharpsburg municipal water system (Project U-9-1).

The $391,000 for roads and trails involved two projects: R-28 Bureau of Public Roads project, $356,000 for constructing the 0.28 mile Boonsboro Road (Md. 34) Overpass, and (2) $35,000, R-26, for construction of a 0.30 mile bypass to upper Bridge Road across a section of the Speilman Farm.[85]

As has been mentioned Superintendent Lessem's reports summarizing Mission 66 progress for the period January 1, 1966 to December 31, 1967, are not available.

Other records, however, indicate that the following projects were undertaken:

Changes to the Air Conditioning System of new Visitor Center, 1966 Mechanical Engineer Wayne P. Veach, Northeast Regional Office, visited Antietam on April 19-21, 1966, to study deficiences in the visitor center air conditioning system and to recommend a solution.[86] On May 6, Engineer Veach handcarried copies of Drawing NPS ANT-2023, sheet 1 of 1, to make changes in the visitor center mechanical and electrical systems to the park.[87] Presumably these changes, with the exception of suggested erection of a partition, were implemented during 1966.[88]

Emergency Stabilization Funds In June 1967 the Northeast Regional Office provided $1,000 from reserve B&U funds for emergency stabilization work on historic farm buildings at Antietam. Brickwork and chimneys were to be repointed. The Piper Farm barn was included in this work.[89]

Rehabilitation of the National Cemetery Rostrum--(PCP-13) In June 1964 park historian Lagemann completed a Part I Historical Data Section of a Historic Structure Report on the National Cemetery

---

85. Ibid. Farm dependencies included Sherrick Washhouse, B-19, Piper Barn, B-20.
86. Park File D24, Mechanical Engineer Veach to Assistant Regional Director, Operations, April 22, 1966; Assistant Director Thomas E. Whitecraft to Lessem, April 27, 1966-with copy of findings.
87. Park File D24, Whitecraft to Lessem, May 9, 1966.
88. Park File D24, John B. Lukens, regional architect, Division of Maintenance, Northeast Region, to assistant regional director, operations, May 19, 1966. Lukens visited Antietam May 6, 1966 and recommended against the erection of the partition until such time as the other changes had a chance to work.
89. D24. Acting Assistant Regional Director Nathan B. Golub, Operations, to Supt., June 8, 1967. Also sent "Specifications of Stabilization of Brickwork."

Rostrum and in October 1965 Supervising Architect Franzen prepared a Part I Architectural data section on the structure.[90]

On February 24, 1967, Construction Representative James S. Askins, Gettysburg National Military Park, who was also supervising construction at Antietam, reported that lumber for the completion of this project was under contract with a delivery date of April 1. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park was to provide the men necessary to complete this job on a reimbursible basis.[91] This project was completed during the spring of 1967.

Problems with the Visitor Center Observation Room, 1964 On May 4, 1964, Superintendent Lessem wrote the regional director of the Northeast Region:

> Without doubt one of the fundamental defects at our Visitor Center is the utter lack of permanent interpretive devices in the Observation Room. The failure to take advantage of the excellent potential of this facility is beyond my comprehension.
>
> After much thought on the subject I have come to the conclusion that we should install an attractive electric map with synchronized sound system in the room....
>
> We shall install temporary interpretive devices in the near future. However, these are temporary in nature and provide no permanent solution.[92]

As a result of this letter, Staff Historian Joseph Cullen, Visual Information Specialist Ted McCann, Chief Curator Harold Peterson, and Historian Roy Appleman of the Washington office met with Superintendent Lessem on November 4, 1964, to discuss the interpretive use of the Observation Room. Their suggestions were:

> 1. Unanimous opinion of the group that the Observation Room is magnificent and superbly designed for its function and purpose. But it needs some assist in terms of information and interpretation to become fully effective. There were several suggestions as to what might be done though none represent the unanimous recommendation of the group.

---

[90] For Architect Franzen's work in 1965, see his weekly field report to the chief, EODC, for September 3, October 1, and October 8 and 15, 1964.

[91] Askins to Chief PSC, February 24, 1967.

[92] WASO File K1815.

a. Install a series of paintings on upper level of window area down to bottom of wood strip separation from the main viewing windows to relate scenes or events that occurred on the landscape seen through the glass. Each subject would relate to the area observed through the window area immediately below it. This idea carried out around the north, east, and south sides of the Observation Room would, it is hoped, go a long way in providing information, and possibly some interpretation, about what happened of importance in the battle of Antietam within the range of vision. It would be an artist's rendering of an action or an event that took place on the ground seen through the glass directly below the painting. In short, this would interpret the landscape in terms of the battle story. This series of paintings and very short identifying captions in large lettering would be based on an historical report that would relate the action to the ground, and be the basis for a selection of suitable subjects.

There are eight window panels in this upper level that are capable of being opened for ventilation, but they are in fact not needed and used for that purpose. In summer the room is air conditioned, and the windows would not be opened, and if opened would let in flying insects. In the winter the windows would not be opened. Closing off this area and using it as suggested would not interfere with ventilation. Also, there is so much glass area that closing off this area would not adversely affect good natural lighting of the room. The closed off area would approximate the area shaded by the outside overhang. Study might disclose that installation of artificial lighting at the ceiling edge might be needed to provide adequate lighting of the paintings and interpretive data at the top at all times of the day and in cloudy weather.

b. As a related feature of this suggestion, the large wall area at the back of the room, over the staircase, could be used for a large battle painting concerning Antietam, and would create a mood piece for the room and the battlefield area under observation. This battle scene would have to be selected carefully and guided by research, and the artist would have to have a skill and capability for this type of thing. It should cover virtually the entire back wall.

The room would continue to be used as a lounge, a purpose which it serves admirably. It was the thought of the group that lectures should not be given here, and that it should retain an atmosphere of quiet and be conducive to contemplation. Some members thought this room was the finest observation room they had seen in the entire System.

> It was the feeling of the group that all the maps, stands, dioramas, and other material now placed temporarily against some of the viewing window panels should be removed, and nothing placed in the room to obstruct the view in any direction through the glass.[93]

To implement this suggestion "would require several thousands of dollars, possibly as much as $20,000." But if it "converts this Observation Room into an effective interpretive device, it would easily be worth the cost...."

Other suggestions made included:

> Place information decals on the windows relating to events and sites associated with the landscape seen through these windows. Some of these are now in use, and are an ingenious and interesting device. It was the thought of the group, however, that they are not the best facilities for the room, are hard for some people to read, obstruct the view to some degree, and should perhaps not be adopted for permanent use.
>
> Place a diagram and interpretive layout on the floor which would illustrate the battle action and relate it to the landscape seen through windows. This, too, is an interesting and ingenious device, but it would be hard to use if there are many people in the room walking over the floor area, and it might be hard for a large proportion of visitors to relate to the ground.
>
> It was the feeling of the group that cast aluminum panels of reasonably large size should be placed on the flagstone terraces outside the Observation Room to give locations and distances for terrain features involved in the battle and visible from this point. These should be mounted and fairly low at an angle for ready correlation to the ground seen over them.
>
> The group from this Office does not favor an electric map in the Observation Room.
>
> Planting of dogwood trees and shrubs in front of the viewing windows, in the entire arc from north to east to south, will soon result in a most unfortunate and objectionable obstruction of the present fine view. This ground was open at the time of the battle, it was open when the visitor center was built, and it necessarily will have to remain open if the fine viewing observation room is not going to be cancelled out. The policy in historical areas has long been established

---

93. WASO File K 1815 - Acting Director Edward Edwin C. Kenner to Regional Director, Region Five.

> that there shall not be tree growth where vistas are needed for interpretation, or where the historic ground cover condition requires their removal for restoration of ground conditions, if they have grown since the historic period. All these factors combine here to require that this artificial planting be removed. It should be so ordered.

Available records do not indicate what action, if any, was taken as a result of this conference.

e. Statement of Significance

After correspondence between Acting Superintendent Lagemann, Regional Director Lee, the Director, and Acting Director Price on October 11, 1963, recommended this text be used in the lobby of the new visitor center:

> The battle fought here September 17, 1862, the most costly in terms of human life for a single day during the Civil War, ended the first southern invasion of the North, thereby setting the stage for Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and dashing the South's best hope for foreign recognition.[94]

10. LIST OF CONSTRUCTION PLANS PREPARED FOR MISSION 66 PROJECTS[95]

Name of Plan	Date	Plan No.
1. Layout, Grading, and Surfacing Parking and Entrance Parking Area, 3 sheets	Jan. 17, June 15, Aug. 16, 1960	3013A, 1-3
2. Layout, Grading, and Surfacing Various Parking Areas, 3 sheets.	June 15 and Aug. 18, 1960	3013, A, B, 1-3
3. Reconstruction of the Dunkard Church, Plan, Elevation, and Details, 3 sheets.	March 24, 1961	3015, 1-3
4. Visitor Center Plan, Elevations, Sections and Cost Estimates.	Aug. 30, 1961	3019
5. Plan of Visitor Center, 12 sheets.	Sept. 1961	3019A, 1-12

---

[94] WASO File D66. Lagemann to Regional Director, August 29, 1963; Regional Director to Director, October 1, 1963.

[95] WASO File D66. Lagemann to Regional Director, August 29, 1963; Regional Director to Director, October 1, 1963. Price to Lee, October 11, 1963.

Name of Plan	Date	Plan No.
6. Entrance Road and Parking Areas, Visitor Center, Preliminary Plan.	Oct. 31, 1961	3027
7. Construction of Entrance Road and Parking Area, Visitor Center.	Sept. 28, October, and December 1961	3023, A, B, 1-3
8. Proposed Highway and Zoning Plan.	Sept. 1961	3024
9. Visitor Center--Relocation of Hagerstown Road.	Oct. 26, 1961	3025
10. Construction of Tour Road, Parking Area, and Overlook at Burnside Bridge, 3 sheets.	Oct., Dec. 6, 1961, Jan. 18,	3026 B & C
11. Tour Road, Parking Area, and Overlook, Burnside Bridge.	Dec. 6, 1961	3026
12. Tour Road and Parking Area--Unit No. 2.	Jan. 18, 1962	3026B
13. Floor Plan, Section and Details for Visitor Center Fallout Shelter against Atomic Bomb.	April 27, 1962	3030
14. Visitor Center Planting Plan, Working Drawing.	Aug. 23, 1962	3035
15. Construction Plan for Sign and Marker Installation.	Feb. 23, 1963	3040
16. Visitor Center Entrance.	May 8, 1963	3043
17. Proposed Road and Right of Way, Relocation and Exchange.	April 2, 1964	3046
18. Reconstructed Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument and Hawkins-Zouave Monument Walks, 5 sheets.	March 1966	3111A, 1-5
19. Dunkard Church Commemoration Marker	Nov. 1966	3112
20. Planting Plan--Observation Tower Parking, Tour Road and Bloody Lane, Bloody Lane Overlook Parking, and Cornfield.	July 1967	3113
21. Surfacing Snavely Ford Trail-Burnside Bridge, Antietam Creek.	Nov. 1967	3115

Name of Plan	Date	Plan No.
22. Untitled Drawing of Existing and Proposed Road.	Feb. 1966	7009A
23. Land Use Zones, Public, Preservation, Private	No date	7009B
24. Existing and Proposed Boundary and Use Zones	Dec. 1965 and Feb. 1966.	7009 A & B
25. Flood Lighting War Correspondents Memorial at Cramptons Gap, Md.	May 31, 1962	9022
26. Topography of Proposed Tour Road.	June 1962	41,001
27. Topography of Proposed Sidewalk at Burnside Bridge and of the Bridge.	Sept. 1962	41,002, 1 & 2

11. MISSION 66 MASTER PLANNING, 1960-1967

The period 1962-1965 was the golden age of master planning at Antietam National Battlefield Site. For the first time the park staff was competent to draft large sections of the park's master plan and did so.

The process got underway on March 6, 1962, when landscape architect Bernard Grace submitted Volume I, Chapter 5, Design Analysis, General Development, together with General Development Plan NBS-ANT 3007F, 9 pages, part of "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Antietam National Battlefield Site," for review. This dealt with proposed bypass roads, the tour route system, and construction of a new visitor center.[96]

In a meeting held in the Northeast Regional Office on May 10, 1962, at 2 p.m., a team comprised of Regional Director Lee, Assistant Director Palmer, J.C. Crouch, Murray Nelligan, Franklin J. Neubauer, Frank Barnes, and Chris Christenson reviewed the master plans for five parks. On the General Development Plan, NBS-ANT 3007-F, Regional Director Lee "reviewed comments which had been generated as a result of the review of this plan." He agreed to recommend the plan for approval by Director Wirth. In doing so, he said, "...the Burnside Bridge Bypass is the right solution to that problem. The Hagerstown

---

[96] Copy in Park File. Park File D18 - Planning Program.

Bypass was needed if we are to separate park from through traffic. We asked that the plan be approved subject to our later approval of the data developed by the study."[97]

In November 1962 the Antietam staff reviewed and revised Drawing NBS-ANT-3033, Plan of Interpretation, approved by Regional Director Lee on November 29, 1962.[98] During the summer of 1962 Antietam Superintendent Davis had prepared and submitted a draft of the "Master Plan Narrative--The Foreward and Chapter, Volume I." This was returned for revision on August 21, 1962.[99]

Superintendent Davis departed for his new assignment at Roosevelt-Vanderbilt without taking further action on the 1962 draft, other than making some notes on his copy. On September 30, 1963, new superintendent Lessem was instructed to redraft "Master Plan Narrative-The Foreward and Chapter I."[100]

This section entitled "Chapter 1, Objectives and Policies, Significant Resources, Significant Values, Preservation and Use Policies, and Guidelines," 10 pages, was prepared by historian Lagemann in December 1963, recommended for approval by Superintendent Lessem on December 12, and submitted to the regional director on December 17, 1963.[101]

On May 21, 1964, Director Hartzog issued a directive to all field offices calling upon every park to prepare a revised "Master Plan Handbook" and to accelerate master plan preparation. Consequently, on June 9, 1964, Antietam was instructed to draft the following chapters in the new form: Chapter 1--Basic Information; Chapter 2--Objectives; Chapter 3--Management Programs, and a Land Use Map. These objectives and goals were to be embodied in a program designated The Road to the Future.[102]

---

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid. Acting Chief Landscape Architect Warren D. Lewis, EDOC, to Assistant Director, Design and Construction, November 30, 1962.

[99] Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch, Northeast Region, to Supt., August 21, 1962. Park File D18.

[100] Acting Assistant Regional Director M. H. Nelligan to Supt., Sept. 30, 1963, Park File D18.

[101] Copy of 10 page report in Park File D18-Master Planning; copy of transmittal in Park D18 correspondence file.

[102] Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Lessem, June 9, 1964.

Chapter 1, 13 pp., compiled by the Antietam staff, and Chapter 2, 9 pp., written by Superintendent Lessem, were submitted to the Regional Director on July 17, 1964.[103] The chief of the Eastern Office of Design and Construction recommended Chapters 1 and 2 for approval on July 23 and Regional Director Lee followed suit on August 7, 1964.[104] Assistant Director J. E. N. Jensen, Design and Construction approved Chapter 2 on October 5, 1964.[105]

Chapter 3 of the master plan, "Management Programs Narrative" for "The Land, The Visitor, and Staff Activities," 18 pages, prepared by Superintendent Lessem, was forwarded to the regional office on November 27, 1964.[106] This section was reviewed by the Eastern Office, Design and Construction, and "recommended as a working copy" on February 17, 1965.[107] Northeast Regional Director Lee had already approved Chapter 3 on December 17, 1964, as a "working copy."[108]

On June 5, 1965, Regional Director Lee approved the master plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site in the following words:

> I am, therefore, approving those portions of the Master Plan for which I am responsible and recommending for approval the remainder, contingent upon removal of the Land Acquisition Plan and adjustment of the Long-Range Development Plan and other plans affected to show land acquisition in less than fee only.

Of the Land Acquisition Plan, which he did not approve, Lee explained:

> This plan goes beyond the proposed boundaries set up as a result of the passage of Public Law 88-483. Under that legislation, we were restricted to the acquisition of 600 acres of land, in fee simple, beyond the acreage that the National Park Service already owned. The additional 1,200 acres could be acquired in less than fee through negotiated easements with the landowners. We recognize the difficulty of securing land under easement; and, we recognize the desirability of acquiring more land. However, it has been made clear to the Director by Congress that requests for additional land for

---

103. Copies of chapter in park D18-Report file and letter of transmittal in D18 correspondence file of park.

104. Park File D18-Chief Landscape Architect Eugene R. DeSiletz, EDOC, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, July 24, 1964; Regional Director Ronald F. Lee to Director, August 7, 1964.

105. Ibid., Jensen to Regional Director Lee, October 5, 1964.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., Chief Landscape Architect Eugene R. DeSiletz, EODC, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, February 17, 1965.

108. Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Supt. Lessem, Dec. 17, 1964. Park File D18.

> Civil War areas will be looked upon with disfavor. This same information has been relayed to the Regional Directors by the Director. In view of this, I cannot, in good faith, recommend the acquisition of specific lands, in fee simple, for this area via the Master Plan at the present time.
>
> Also, it appears that the resistance to granting easements may be lessening. We have been approached by one property owner regarding easements; and, the land for the Hagerstown Pike bypass road was acquired in less than fee.
>
> This suggests that the Long-Range Development Plan could be retained in the Master Plan, but that its implementation would be dependent upon acquisition of necessary tour road rights-of-way or other needed land in less than fee.
>
> Finally, we ought to stress the desirability of county zoning as a means of preserving the open rural atmosphere around the park.[109]

The Eastern Office, Design and Construction, approved the plan on June 11, 1965, observing "we are in agreement with your [Lee's] approach regarding the land acquisition situation." The Eastern Office began the preparation of the package drawings to accompany the revised master plan narrative for transmittal to Director Hartzog.[110]

On July 7 Acting Regional Director Palmer transmitted the revised narrative portion of the Antietam master plan for final preparation by the Eastern Office.[111] Chief Robert Hall, Eastern Office, Design and Construction, approved the plan on August 9, 1965 and the revisions that he suggested were accepted by Regional Director Lee.[112]

The Northeast Regional Office completed final revisions to the Antietam master plan narrative and sent them, together with copies of the master plan brief, to the Eastern Office of Design and Construction on September 17, 1965.[113]

---

[109] Park File D18-Lee to Chief, EODC, June 9, 1965.

[110] Ibid., Acting Chief Landscape Architect Edward H. Abbuehl to Regional Director, Northeast Region, June 11, 1965.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid. Acting Chief Landscape Architect Robert L. Steenhagen, EODC, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, August 19, 1965, with suggested revisions in text. Regional Director Lee to Chief, EODC, Sept. 9, 1965.

[113] Acting Regional Director Wilbur L. Savage to Chief, EODC, Sept. 17, 1965.

The Eastern Office transmitted the Antietam master plan to Director Hartzog on November 3. A preliminary review of the plan was held on January 12, 1966, and on January 13 John A. Reshoft, chief, Division of Master Plan Coordination, informed Regional Director Lee and Bob Hall of Eastern Office, Design and Construction:

> Before it is presented to the Director for his consideration some revisions, based on the following comments, will be required in both the general plan and the accompanying brief.
>
> 1. The overall development of the battlefield was considered fine and there were no suggestions to alter the basic concept. Two road realignments are suggested, one the Richardson-Rodman Avenues connection which would eliminate two severe turns and negate the need for additional land in that area, the other in the south section at Branch Avenue. The latter would permit obliteration of a portion of that road and retention of the present farm access without requiring additional land for that purpose.
>
> 2. The tour road should be one way for almost its entire length, the only exception being that portion between the cemetery and the by-pass road. This would negate a grade separation over the by-pass and permit visitors leaving the cemetery installation to proceed in either direction.
>
> 3. The land acquisition recommendations of the special committee have been tentatively concurred in by the Director and they should be reflected on the plan since they do influence some of the development proposals. A marked half-size map is enclosed generally indicating the desired acquisition proposals, as well as some existing land suggested for possible exchange purposes. Please note that all land west of Route 65 by-pass has been eliminated from consideration and the eastern boundary somewhat withdrawn. Rather than sever the Poffenberger Farm it is proposed to add it in its entirety, thus presenting the opportunity for a much shorter bleeder road connection between Smoketown Road and Route 65.
>
> Based on the aforementioned information the necessary revisions should be made to both the general plan and the brief and substitute sheets provided for further processing.[114]

On January 28, 1966 Regional Director Lemuel A. Garrison concurred in the revisions, suggested and transmitted the corrected and retyped master plan narrative to the chief, Eastern Office, Design and Construction.[115] These changes were made and the narrative and revised master plan sheets--5, 7, 9, and 13--transmitted by the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center (the reorganized EODC) to the Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, on August 8, 1966.[116]

---

[114] Park File D18-Reshoft to Regional Director, Northeast Region, and Chief, EODC, January 13, 1966.

On August 8, 1966, the Philadelphia Planning and Service Center sent to the new Washington Planning and Service Center the master plan brief and the reproducibles of the Antietam master plan and the road and trail system plan "as this area is now under your jurisdiction."[117]

Despite the effort put into developing a master plan for Antietam by the park staff, the Northeast Regional Office, and the Eastern Office, Design and Construction, from 1962 to 1966, Director Hartzog still had not approved the plan by late January 1967! On January 20 of that year Edward S. Peetz, chief, Office of Resource Planning, Washington Planning and Service Center, informed Antietam Superintendent Lessem:

> We have been requested by the Washington office to supply you with a copy of the map and report containing the recommendations of the now dissolved Land Acquisition Committee for Civil War Areas. These recommendations were generally approved by the Director, and legislation is being drafted for authority to acquire the needed land ....
>
> The Master Plan has been revised to conform with the aforementioned proposals but is being held in abeyance pending the final legislative package. We hope that the log jam gets unplugged soon so that you can have an approved Master Plan to guide Antietam management and development.[118]

The land acquisition program was the stumbling block in the way of final approval.

MASTER PLAN SHEETS PRODUCED, 1960-1967:

Name of Plan	Date	No. of Plan
1. Historical Base Map of Antietam National Cemetery	Sept. 12, 1960	3014

---

[115] Ibid., two memos, both January 28, 1966, from Garrison to Chief, EODC.

[116] Chief, Office of Resource Planning, PSC, to Assistant Director, August 8, 1966.

[117] Ibid. Allen T. Edmunds, Chief, Office of Resource Planning, PSC, to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, WSC, August 8, 1966.

[118] Ibid., Peetz to Lessem, January 20, 1967.

2.	Historical Base Map, September 17, 1862 by Edwin C. Bearss and Sloat. Scale 1" = 900' 24" x 36"	Feb. 27, 1962	3027
3.	Troop Movement Maps, Battle of Antietam, September 16 and 17, 1862, 10 sheets, by Edwin C. Bearss and Sloat, 24" x 36". Scale 1" = 900'.	March 27, 1962	3028, 1-10
4.	Visitor Use Plan, 1965	April 1965	3033
5.	Interpretive and Visitor Use Plan, 1962	Nov. 15, 1962	3034
6.	Utilities and Communication Plan, 1965	March 1965	3100
7.	Basic Information for Visitor, 2 sheets	1965	3103, 1-2.
8.	Management Program: the land, the visitor, the staff, management schedule, 4 sheets.	1965	3104, 1-4.
9.	Objectives--Resource Conservation, Visitor Use, and Communication.	1965	3105.
10.	Development, Analysis and Development Area Narrative, 3 sheets.	1965	3106, 1-3.
11.	Monument Base Map, by Hoppe, Grace	April 1965	3107.
12.	Resource Management Plan	April 1965	3108.
13.	Historical Base Map, 1961	May 31, 1961	3016.
14.	1862 Historical Fence and Wall Base Map, prepared by Robert L. Lagemann, May 7, 1965; submitted to Northeast Regional Office, September 13, 1965, and to Eastern office, Design and Construction, October 6, 1965.	1965	Draft of
15.	General Development Plan, Interim and Long Range, two sheets	1965	3007-H,1-2.

The major objectives of the 1966 draft of the Antietam master plan were:

VISITOR SERVICES

To expand the information program in the visitor center to tell the visitor what he may see and do in the park. This is necessary to his fuller understanding of the battle of Antietam and his enjoyment of the park visit.

To complete the interpretive treatment of the visitor center so that the visitor may understand the significance of the battle and relate the battle to the landscape in a meaningful way; and to install the field interpretive devices on the park tour road to tell the story of specific aspects of the battle.

To provide a luncheon area because of the demonstrated need for such a facility.

To provide a hiking trail in a scenic section of the park.

To provide more effective interpretation of the national cemetery.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Continue program of re-creation of the historic scene through replanting of woods and orchards, selected restoration of historic roads, fences, etc., continued management of farms under permittees, eventual provision of a permanent maintenance facility, and continue efforts to acquire lands within the authorized boundary in less than fee.

Visitor use objectives included the following proposals (in part):

Trail System--Make park features not reached by the tour road accessible by means of a system of trails and walks.

Primary Use Pattern--Make certain that the primary use pattern focuses visitor attention on the battlefield and that no development or secondary use pattern impinges on this invaluable resource.

Secondary Uses--Explore, compatible with the purpose of the park, secondary uses for certain sections of the park; i.e., lunch, nature walks on banks of Antietam Creek.

Resource conservation--Objectives relating to history and museum collections.

Farm Program--Develop agricultural program for all farm properties, operated under special use permits, that are in harmony with their historic use pattern of 1862.

Preservation of Features--Formulate plans for preservation and selective restoration of distinctive features, both man made and natural, essential to maintain the integrity of the historic scene . . . .

Care of Museum Items--Preserve museum items and historic objects through the application of accepted techniques and scientific advances.

Scope of Collections--Assure that the scope of the museum collection will be directly related to the battle of Antietam, the participants, and the social, political, and military significance of the battle.

National Cemetery--Manage the Antietam National Cemetery so as to return it to and preserve its general historic character.

Communication objectives relating to interpretation were (in part):

Interpretive Theme--Present effectively the interpretive theme, which theme is the battle of Antietam and its military, political, diplomatic, and morale results.

Subthemes--Develop and interpret subthemes; i.e., Clara Barton story, Civil War Ordnance, Piper or Dorsey Farm as an example of a western Maryland agricultural unit in 1862 . . . .

Interpretive Program--Undertake the formulation and execution of a program for the most effective presentation of the park story, particularly its major interpretive theme.

Information--Expand the orientation and information programs so that the visitor is made aware of all park features and values . . . .

Research--Set up a comprehensive research program with initial attention on the role of individual divisions in the battle of Antietam.

Personal Interpretation--To provide, wherever and whenever possible, personal interpretive services.

Future park management policies intended to preserve the historical values of Antietam National Battlefield Site should include:

Re-Creation and Maintenance of the Historic Scene

-Continuing effort to acquire up to 1,200 acres in less than fee.

-Continuing cooperation with Washington County and subdivisions thereof in obtaining suitable zoning.

-Demolition of all non-historic structures not required for farm permittees.

-Restoration, where indicated, of roads, fences, vegetative cover, and other landscape features.

-Maintenance of Mumma Cemetery through cooperative agreement if and when necessary to assure proper care.

Care of Historic Structures

-Sherrick House and brick wash house to be preserved as exhibits-in-place.

Civil War Monuments

-Monuments will be kept in repair.

Antietam National Cemetery

-To be maintained in accord with the original conception.

-Residence and garage to be considered for removal as they are intrusions on scene.

-Farm operations under special use permits are to continue; necessary new construction, alteration or obliteration of non-historic structures to be permitted as required, guideline for maintenance and repair by permittees to be established.[119]

Approved by the regional director, Northeast Region, and the chief, Eastern Office, Design and Construction, during the summer of 1965, these policies could be applied during the years 1965 to 1967, although Director Hertzog had the final sanction.

The director, however, never signed the 1966 version of the Antietam Master Plan. In the winter of 1970-71 a special study team visited Antietam and prepared a new "Antietam National Battlefield Site Master Plan," 66 pages, published in 1972.

12. RESEARCH, 1960-1967

a. Historical Research

Between 1960 and 1967 park historian Lagemann scheduled some 34 historical research projects. Five of these proposals, however, were so minor that he did not leave a record of them or report the results of Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, to the regional office. Consequently, the number of research projects considered in this study is 29. Of this figure, 16 were completed by park historians, one was dropped from the list, and 12 projects were not completed.

---

[119] Park file D18-Extracted from master plan brief for Antietam, July 7, 1965, 13 pages.

A list of the historical research projects, programmed with the approval of the regional office, 1960-1967, reads:

List of Approved Research Projects at Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1960-1967[120]

Project No.	Title of Project	Prepared by	Estimated Cost	Actual Cost
1.	Historical Base Map, Battlefield, 10 Troop Movement Maps, and Documentation of 11 Maps.	Research Historian Edwin C. Bearss		$825.00
2.	Clara Barton at Antietam, 1862.	Robert L. Lagemann		Completed 100%.
3.	Historic Grounds Report and History of Antietam National Cemetery (ANT-H-1)	Robert L. Lagemann		10% completed, 1967. $1,450.
4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 (minor projects)				Results not reported.
9.	McClellan's Battle for Antietam (ANT-H-8).		$ 850	0% completed.
10.	Analytical Study of Burnside's IX Corps at Antietam (ANT-H-3).		$1,900	0% completed.
11.	Post-Antietam Operations through September 21, 1862 (ANT-H-7).		$950	0% completed.
12.	Battle Logistics, Union and Confederate, 1862.	Project dropped in 1964 from list of proposed work.		0% completed.

---

[120] Data extracted from Priority List-Research Program, Form 10-20 and Project Report-Research Program, January 1, 1973, January 1, 1964, Resource Study Proposals for 1965 Fiscal Year, 1966, 1967, in Park File 2617.

13.	The Attack on the Sunken Road, Operations of Richardson's and French's Division.	Historian Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.		100% completed.
14.	Historic Structure Report, Part I, Dunkard Church, Historical Data Section.	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed.
15.	Analytical Study of Action of Greene's Division.	Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.		100% completed.
16.	Historic Grounds Report, The Environs of the Dunkard Church.	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed.
17.	Operations of Sedgewick's Division in the West Woods.	Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.		100% completed.
18.	Historic Structure Report, Part I, The Mumma Farm Buildings.	Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.		100% completed.
19.	Operations of Williams' Division (ANT-H-6).		$1,275	5% completed.
20.	Analytical Study of Hooker's I Corps at Antietam (ANT-H-4).		$1,900	20% completed.
21.	Furnishing Plan for Dunkard Church.	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed.
22.	Historic Structure Report, Part I, War Correspondents Arch at Crampton's Gap, Md.- Historical Data Section.	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed.
23.	Historic Structure Report, Part I, The Stone Wall at the Burnside Bridge.	Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.		100% completed.
24.	Battery Positions at Antietam (ANT-H-2). (This report said to be 40% complete on January 1, 1964.)	Robert L. Lagemann		40% completed.

25.	Analytical Study, Battle of South Mountain (Turner's and Fox's Gaps) (ANT-H-5).	John W. Bryce, Jr.	$1,025.	100% completed. Cost $1.80
26.	Historic Structure Report, Part I, The Burnside Bridge, 16 (ANT-H-16).	Harold I. Lessem		100% completed. Cost $1.35
27.	Historic Ownership of Battlefield Land by Brethren Farmers (ANT-H-9).		$550	0% completed.
28.	Monuments and Other Structural Landmarks at Antietam. Historic Structure Reports, (ANT-H-10).		$1,350	0% completed.
29.	Historic Structures Report, Part I, The Rostrum in the National Cemetery (ANT-H-11).	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed. Cost - $2.05
30.	Historic Structure Report: The Piper Farm Buildings (ANT-H-12).		$1,425	8% completed.
31.	Historic Structure Report. The Sherrick Farm Building Includes the Smoke House. PCP, P-16 (ANT-H-13).		$2,325	5% completed.
32.	The Sherrick Farm House Historic Structures Report PCP-B-16, U-12 (ANT-H-14).			0% completed.
33.	1862 Stone Fences along Branch Avenue, Historic Structures Report. (ANT-H-15) PCP-R-35.			
34.	Historical Base Map showing location and type of fences in 1862 (ANT-H-16).	Robert L. Lagemann		100% completed.

16 projects completed, 1 dropped, total of estimated costs: $16,705.00
12 projects not completed, 5 never reported.

Estimated cost is the figure provided by historian Lagemann of the funds necessary to complete the project. The total includes money for the historian's salary during the time required, travel, photocopying, supplies, and materials, but not for publication.

Actual Cost is the figure provided by historian Lagemann on the completion report. It includes money spent for photocopying and acquiring photographs used in reports, but does not include money for travel or the historian's salary during the time he worked on the project. The exceptions are projects which include the historian's salary but not his travel and photocopying expenses.

b. Problems and Accomplishments

Project No. I: Historical Base Map, 10 troop movement maps, and documentation of the 11 maps. This basic task should have been completed by the National Park Service in 1934 but was never attempted. Regional Director Lee decided in 1961 to solve this problem by "borrowing" from Region One the services of Research Historian Edwin C. Bearss, one of the nation's leading authorities on the Civil War, then stationed at Vicksburg National Military Park, for temporary assignment at Antietam.

Accordingly, on April 17, Lee explained to Region One Director Elbert Cox:

> As you know, interpretive developments are proceeding apace at Antietam. Next year's program includes the construction of a badly-needed Visitor Center on the New York Monument plot and field interpretive developments to the amount of $25,000.
>
> In the course of conducting preliminary planning for the latter, we have realized more than ever the need for an accurate Historical Base Map, showing original ground cover, roads, gun positions and the like. The Park Historian assigned the area has been unable to find the time for the completion of such a project, and does not expect to in the near future. Antietam, as you doubtless know, has been understaffed over the years and the Park Historian has his hands full handling day-to-day visitor services.
>
> Because of his known facility with such work, we wonder if Historian Bearss might be loaned to us for the accomplishment of this much-needed task. With the well-known Cope maps available, as well as Major Hanson's artillery studies, we estimate one full month's time would be sufficient. We would finance Mr. Bearss from existing PS&S funds. Could Mr. Bearss' services be had for the month of May? Barring that, sometime during the summer?[121]

---

[121] Park File H2215, Lee to Regional Director, Region One, April 17, 1961.

This detail was arranged and a work order in the amount of $450 was provided Region One on May 1.[122] Historian Bearss arrived in Philadelphia on May 15. He visited Antietam to study the problem and on May 17, Park Superintendent Davis advised Regional Director Lee:

> Region One Research Historian Ed Bearss informs us that he can, with an extension of his time for two additional weeks, prepare a series of ten (10) troop movement maps for Antietam National Battlefield Site.
>
> We need these maps very much. Therefore, we ask that you request from Region One an extension of this time for him. At the most, the cost should be his salary for two weeks--a total of $291.20. This sum could be taken from the PS&S funds now available . . .[123]

The Region Five Office endorsed this suggestion and Acting Regional Director Palmer informed Region One Director Cox that if this two week extension with historian Bearss working at his Vicksburg home base was agreeable, "We are prepared to finance the additional salary and typing assistance involved, to the amount of $325."[124]

Research historian Bearss transmitted rough drafts of one historical base and ten troop movement maps and the documentation for the historical base map and the order of battle to Regional Director Lee on June 26, 1961.[125] On July 5, he submitted to Lee the documentation to support the ten troop movement maps.[126] The regional office transmitted this material to the chief, Eastern Office, Design and Construction, to have final renderings of the 11 maps prepared.[127] On October 18 the acting regional director, Northeast Region, informed Superintendent Davis that "Due to the press of other matters, EODC has not been able to get to the Historical Base Map" prepared by Bearss, but would finish it during the fall.[128]

---

[122] Ibid. Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer to Regional Director, Region One, May 1, 1962.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid., Acting Assistant Regional Director, Region Five to Supt., October 18, 1961.

Research historian Bearss made final corrections and additions to Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3027, Historical Base Map (September 1862), Antietam, on March 5, 1962.[129] On March 27, 1962 he completed a similar review of Master Plan Drawing NBS-ANT-3028, 10 sheets, Troop Movement Maps, September 16-17, 1862, Battle of Antietam.[130]

Two reports were also written by research historian Bearss as a part of Project No. 1:

(a) "Documentation for Historical Base Map (NBS-ANT-3027), Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Maryland," typescript, June 1961, 80 pages.

(b) "Documentation for Troop Movement Maps (NBS-ANT-3028, ten sheets) for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Sharpsburg, Maryland," typescript, June 1961, 71 pages.

Project No. 2 "Clara Barton at Antietam," typescript, December 26, 1961, 89 pp. by park historian Robert L. Lagemann:

The successful public relations uses to which this report was applied during the 1962 centennial commemoration have been previously detailed in this chapter. During the period 1961 to 1971 park historian Lagemann's research report was regarded as a successful and documented resolution of the question on the location of Clara Barton's field hospital during the Battle of Antietam. But, in March 1971, park historian James B. Atkinson reviewed the Lagemann report and found some evidence that historian Lagemann had not considered. The result was Atkinson's report, "The Location of the 'Clara Barton Hospital' at Antietam, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland," typescript, March 1971, 91 pages. Atkinson championed the Samuel Poffenberger Farm, the traditional site, as the proper location of the Clara Barton hospital, rather than the Middlekauff Farm as proposed by Lagemann. The Atkinson's study established that the "most probable" site of the Clara Barton Hospital was on the Samuel Poffenberger Farm.

Historian Lagemann had reached his erroneous conclusion as to location by these errors: (1) by making the mistaken assumption that her hospital was on the Joseph Poffenberger Farm rather than on the correct traditional site, the Samuel Poffenberger Farm; (2) by studying only two, the Samuel Poffenberger and Middlekauff farms, out of six or seven farms where the hospital might have been located; (3) by considering principally Clara Barton's writings and failing to carefully consult many of the published 1862 medical maps and reports prepared by Union officers regarding the battle. Ironically, these items had been collected by historian Lagemann in 1960; and lastly (4), Lagemann failed to gain access to the extant 1862 farm houses to inspect their cellars, which Clara Barton had described in some detail.

---

[129] Ibid., Bearss to Chief, EODC, March 5, 1962.
[130] Ibid.

With the aid of the evidence provided by historian Atkinson in 1971, the following analysis of the Lagemann hypothesis is possible:

(a). Lagemann had demolished the Joseph Poffenberger Farm as a possible Clara Barton site by correctly stating that all of the troop movement maps and 1862 hospital and medical maps indicated that the Joseph Poffenberger Farm was never used as a hospital.

(b). Lagemann then made the erroneous assumption, apparently based on the process of elimination, that the Clara Barton Hospital had to be located on the Middlekauff Farm.

(c). If, however, Lagemann had consulted the 1862 medical reports and maps more carefully, he would have discovered that while the Middlekauff Farm was used as a Union Army Hospital during the opening phase of the battle, the hospital was shelled and evacuated early on September 17 and "filled in" that same evening. These events did not fit in with the detailed account written by Miss Barton and quoted by historian Lagemann in his report. In other words, the medical reports actually eliminated the Middlekauff Farm as a possible site for the Clara Barton Hospital, provided that Miss Barton was giving an accurate account of her activities on September 17.

(d). Finally, the Samuel Poffenberger Farm, the traditional site of Clara Barton's hospital, according to historian Atkinson, passed all of the Union medical reports and map tests. In addition, a physical inspection of this structure and all of the extant 1862 farmhouses on the battlefield revealed that the Samuel Poffenberger residence was the only structure which had a chimney supported by a large brick arch in the basement, a feature described by Miss Barton in some detail in her history of the battle of Antietam. Thus the Samuel Poffenberger Farm is the most likely location of the Clara Barton Hospital.[131]

Because of the limitation on acreage the wrong site of the Clara Barton Hospital was not acquired during the years 1960-1970, but it was listed as one of the important places that should be added if the law limiting fee acquisitions were changed. During this same era, what is probably the "correct site" of the Barton hospital had a lower land acquisition priority than the Middlekauff Farm.

Project No. 13: "The Attack on the Sunken Road: Operations of Richardson's and French's Division," 53 pp., typescript, November 6, 1961, by park historian Dwight E. Stinson, Jr. A "critical, fresh, approach...well written and shrewd in its analysis...a provocative report, offering fresh analytical insight."[132]

Project No. 14: "Historic Structures Report, Part I, Historical Data Section for the Dunkard Church," 71 pp. typescript, May 25, 1960. Park historian Robert L. Lagemann: Report used in the reconstruction of the Dunkard Church in 1961-62.[133]

Project No. 15: "Analytical Study of Action of Greene's Division," 53 pp. typescript, February 2, 1961, by park historian Dwight E. Stinson. Study of attack in vicinity of the Dunkard Church and the New York plot. "This is a fine little research study, particularly noteworthy for its critical approach to accepted battle authorities, and its use of the War Department battlefield markers as supplementary source data."[134]

---

[131] There was also the problem noticed by regional historian Frank Barnes in 1962, namely that the number of 1862 buildings standing on the Middlekauff farm exceeded the number of structures that Clara Barton described as standing on the farm that she used as a hospital in 1862.

[132] Park File H2215, letter of review, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, Region Five, January 19, 1962, citing remarks of regional historian Frank Barnes.

[133] No letter of review found in Park File H2215. Research project No. 14 assigned to report by author, as no descriptive sheet for the Dunkard Church project.

[134] Letter of Review of Regional Historian Frank Barnes, Region Five, to Superintendent, Antietam, March 10, 1961-Park File H2215.

Project No. 16: "Historic Grounds Report: The Environs of the Dunkard Church," 37 pp. typescript, March 12, 1962, by park historian Robert L. Lagemann.

Project No. 17: "Operations of Sedgwick's Division in the West Woods," 60 pp. typescript, March 30, 1962, by park historian Dwight E. Stinson, Jr.[135]

"Another fine study . . . sheds valuable new light on an important phase of this battle."

This report is also notable because it marks the first extensive use by Antietam park historians of the General Ezra A. Carman Papers, including some of the 1894-1897 work of the War Department Antietam Board, eight boxes, in the Library of Congress.

On April 23, 1962, Dr. Tilberg, park historian at Gettysburg National Military Park, had given Antietam Superintendent Davis a detailed two-page inventory of the Carman Papers in the Library of Congress. Similar papers in the National Archives, however, remained unused.[136]

Project No. 18: "Historic Structures Report, Part I [or Field Survey]: Mumma Farmstead," 19 pp. typescript, January 26, 1962. A detailed documented account of the military action on the Mumma Farm, September 17, 1862; also two 1862 illustrations of the farm buildings. No data on construction of structures.

Project No. 21: "Historic Structures Report, Part I--Furnishing Plan for the Dunkard Church," 19 pp. typescript, June 17, 1962, park historian Robert L. Lagemann.

Project No. 22: Park historian Robert L. Lagemann: "Historic Structures Report, Part I, Historical Data Section for the War Correspondents Arch, Cramptons Gap, Maryland," 16 pp. typescript, May 1961. Data largely from newspaper articles of 1940s and NPS correspondence of the same period.

---

[135] Park File H2215-Assistant Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch to Director, August 27, 1962.

[136] Acting Regional Director J. Carlisle Crouch to Supt. Antietam, May 3, 1962, with copy of inventory, in Park File 2215.

Project No. 23: "Historic Structures Report, Part I--Historical Data Section for Stone Wall, Burnside Bridge Area," 8 pp. typescript, November 21, 1961, by park historian Dwight E. Stinson.
Excellent, chain of title, 1862 photos, use and description in 1862.

Project No. 24: by park historian Robert L. Lagemann:

This project was reported as 40% done on January 1, 1964, but no research report was ever completed. The results of Mr. Lagemann's study, however, may have been utilized. In the highlights for the 1965 calendar year, Superintendent Lessem reported:

> Cannon. To stress the role of artillery in the Battle of Antietam all of our cannon were placed on the Battlefield. Each location was carefully studied so that our cannon now mark a significant artillery battery position. Needless to add, the presence of numerous cannon has enhanced the martial aspect of the former dark and bloody battleground.

Project No. 25: "The Battle of South Mountain, Antietam National Battlefield Site," 103 pp. typescript, with maps, appendix, and bibliography, May 1865, by park historian John W. Bryce, Jr.:

Historian Bryce began work on this project in 1962 and the study was described as 70% complete on January 1, 1963, and January 1, 1964. The battles on South Mountain were fought on September 14, 1862.

Project No. 26: "Historic Structures Report, Part I, Administrative and Historical Data Sections for the Burnside Bridge," 5 pp., typescript, May 1964, by Superintendent Harold I. Lessem:

This may be adequate for a Part I preliminary study; the data presented on the one page historical data section may also be accurate, but the sources of this information are not given.

Project No. 29: "Historic Structures Report, Part I, Historical Data Section for the Rostrum in the National Cemetery," 8 pp., typescript and plan, June 1964 by park historian Robert L. Lagemann:

This report is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The park historian investigated National Archives Record Group No. 92, Entry 576, Box 131 in 1964 and found the original contract and part of the documents. But in this same box, which contained perhaps 500 pages, and also Box 130, were many more documents relating to the construction of the rostrum in 1879 and its maintenance to 1890 that Mr. Lagemann apparently did not see and certainly did not use in his report.

Project No. 34: by park historian Robert L. Lagemann. Preparation of an historical base map showing the location and type of fences in use on the battlefield in 1862. Mr. Lagemann reported that he had completed drafting this map (in rough copy) on May 7, 1965, and submitted the map to the regional director, Northeast Region, on September 13, 1965. Acting Regional Director Palmer acknowledged receipt of the fence plan on October 5 and on the 6th transmitted the plan to the chief, Eastern Office, Design and Construction. There is no evidence that the design office ever produced a final drawing of this plan. A copy of the rough draft, however, should have been retained in the park files in September 1965.

This completes a review of the historical research projects completed during the years 1960 to 1967. This era was certainly "the golden era" for historical research conducted at the park to that date, both in quantity and quality. Nevertheless, there appears to have been some problems that were probably due to the fact that this was the first Park Service assignment for all of the park historians of this period. Although thousands of dollars under Mission 66 were coming and the park boundaries were to be expanded, historian Lagemann was apparently fascinated, at least at first, with more romantic studies of troop movements and actions, than with the more prosiac consideration of farm houses, buildings, fences, and chains of title.

The most important and curious example of the failure to execute studies of physical histories of important park historical structures relates to the Antietam National Cemetery. Historian Lagemann established this as Project No. 3, with priority no. 1, in January 1963, listed it as Priority No. 2 with 9% complete on January 1, 1964. In the revisions of the forms that took place in April 1964, this became ANT-H-1, and on June 30, 1965, was reported as 10% complete. Regional Director Lee expressed a strong personal interest in having a "Historic Grounds Report" prepared for the national cemetery in 1964 and continued to press for the completion of this report, but without success. On January 16, 1964, Regional Director Lee thus informed Superintendent Lessem:

> In your memorandum of January 14, "Adjustments in Construction Programs for 1964 FY and Previous Years," we were pleased to learn of the progress being made in gathering historical information on the National Cemetery.
>
> The need for a thorough study of this uniquely historic cemetery has long been recognized--in fact, an Historic Landscape (or Grounds) Report was scheduled late in 1961, when tree and shrub replacement was being contemplated. Through a combination of circumstances this report was not prepared.
>
> However, the need remains, and in the absence of funds available to this office for research, we suggest you seek the assistance of the Eastern National Park & Monument Association for such funds as you will need for microfilm, travel, etc. We would suggest, too, that preparation of an Historic Grounds Report be given high priority.[137]

Lee returned to the attack on December 24, 1964, writing to Lessem:

> This confirms the telephone conversation this date between Historian Robert Lagemann and Resource Studies Advisor M.H. Nelligan regarding the subject Resource Study Proposal (RSP):
>
> 1. R.S.P. Ant-H-1, "History of Antietam National Cemetery", is to be revised and retitled Historical Data Section, "Historic Grounds Report," Part I and II, if and when a construction project for the rehabilitation and replanting of the National Cemetery is programmed. Otherwise, it will be retitled "Documentation, Historical Base Map," the purpose of the project being the preparation of an Historical Base Map and a Vegetative Cover Plan for the National Cemetery.
>
> 2. A new R.S.P. will be submitted for the Historic Structures Report, Rostrum, which report was completed this fiscal year.
>
> 3. A new R.S.P. will be submitted for the Historic Structures Report, (Historic Data Section) Lodge (Gate House), if and when construction or non-recurring maintenance project is programmed for this structure.[138]

Superintendent Lessem responded on January 5, 1965, with regards to Resource Study Proposal ANT-H-1, explaining that historian

---

[137] Park File D22.
[138] Ibid.

Lagemann now proposed to subdivide the project into four or five projects as follows:

1. The Historic Grounds Report
2. The Historic Base Map (for Antietam National Cemetery)
3. Historic Structure Report on the Rostrum
4. Historic Structure Report on the lodge (former Park Headquarters). We also suggest a fifth separate study be prepared on the National Cemetery, in order that the full scope of coverage outlined in the original ANT-H-1 may some day be completed.
5. A History of the Cemetery, its administration, maintenance and public use under jurisdiction of the State of Maryland, the U.S. War Department, and the National Park Service.[139]

In 1966 the National Park Service was in the process of establishing an office that would conduct historical, architectural, and archeological research for the various parks. On November 9 historian Lagemann suggested that only two of the uncompleted research projects, Nos. 3 or ANT-H-1, and No. 10, or ANT-H-3, be retained for the park historians to work on. He explained:

> Of the RSPs previously written up for research at Antietam, I believe we have two on which work can be done by Park Historians in FY 1967 & 1968; and we have two that are PCP related that can best be programmed for the Research Teams.
>
> The Subject Memorandum is concerned only with those projects that are not PCP related, that is the RSPs on which park personnel can be expected to work on rather than the Research Teams.
>
> One of them is RSP Number ANT-H-3, "Analytical Study of Burnside's IX Corps at Antietam." This was first written up in April, 1964, when the RSP system went into effect. It was estimated that completion would take 3 months of uninterrupted research, study, and writing. This can be begun in FY 1967 and continued into FY 1968, as 3 months of uninterrupted research are not likely to be available in the remainder of FY 1967 for this subject. I believe a Park Historian (myself) can do this job more effectively than a Research Team member because of the long time it takes to get a proper perspective or background for this subject. Also, knowledge already obtained on the job can be readily applied to the subject by park personnel.
>
> The other RSP is ANT-H-1, "Historic Grounds Report: Antietam National Cemetery." The above reasons also apply to this subject as being more effectively completed by park personnel than by Research Team members who have had no

---

139. Ibid.

> background association with the subject. In addition, some progress has already been made in past years by myself and in recent months by Historian Bryce. As it now stands the project is divided into two phases: that period when Maryland was the responsible administrative body, and thereafter under the U.S. Government (War Dept. and NPS.) A status report on this subject was last made in September, 1965, when it was estimated the project was 10% completed.
>
> Because of the groundwork already done on these projects, and because of the close personal association both have with the regular interpretive functions of Park Historians here, I believe the work can thus be more economically and effectively completed. I have no new RSPs to suggest for FY 1968.[140]

On January 26, 1967, Robert M. Utley, acting chief of the newly formed Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, located in Washington, informed Superintendent Lessem that the suggested projects, ANT-H-1 and ANT-H-3, "have been approved for accomplishment by Park Historians Lagemann and Bryce in Fiscal Year 1968."[141] The two proposed projects were never completed.

A curious aspect of the national cemetery study relates to the failure of historian Lagemann to collect the pertinent data when he was preparing the Rostrum Historic Structures Report in 1964. The PCP (Project Construction Proposal) indicates that $500 was available for this study. National Archives, R.G. 92, Entry 576, Boxes 130 and 131 contain much of the documentation necessary to write a physical and administrative history of Antietam National Cemetery from 1864 to 1890. These documents could have been microfilmed (at two cents per page) in 1964. With this information and collection of Cemetery Record Books, 1865-1933, in the park museum, historian Lagemann could have written the cemetery studies during the winter travel seasons of the years 1965, 1966, and 1967.

There were other factors at work: The Project Construction Proposals (PCPs) for the Sherrick Farm Smoke House and the Sherrick Farm House, approved by Regional Director Lee on June 9, 1965, indicate that $32,900 would be spent on these historic structures, but not one cent of this sum was earmarked for research.

---

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid. File 2215.

c. Architectural Research

Supervising Architect Franzen, stationed at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park from 1955 to date, prepared these architectural data sections of historic structures reports for Antietam buildings during the years 1960 to 1968:

1. "Architectural Data Section prepared for the Reconstruction of the Dunkard Church, Antietam National Battlefield Site," October 31, 1960, 99 pp., typescript, 4 photos, and 6 drawings."

2. "Architectural Data Section for the Burnside Bridge," 4 pp. typescript, 2 photos, and 2 drawings. April 1964. Used to restore 1862 appearance.

3. "Historic Structures Report, Part III (Completion report)-Reconstruction of Dunkard Church," 9 pp. typescript, November 21, 1962.

4. "Historic Structures Report, Park I, Architectural Data Section for the Rostrum in the National Cemetery," 11 pp. typescript, October 1965.

5. "Historic Structures Survey Report--Architectural Data Section for the Piper Farm, Dorsey Farm, and Spielman Farm, Antietam National Battlefield Site," 12 pp. typescript, 10 photos and 6 plans, October 1968.

d. Archeological Research

On June 18, 1966, Superintendent Lessem submitted to regional archeologist John Cotter and John Corbett, chief, Archeological Studies, copies of Form 189 "calling for archeological work on the Burnside Bridge Road and the Hagerstown-Sharpsburg Pike."

Acting Chief Zorro A. Bradley, Division of Archeological Studies, approved the projects on July 28, 1966, noting: "It is understood that these projects [involving survey and tests] are limited in scope and that construction funds are available."[142]

ANT-A-1 consisted of an archeological survey of the Hagerstown Pike (State Route 65) to determine its dimensions and mode of construction in 1862. Three trenches were to be excavated with a backhoe to complete this survey.

---

[142] Ibid. Park File H2215.

ANT-A-2 was to excavate selected sections of the Burnside Bridge approach road to determine the dimensions, construction materials, and meanders of the approach of the bridge in 1862. It was estimated that it would be necessary to excavate five simple trenches on each side of the bridge. Most of the digging would be done by machinery, and one archeologist and two laborers could handle this project.

On September 16, 1966, regional archeologist Cotter informed chief archeologist Corbett that this work had been undertaken by archeologist Dick Ping Hsu of the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center in August 1966 and had been accomplished without cost by the Job Corps.

Dick Ping Hsu reported his findings in two studies entitled: "Archeological Survey and Tests, Hagerstown Pike," and "Archeological Tests, Burnside Bridge Road," written in August 1966.[143]

13. PROTECTION, 1960-1967

Records available for this period are few. Ranger Hugh L. Crenshaw, who reported for duty in August 1962, conducted detailed inspections of park buildings as a part of the fire prevention program at Antietam annually in 1962, 1963, and 1964 and prepared reports on his findings. As additional farms and their buildings were acquired and added to the park, the problem of building fires increased. In his annual report of building fire hazard inspection for the 1964 fiscal year, ranger Crenshaw explained his problems, which included an old and physically unfit "fire crew" composed of Park Service employees, in the following manner:

> Should a fire break out, our main problems would be the lack of a municipal water supply system, the inadequacy of our present fire cache consisting of $400 worth of tools and extinguishers, and the limited number of physically able fire fighting personnel.
>
> With the outbreak of fire, we would necessarily depend largely on immediate suppression activities by battlefield employees. In this connection, the Antietam fire protection organization consists of three able-bodied permanent employees: 1 Park Ranger, 1 Historian, and 1 Janitor. The Superintendent and 2 Caretakers are over 50 years of age and thus limited in endurance on an active fire line. The Maintenanceman underwent a serious back operation last year,

---

[143] WASO File H2215.

> and one of the Historians is undergoing hospital treatment for a similar malady now. Our shortage of physically able fire fighters may be a crucial factor in the event fire does break out in the future.
>
> Presently, we have within the sphere of our jurisdiction and protection forty-three (43) structures with a combined value of almost half a million dollars ($500,000). More than half of those newly acquired structures are old and dilapidated, and totally devoid of any form of protection against fire. Most of them are in need of immediate attention, and should either be demolished and removed from the premises, or repaired and made free of fire hazards.
>
> There are eight primary structures in the area, the John and Albert Turner houses having been demolished last year and the first part of this year.[144]

Ranger Crenshaw was transferred to Lake Mead National Recreation Area on July 6, 1965, and Superintendent Lessem was forced to write the inspection report for the 1965 fiscal year.[145]

In the Mission 66 master plan briefs, prepared in July 1965, the resource conservation objectives called for:

> Maintenance and Protection: Emphasize and apply comprehensive maintenance and protection programs for the conservation of park resources and the safeguarding of the government's investment in park facilities. Protection against fire is a prime problem.
>
> Protection Cooperation: Foster close working relationship with volunteer fire companies and county and State police organizations.
>
> Visitor Protection
>
> A communication system, perhaps tied in with Harpers Ferry and C&O Canal, is needed.[146]

There is no record of building fires at Antietam National Battlefield Site from August 10, 1933, to January 1, 1954, or from July 1, 1960, to July 29, 1965, and probably none to December 31, 1967.

---

[144] Park File A7631-Building Fires and Reports, 1962-1965. Ranger Crenshaw to Supt. Lessem, July 15, 1964.

[145] Ibid., Supt. Lessem to Regional Director, Northeast Region, July 29, 1965.

[146] Park File-D18.

CHAPTER X

ANTIETAM ECLIPSED

December 17, 1967-June 30, 1974

SELECTED SUBJECTS

Because the monthly and annual reports of the superintendents, together with many other key documents, are not available, this chapter will be devoted only to selected subjects rather than a history of all phases of Antietam's operations. The destruction of the Antietam National Battlefield Site records in 1967 and the unavailability of records from the Federal Record Center in Suitland, Maryland, render a comprehensive study of Antietam's history from 1967-1974 impossible. No Antietam records have been found at the C & O Canal headquarters. Much of the material represented in this chapter is offered verbatim in hopes that the scant information available may be utilized to its utmost as reference.

I. INTERPRETIVE PROSPECTUS 1970

In 1970 Antietam-C&O Canal Superintendent W. Dean McClanahan and Chief, Office of Environmental Planning & Design, Jay Bright recommended an interpretive prospectus which General Superintendent, National Capital Parks, Russell E. Dickenson approved on February 20. The prospectus was prepared to support an exhibit plan for Antietam's visitor center. The Division of Museums had funds in its 1971 FY Program to construct the exhibits. Major emphasis in the prospectus was given on guidelines to permit exhibit planners to develop an exhibit plan as soon as the prospectus was approved. The prospectus served as the basis for programming, planning, and construction funds for additional interpretation at the park (e.g. the lobby and audiovisual observation room of the visitor center, the Dunkard Church, and the Lodge).

> THE VISITOR CENTER
>
> When the headquarters of the Antietam-C&O Canal NPS Group was established . . . the auditorium (bomb shelter) space was converted to office use and the audiovisual program transferred to the observation room of the Visitor Center. At [that] time certain changes were made in the lobby to facilitate operations there. These changes were considered temporary, at best, and plans . . . rectify deficiencies. In addition, the museum has, since its installation, never been considered a success, due to the crowded character of the room, the narrative approach of the exhibits and repetition of certain information in both the displays and the audiovisual program (the latter was not envisioned in original planning for the Visitor Center; the auditorium came as a surprise dividend because it could also function as a national emergency shelter).
>
> The visitor traffic flow pattern in the Visitor Center is poor. The lobby is too small. The park has a PCP on file which calls for enlargement of the lobby area. It would approximately double the available space. This proposal, together with provision for outside entrances to the restrooms and outside drinking fountains, should do much to improve the traffic flow pattern. At the time of planning for the enlarged lobby, the architects might investigate the need for a separate passageway from the observation room to the museum. The lobby expansion is programmed in 1973 FY. (Currently park visitation is approximately 400,000 a year, of which some 200,000 enter the Visitor Center.)[1]

---

[1] Interpretive Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, February 20, 1970, pp. 1-2.

THE LOBBY

Major changes in the lobby were to be held off until the lobby expansion construction occurred in the 1973 FY Construction Program.

Then Jim Murfin of Publications will be consulted on the sales-browsing area functions (there are currently two browsing areas). The size and location of the information desk will also be reexamined at that time.

The orientation panel on "Nearby Historic Areas" is dated and not very exciting. It should be redesigned to include information on the C&O Canal; the designer should consider the use of color transparencies in the re-do. This project could be included in the proposed redesign of the musuem, or deferred until the planning session on the lobby expansion.

Various directional and informational signs appear throughout the building. This signage should be uniformly designed. The lettering which reads "Observation Room" should be changed to "Audio Observation Room" or a similar designation.

THE MUSEUM

The crowded nature of the room and highly narrative character of the exhibits suggest, immediately, fewer displays and greater use of historic artifacts. The room needs to be completely redesigned; some of the present cases might possibly be used in the re-do.

The concept of the exhibit, "Leaders at Antietam" is a good one and should be retained. There are two documents of special interest. One is an original printed copy of General Lee's appeal to the people of Maryland. The other is Lee's famous "Lost Order" (the original of the Jackson copy is in the North Carolina Archives and efforts might be made to obtain it for display). Good specimens currently on display are a canteen, bayonet and scabbard, tin cup, a fine saddle (the bullet hole should be pointed up) and a nice drum (which might be displayed with an available fife). Items in the "Artillery Hell" case are good and should be used in a redesigned exhibit. The same is true of specimens in the "Foot Soldier" case. The bullet penetration device is a particularly interesting presentation. The diorama should be refurbished and some minor changes made (e.g., the way one of the Confederates is holding a gun). An audio message, including the sounds of battle, should be added to make this feature more interesting. The sound should be screened if earphones cannot be used. The small case on the cavalry should be eliminated, since the specimens are not very interesting and cavalry played but a small part in the operations here. The several panels in the room should be

> retired, although the one on the Emancipation Proclamation could be redesigned to point up the stellar importance of this document in the Antietam story. The concept of the "What if?" exhibit is a good one; it might be redesigned for placement in the audio observation room. The specimens in the "Care of the Wounded" case would be used in an exhibit proposed for the Lodge . . . .
>
> The exhibits in the revised museum would, then, stress soldier life, human interest, the infantryman and his uniform, equipment, arms and ammunition and the artilleryman and the things he used. The artifacts would be played up against large graphic backgrounds. The present museum has too many small elements: lots of little photographs and labels that push the specimens into the background.
>
> Additional artifacts are available for display. The uniform coat and other items of Henry Kyd Douglas, a local man who was on General Jackson's staff, are available for display. There is a good specimen of body armor at Morristown NHP that could be displayed here. The Dunkard Bible would also have a place in the exhibits. A number of items stored in the Lodge could be considered for display in the revised museum: an original regimental flag, a lieutenant's uniform coat, various swords, belts, buckles, shells, shot, canteens, knapsacks, a small tent stove, a fife and a drum . . . .[2]

AUDIO OBSERVATION

The prospectus' authors had further recommendations for Antietam's audio observation room. They believed the current 20-minute slide program was too long and not quality interpretation. They suggested replacement with a 10-minute program stressing the Antietam campaign rather than the battle. The central theme would present Antietam as the "Apex of the Confederacy." Tied to this would be the importance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Quotes from Bruce Catton's The American Heritage Short History of the Civil War (pp. 93-97; 106-108) summarized the direction the authors believed the proposed audiovisual program should take.[3]

THE DUNKARD CHURCH

The Dunkard Church needed additional interpretation and "a more 'lived in' feeling."

> The object of the interpretation would be to people the place. There are two wooden barriers behind which visitors stand. We suggest a multi-source sound program that contrasts activities in the church before the battle with those after it.

---

[2] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[3] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

> A narrator would tell about the church and its role in the battle story . . . . The 2-3 minute narration would tell something about the congregation, who sat where and the use of the loft. It might mention the Mumma family, who with other members of the congregation, heard the sound of guns at South Mountain during the services on Sunday. On the following Wednesday, as the battle raged, their farm was burning. The church itself bore the scars of battle and the structure was used as a collecting station for the wounded. Somewhat later, President Lincoln came to the area and visited the wounded. To heighten the presentation, at each of the barriers, two graphics, oriented to the scene in front of the visitor, will support the contrast from peaceful church to witness to battle. One would show a meeting of the congregation; the other, the wounded soldiers. The scenes would light in turn and be keyed to the audio message. A specially designed rear-screen slide projector could be mounted at each of the barriers to handle the job or two back-lit transparencies could also be used. The idea is to provide some graphic reinforcement to our story.

THE TOWER

THE LODGE

SALES/PUBLICATIONS

Other recommendations included installing a short audio message to orient visitors to the scene at the Tower, using one room of the Lodge to serve as a contact station with a few exhibits focusing on the human destruction at Antietam, and redoing the 10-year old Historical Handbook to bring it up-to-date. Another point made, "There is no need to introduce souvenir items at the present time."

DEMONSTRATIONS

> The park has a musket firing demonstration which has proven effective. They would like to offer a cannon-firing demonstration, along with a display of types of ammunition, and should be encouraged in these efforts.[4]

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ZONE

> If additional land is added to the park (there are bills before Congress to acquire more property), additional interpretive themes will be developed. A Living Farm, the Clara Barton (the American Red Cross) story, an Environmental Study area, etc. These themes should be considered in a full-fledged Interpretive Prospectus for the park to be scheduled within the next year or two.

---

[4] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

> RECOMMENDATIONS
>
> This Planning Report should be used as the basis for the preparation of an Exhibit Plan and the construction of exhibits for a revised museum in the Antietam Visitor Center. An architect should be asked to join the exhibit planners during some stages of their assignment.
>
> This Planning Report should also be used as the basis for programming planning funds and construction amounts for interpretation in the Audiovisual Observation Room of the Visitor Center, the Dunkard Church, the Tower, and the Lodge.
>
> A Design Directive should be prepared for the expansion of the Visitor Center lobby. An architect will have a strong role to play in the preparation of this report.
>
> A new Interpretive Prospectus should be scheduled for the park as soon as possible.[5]

The prospectus solved the problem of integrating the various aspects of Antietam's interpretive story in just a few sentences:

> In short, the audiovisual program will concentrate on the larger meanings of Antietam, although a short synopsis of the battle might be included. The Auto Tour and publications will provide battle details. The Visitor Center Museum will stress the artifacts of Antietam.[6]

2. DESIGN DIRECTIVE -- MUSEUM REVISION

By 1972 a museum revision guideline was completed. The guideline took into account the recommendations of the interpretive prospectus concerning the museum exhibits. Emphasis would be on the soldier life and human interest aspects of the battle:

> Museum Objectives
>
> The museum will present the participants of the battle of Antietam in terms of their deep personal experiences of human interaction. It will bring out the human drama, the gamut of emotions experienced, the bravery, sacrifice and pathos of it all.
>
> The museum experience should bridge the more than a century of time that separates us from the soldiers who were here. It should allow us to establish a rapport with them and relate to them as individuals rather than impersonal large armies and tactical maneuvers.

---

[5] Ibid., p. 7.

[6] Ibid., p. 5.

> Interface with other park Interpretation
>
> While the museum will serve to present the personal aspects of the engagement, the audiovisual program will put the battle in perspective in terms of the Maryland Campaign, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the war as a whole, the battlefield tour and literature will deal with the tactical maneuvers of the battle, and personal contact will provide orientation to the park and interpret specialized aspects of the story. . . .[7]
>
> Additional Criteria
>
> Since the present visitor center is too small to adequately accommodate the number of visitors during the summer, it is important to limit the interpretive content in the museum so that it will not tend to hold the visitor more than 6 or 7 minutes.
>
> The new museum should function in two ways. First of all, as the visitor enters the museum, it should have strong initial visual impact. The room as a whole should work in this initial impact to suggest our theme. Beyond the initial visual impact, the visitor should be able to explore and sample interesting facets of the theme in a more or less random fashion.[8]

The visitor center museum was not physically renovated with new displays until 1981. See Chapter XI, Redesigned Exhibit Room for further information.

3. MONTHLY REPORTS - 1971, 1972, AND 1973

The monthly activities reports written by Robert E. Woody, Antietam District Ranger, and Charles Anibal, Acting District Ranger, for the year 1971 have been located. Monthly public use reports for 1972 and 1973, submitted by management assistant A.W. Anderson and district ranger James L. Brown have also been found. An examination of these reports provides a brief overview of Antietam staff activities and public use for these years. Remarks from the reports are offered verbatim.

---

[7] Design Directive - Museum Revision, Antietam Battlefield National Historical Park, September 19, 1972, p. 1.

[8] Ibid., p. 2.

1971

February

Personnel Actions--seasonal interviews

Safety--District personnel participated in Park-wide First Aid Course

Protection Activities--5 citations, 1 warning, 25 hours contributed overtime night patrol, assisted local authorities at accident scene

Training--First Aid (Standard)--both district personnel

Special Activities--2 interpretive talks in preparation, Snavely Ford Trail Guide, etc. 90% complete, pre-planning for visitor season 1971 started[9]

March

Protection Activities--no cases; one war department sign busted up, and a shell fragment taken from museum exhibit

Training--Robt. Wood attended Ecology factors in park management

Special Activities--Antietam District Ranger escorted Superintendent of Fort Jefferson National Monument around battlefield[11]

April

Visitation--Boy Scouts of America; 5 groups, 107 hikers, 50 miles hiked

Total Antietam visitation--30,720

Total Visitor Center Count--8,412

Personnel--Susan Mumma EOD April 4

Training--Seasonal Training, Susan Mumma

Safety--Antietam District Safety Meeting held April 26

Interpretation--Scout, Off-Site; 1 program, 20 people
Audio and Audiovisual; 3,559 program, 16,828 people

Special Activities--Television film crews; visit from Senator John Stennis[11]

---

[9] Memorandum, Antietam District Ranger to Chief VEA February 28, 1971, Park File.

[10] Memorandum, Antietam District Ranger to Chief VEA (March 1971), Park File.

[11] Monthly Activities Report, April 1971, Park File.

May

Visitation--Picnickers, 410
Boy Scouts of America; 10 groups, 290 hikers, 3,480 miles hiked
Total Antietam visitation--62,899
Total Visitor Center Count--10,428

Law Enforcement--2 convictions on battlefield (2 for hunting)

Interpretation--Hike (School), 11 programs, 464 people
Campfire Program; 1 program
Audio and Audiovisual; 316 and 2,962 program, 17,000 (partially illegible) people

Special Activities--Antietam Camporee; 472
Memorial Day Services; 400[12]

June

Visitation--Picnickers:	783
Total Antietam visitation:	24,942
Total Visitor Center Count:	13,063

Boy Scouts of America	Hiker	Biker
No. of groups:	16	7
No. in group:	454	20
No. individual miles:	2,270	160

Personnel--All seasonals now on full time.
Historian J. Atkinson resigned his position to fill a park management job with Mississippi State Parks.

Training--District Personnel attended seasonal training session June 18, 1971.

Alex Zucesky attended boat operation training June 28, 1971.

Maintenance--Ranger maintenance on District Craft - upgrading.

Law Enforcement -
5# Courtesy warnings for: Entry into closed area
2# Verbal warnings for: Wrong way -- on one-way road
2# Incident Reports for: Automobile accidents
Assisted Piedmont District with Drunk Disorderly

Safety--Checked 2 accident areas in District with Chief Safety Officer -- Recommendations submitted

Resources Management & Lands--Met with SCS Representative--Farm Lands Management report underway

Special Activities--June 16 Tuscarora Cub Scouts rained out at Snavely Ford

---

[12] Ibid., May 1971.

Interpretation --

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
Off-Site	Adult	2	46
On-Site	Battlefield Walks & Talks	103 activities/3370 people	
	Audio	4967 programs/17,385 people	
	Audiovisual	405 programs/7896 people	
	Bus Tours	7 tours/265 people[13]	

July

Visitation

Picnickers: 1364

Total Antietam visitation: 51,666

Total Visitor Center Count: 17,057

Boy Scouts of America

	Hiker
No. of groups:	7
No. in group:	198
No. individual miles:	1,584

Personnel--The Antietam District operated this month with 320 man-hours less than present recommended staffing requires and 160 man-hours less than was available in July of 1970.

Training--Seasonals Zucesky & Kretzer attended boat training sessions.
Seasonal Kretzer is in program of getting Standard First Aid Card.

Law Enforcement--

3# Courtesy warnings for: Entry closed area

1# Individual Offense Reports for: Vandalism--less than $50

July

Safety--Unable to schedule safety program for district - lack of man power--high visitor use--and increase maintenance work load for July were contributing factors--July meeting will be held in August--(first half).

Resources Management & Lands--No word from Mr. Moody SCS on recommendations on farm land management of battlefield.

Special Activities--Senators Beall, Mathias, Congressmen Gude, Byron were visitors to battlefield this month. Buddy Epstein [sic--Ebsen] of "Beverly Hillbillies" also visited the battlefield.

---

13. Ibid., June 1971.

Interpretation--

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
Off-Site	Radio	1	-
On-Site	Campfire		
	Canal Hikes		
	Battlefield Walks & Talks	150	4,986
	Audio	10,274	35,959
	Audiovisual	442	9,817[14]

On August 1, 1971, Antietam District Ranger Robert W. Woody wrote a memorandum concerning the shortages in district personnel and the effect on Antietam.

> Due to shortages in district personnel and the aggressive interpretive programing [sic] this 1971 visitor season, any effective Battlefield coverage has necessarily been limited to Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. Other days of the week have only two district personnel schedule. It has been SOP this season in so far as possible to have at least two district personnel at the VC complex at all times, except in the early morning and late evenings.
>
> Interpretive schedules have been arranged to permit district personnel to spend some time in the field on the four days mentioned. This time has been cut into often by training, scheduled meetings, and work on necessary projects inside the VC (loading musket cartridges, slide sorting, program preparation, etc.).
>
> While field coverage hasn't been what it was last year, we have had 480 man-hours available to the district during this visitor season while showing an increase in interpretive activity of 80 to 100% over the previous season. Public safety and park protection have not declined significantly, if at all, from less ranger vehicle patrol this year over last year.[15]

---

[14] Ibid., July 1971.

[15] Memorandum, Antietam District Ranger to Chief VEA August 1, 1971, Park File.

1971

August

Visitation--	Picnickers:	2,076
	Total Antietam Visitation:	45,619
	Total Visitor Center Count:	20,268
	Boy Scouts of America	
		Hiker
	No. of groups	12
	No. in group	318
	No. individual miles	2,544

Personnel--Adverse Action against a seasonal resulting in 3 day suspension.
Ranger Woody on annual leave for wife's operation.
Seasonal Ranger Kretzer did excellent job as Acting District Ranger in his absense.

Training--District attended personnel meeting to clear seasonal job questions.

Law Enforcement-

3# Courtesy warnings for: Closed area

2# Verbal warnings for: Wrong way on one-way road

Safety--Held District Safety meeting for any which concerned "Safety Attitudes"

Resources Management & Lands--No contact with Mr. Moody SCS in regard to special use permits & land requirements.

Interpretation--

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
On-Site			
	Battlefield Walks & Talks	48	1,329
	Audio	6990	24,465
	Audiovisual	478	10,984
	Musket Demo	109	4,246[16]

September

Visitation--Picnickers:		800
	Total Antietam visitation:	30,424
	Total Visitor Center Count:	7,014

---

[16] Monthly Activities Report, August 1971, Park File.

Boy Scouts of America

	Hiker
No. of groups	14
No. in group	213
No. individual miles	1,704

Personnel--District Ranger Woody received transfer to Yellowstone National Park.
Park Technician Anibal hired for duty ANBS
Seasonal Park Ranger Frolick given 180-day appointment on ANBS

Maintenance--Key & lock inventory completed

Law Enforcement--
3# Courtesy warnings for: Closed Area

Safety--1 meeting covering a first aid review

Special Activties--Dunkard Church re-enactment -- 170 people
Pathfinders Camporee -- 1500 people
Draft for Boy Scouts of America Compass Trail

Interpretation--

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
Off-Site	Organized Youth Groups	1	60
	Adult	1	16
On-Site	Campfire	1	1,500
	Canal Hikes		
	Battlefield Walks & Talks	42	2,664
	Audio	3,946	13,811
	Audiovisual	292	5,184[17]

October

Visitation--

Picnickers	2,936
Total Antietam visitation	29,362
Total Visitor Center Count	6,968

Boy Scouts of America

No. of groups	3
No. of hikers	66
No. of miles hiked (total)	528

---

[17] Ibid., September 1971.

Personnel--District Ranger Woody transferred Yellowstone National Park as of 10/8/71. Park Technician Anibal on duty 10/3/71. Seasonal Ranger Frolich on duty.

Training--Both rangers qualified on pistol D.C.P., Hagerstown Police Range. District boat given trial at Four Locks.

Safety--District safety meeting at district maintenance shop "Fire Safety" film. Investigation of visitor accident at Burnside Bridge.

Law Enforcement--1 verbal warning for running stop sign.
A Mr. Miller of Sharpsburg questioned about activities at night at Piper Farm.

Resource Management--Received report from Mr. Moody re: special use permit. Action held for incoming district ranger.

Maintenance--Replaced "Park Closed At Dark" sign up at Rodman Ave. and Rt. 34 Picture plate at Bloody Lane removed at be rewelded.

Interpretation--

Category	No. Programs	No. People
Campfire Program	1	1,006
Audio and Audiovisual	4,596	19,654
Walks & Demos	10	1,366[18]

Special Activities

Fairfax County Boy Scout Camporee October 9-10 1,006 people

1971

November

Visitation--

Total Antietam Visitation	15,055
Total Visitor Center Count	3,650

Boy Scouts of America

	Hiker
No. of Groups	4
No. in Group	99
No. Individual Miles	792

---

[18] Ibid., October 1971.

Personnel--

No personnel changes during month. District personnel:

1 permanent
1 seasonal
1 intermittant

Maintenance--

Visitor center entrance sign repaired

Law Enforcement-

3 # Citations for: (2) CFR 2.5 Closed Area (1) CFR 4.14 Reckless Dr.

1 # Incident Reports for: Recovery of stolen auto.

1 # Individual Offense Report for: Stolen fishing gear (Sandy Hook Area)

Battlefield patrols at least twice daily include patrol of canal from Antietam Creek Campground to Shepherdstown. Several walking patrols of Snavely Ford Trail. Night patrols at least once a week.

Safety-- Observation tower locked during weekdays since beginning of cold weather, due to ice on stairs.
Inspection of sidewalk at Burnside Bridge Area prompted request for ice removal.

Interpretation--

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
On Site:			
	Battlefield Walks & Trails	8	417
	Audio	2,583	9,041
	Audiovisual	131	2,172[19]

December

Visitation--

Total Antietam Visitation:	13,323
Total Visitor Center Count:	1,947

Boy Scouts of America

	Hiker
No. of Groups:	2
No. in Group:	37
No. Individual Miles:	296

---

[19] Ibid., November 1971.

Personnel--

Park Technician Anibal assigned duties of Acting District Ranger, 6 Dec 71.

Maintenance--

Drainage system installed at Visitor Center to prevent seepage [sic] into basement.

Fence repaired at Burnside Bridge Parking Lot.

Road counter at Dunker Church repaired.

Law Enforcement-

2 # Courtesy Warnings for: Illegally parked veh., Metal Detecting
3 # Verbal Warnings for: (2) Driving wrong way, (1) closed area

Park Tech. Anibal assisted M.S.P. in traffic control at accident, 16 Dec., on Rte. 34, east of Sharpsburg.

Safety--

Accident on 25 Dec. at Bloody Lane and Rte. 65 may indicate need for reflectors at culvert.

Resources Management & Lands--

Investigation continues as to need for water sampling of wells and springs on Special-Use Permit lands.

December

Interpretation-

	Category	No. Programs	No. People
On Site:	Campfire		
	Canal Hikes		
	Battlefield Walks & Talks	3	20
	Audio	308	1078
	Audiovisual	220	1190[20]

1971 Programs	No. of audio/visual programs	attendance	walk & talk programs	attendance
April	3,559	16,828		
May	3,278	17,980		

---

[20] Ibid., December 1971.

1971 Programs	No. of audio/visual Programs	attendance	walk & talk programs	attendance
June	5,372	25,281	103	3,370
July	10,716	45,776	150	4,986
August	7,468	35,449	157	5,575
September	4,238	18,995	43	4,164
October	4,596	19,654	11	2,372
November	2,714	11,213	8	417
December	528	2,268	3	20

1972 Monthly Reports Visitation

MONTH	BATTLEFIELD	CEMETERY
January	23,912	2,832
February	14,758	1,466
March	41,464	4,164
April	35,772	3,577
May	48,704	5,170
June	48,246	4,320
July	50,647	4,437
August	60,590	6,059
September	41,211	4,121
October	35,143	3,514
November	21,696	2,170
December	11,414	1,037
	433,557	42,417 total[21]

---

[21] Monthly Public Use Reports January, 1972 - December 1972, Park File.

1973 Monthly Reports   Visitation

MONTH	BATTLEFIELD	CEMETERY
January	8,986	796
February	10,761	973
March	24,350	1,927
April	30,596	2,653
May	44,899	4,693
June	52,701	5,280
July	61,900	5,425
August	63,522	6,552
September	40,621	4,447
October	40,336	3,684
November	28,145	2,347
December	11,575	1,017
	418,391 total	39,794 total[22]

---

[22] Monthly Public Use Reports January, 1973 - December 1973, Park File.

4. PERSONNEL--1967

Historian Robert L. Lagemann was transferred in September 1967 to George Rogers Clark National Historical Park at Vincennes, Indiana, after spending 10 years at Antietam. When he arrived at the park in 1957 there were only 10 Civil War cannon tubes on the grounds. When he left there were 41. He also aided in preparing plans for almost 50 wayside exhibits and the content of indoor museum exhibits. The most memorable day of his stay at Antietam occurred in 1963 when he escorted President John F. Kennedy over the battlefield.[23]

S. Preston Smith arrived in October 1967 to replace Lagemann as historian. Smith transferred from Cape Hatteras National Seashore and was knowledgeable of the Wright Brother's scientific accomplishments.[24]

5. VANDALISM--1967

Three entrances to Antietam were closed from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. after June 21, 1967, because of vandalism. The damage was centered in these areas, including the Burnside Bridge and the Tower. Fourteen of 15 route signs made by the Job Corp were broken. Irreplaceable cast iron plaques were also being destroyed. Vandals destroyed some of the park's brass monuments, which cost $500 each to replace, broke stones from walls, and wrote on walls. Antietam's staff hated to close any part of the park, but thought the action preferable to closing all the entrances at 5 p.m.[25]

6. POWER LINES--1967-1968

The Potomac Edison Company and the Department of the Interior became embroiled in controversy during 1967--a dispute in which Antietam was a central issue. Potomac Edison planned to route a $25 million, 500,000-volt power line from a generating station at Hatfield's Ferry, Pennsylvania, through West Virginia and Maryland to its terminal at Doubs in Frederick County, Maryland. The line was designed without consultations with local officials. Controversy over the line occurred upon the realization that ". . . the proposed right-of-way of over 200 feet will cut across historic South Mountain, cut across the

---

[23] The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, September 18, 1967.
[24] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, October 3, 1967.
[25] Ibid., June 21, 1967.

Antietam Creek, mount a ridge overlooking the Antietam Battlefield, cut across the historic C & O Canal and the Potomac River at historic Sharpsburg, and move progressively west to threaten other scenic and historic national treasures."[26]

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall reacted upon being informed of the situation by Representative Henry S. Reuss, a Democrat from Wisconsin. He stated, "We intend to have further discussion of this problem with local officials to see if the alignment can be shifted," and he indicated that a preliminary study of an alternate route was already underway. Even though the line was interstate, no Federal Power Commission license was required. The state of Maryland did not require utilities to obtain a certificate of public necessity before building the line. Survey work was underway in May 1967.[27]

The Washington County Board of Commissioners also was not consulted. The board's president, Lem E. Kirk, only learned of the plans two months before when notified by a property owner after Potomac Edison surveyors plotted the line on his land. Earlier in May the Board of Commissioners publicly opposed the line's location, but neither they nor any other county official body could decide the power line's course. At the time Secretary of the Interior Udall learned of the proposal, only a small group of property owners and Civil War enthusiasts were actively opposing the line's placement.[28]

The Department of the Interior was the only government agency possessing the power to change the power line's route because Potomac Edison needed permission from the Interior Department to route the line across the C & O Canal. By June 6, 1967, Antietam staff members made public comments concerning the line's effect on their park. Historian Lagemann stated he did not believe the power line and its towers would be a "detriment" to the battlefield. Depending on the tower placement, he did not view the plans as "any terrible thing." Superintendent Lessem had a different viewpoint. He was against the routing and viewed it as a "very, very unfortunate thing."[29]

---

[26] Washington Post, May 22, 1967.

[27] Ibid., The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1967.

[28] Washington Post, May 23, 1967.

[29] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, May 25, June 6, 1967.

A group of "federal power experts" promised to study alternate routes for the power line after touring southern Washington County on June 27, 1967. The group held a conference in Antietam's visitor center after their tour of the proposed power line route. They were to submit a report on their findings to Secretary of the Interior Udall. They, however, made no promises that their report would recommend changing the line's routing, and they had no assurance if or how long Potomac Edison would delay construction of the power line.

Robert Paul, a spokesman for the Department of the Interior, stated that the department would prefer that the power line bypass the area between Sharpsburg and Harpers Ferry. He was concerned about impact on the proposed Antietam Heritage Trail from the battlefield south along the Antietam Creek to the Potomac River. A trail with scenic easements was part of a planned Potomac Valley Park.[30]

New opposition arose from political and historical sources. By June 10, 1967, the National Trust for Historic Preservation stated its opposition and supported Secretary of the Interior Udall's position. On July 17 a Maryland legislative leader sought curbs on utility companies' right to condemn land for power lines. Thomas Hunter Lowe, Democrat from Talbot, voiced his concern after his Judiciary Committee of the Maryland Legislative Council visited Antietam. Both Lowe and Senator Dorf, Democrat from Baltimore, believed the controversy served to bring attention to the fact that utilities possessed unrestricted rights to condemn land without state review.[31]

Secretary of the Interior Udall took further action in October when he withheld a permit allowing the Potomac Edison power line to cross the C&O Canal, pending resolution of the route dispute. Udall asked the utility to consider two alternate routes--"one along the Mason-Dixon line that forms the Maryland-Pennsylvania border, the other swinging to the north instead of to the south of the Civil War Battlefield." He noted that Potomac Edison agreed to reduce visual damage caused by the line in the Antietam-Harpers Ferry region, an action costing $300,000, and to put the line underground when feasible.

---

[30] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, June 28, 1967.
Attendees at the conference were:
Department of the Interior - Emerson Harper, Robert Paul, Milton Belsher, Edwin Kenner, David Clark; Washington County Planning and Zoning Commission - Donald R. Frush, Donald Spickler, John Herbst; Board of County Commissioners - Lem E. Kirk, Rome Schwagel, John Easterday, other county officials, representatives of the Washington County Historical Society; the Civil War Round Table, a representative of Senator Joseph Tydings; W. Dean McClanahan and Robert C. Bell of C&O Canal National Monument; and others.

[31] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, July 10, 1967.
Washington Post, July 18, 1967.

Potomac Edison officials asserted that the Mason-Dixon route would cost the utility $24.1 million more than the cost of the original route. Udall disagreed with this estimate, believing the cost to be $7 million to $8 million more.[32]

In an address to the Washington County Planning and Zoning Commission on November 14, 1967, Potomac Edison President Charles D. Lyon stated the company would not change the route of the proposed power line. His company was willing to make changes in the Antietam area by modifying the towers. "We'll lower the height of the towers from 110 to an average of 80 feet by putting them closer together," Lyon said. Potomac Edison's president also stated that 10 to 15 years of scientific advancement were needed to place the power line underground. Nevertheless, the company agreed to put the line underground within 25 years.[33]

Secretary Udall's stand was attacked in Congress. Representative John P. Saylor, Republican from Pennsylvania, went on record saying ". . . the whole issue is a sham and a delusion conceived originally by a few individuals to hide their own selfish motives." Saylor revealed that one month after Udall denied Potomac Edison's permit, the Department of the Interior allowed the Sho-Me Rural Electric Cooperative to build a power line across the Ozark National Riverway in Missouri. Saylor believed Potomac Edison should be given the same chance to meet Department of the Interior conditions. The Department was studying the two-year delay cited by Potomac Edison if the line were rerouted. Saylor added:

> By his own public pronouncement, the Secretary has acknowledged that denial of the permit for a right-of-way across the C&O Canal was for reasons not connected with the Canal; but, rather, the right-of-way across private land.[34]

---

[32] Washington Post, October 17, 1967.
[33] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, November 15, 1967.
[34] The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, December 14, 1967.

The "Second Battle of Antietam," as the press called it, ended in May 1968. The Department of the Interior and the Potomac Edison Company announced on March 13 their agreement on a new route for the utility power line. In the new plan the power line would cross the Potomac River south of the Dam No. 4, alongside an existing power line. It would skirt the Antietam battlefield 3 miles north and enter Frederick County on South Mountain, between Lambs Knoll and Fox's Gap. Udall believed the new plan did not completely preserve the resources, but it was an acceptable compromise because it reduced intrusion from the line. Emerson Harper, chairman of Udall's task force on power lines, and David Clark, National Park Service landscape architect, noted that the area's rugged topography would shield the transmission line from view. Potomac Edison President Lyon was not available for comment.[35]

In a Department of the Interior news release on March 14, Secretary Udall stated:

> The Potomac Edison Company . . . made a sincere effort to save the scenic and historical values of the area and succeeded to an amazing degree. Mr. Lyon has been a pace setter for the electric utility industry in both preserving the quality of the environment and, at the same time, bringing the fruits of modern electric technology to the consumers of the area.

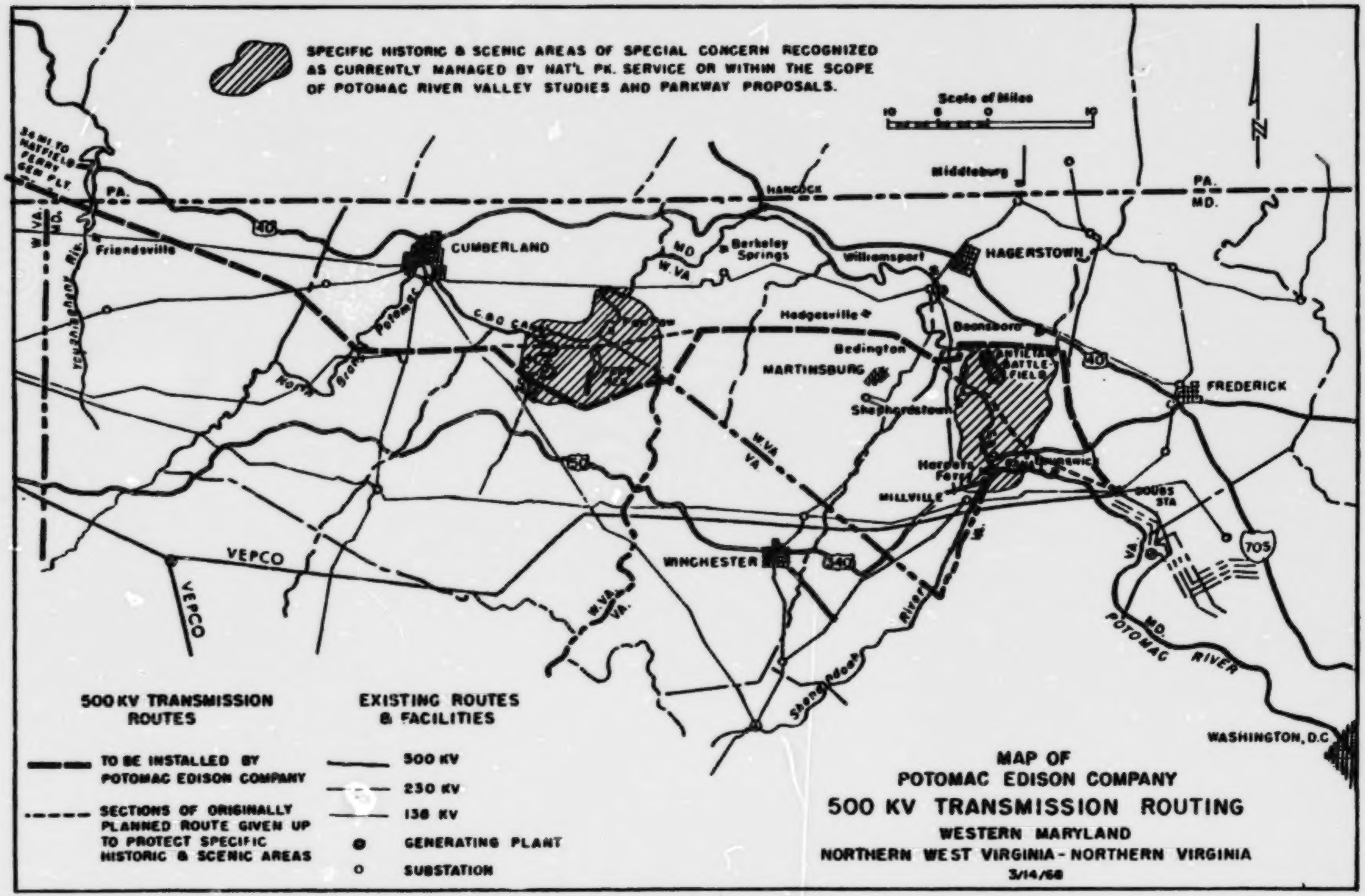
The news release also stated:

> The proposed re-routing was worked out after much consultation between the staffs of the Potomac Edison Company and the Department of the Interior, together with the States of Maryland and West Virginia.[36]

---

[35] Washington Post, March 14, 1968; The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, March 15, 1968.

[36] Department of the Interior, News Release, Office of the Secretary, March 14, 1968.


SPECIFIC HISTORIC & SCENIC AREAS OF SPECIAL CONCERN RECOGNIZED AS CURRENTLY MANAGED BY NAT'L PK. SERVICE OR WITHIN THE SCOPE OF POTOMAC RIVER VALLEY STUDIES AND PARKWAY PROPOSALS.
Scale of Miles
10 5 0 10
N
34 MI TO HATFIELD FERRY GEN PLT.
PA.
MD.
W. VA.
Friendsville
Youghiogheny Riv.
40
CUMBERLAND
Potomac
North Branch
C & O CANAL
MD
W. VA
Berkeley Springs
HANCOCK
Middleburg
Williamsport
HAGERSTOWN
Hedgesville
Boonsboro
Bedington
MARTINSBURG
ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD
Shepherdstown
40
FREDERICK
W. VA
VA
50
Harpers Ferry
Brunswick
MILLVILLE
DOUBS STA
VA.
705
VEPCO
VEPCO
WINCHESTER
340
W. VA.
VA.
Shenandoah River
MD.
POTOMAC RIVER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
500 KV TRANSMISSION ROUTES
TO BE INSTALLED BY POTOMAC EDISON COMPANY
SECTIONS OF ORIGINALLY PLANNED ROUTE GIVEN UP TO PROTECT SPECIFIC HISTORIC & SCENIC AREAS
EXISTING ROUTES & FACILITIES
500 KV
230 KV
138 KV
GENERATING PLANT
SUBSTATION

MAP OF
POTOMAC EDISON COMPANY
500 KV TRANSMISSION ROUTING
WESTERN MARYLAND
NORTHERN WEST VIRGINIA - NORTHERN VIRGINIA
3/14/68

7. LAND ACQUISITION AND EXPANSION OF PARK BOUNDARIES

In June 1972 National Park Service staff members wrote legislative support data to justify the need to further expand Antietam's boundaries.[37] According to Robert M. Utley, director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, the acquisition of additional land for Antietam was necessary to provide on site interpretation of key events which occurred on land outside the park boundaries. "Sites required to tell the broader story of the battle are those of McClellan's command headquarters at the Pry Farm, east of Antietam Creek, and the historic field hospital where Clara Barton, Founder of the American Red Cross, served behind the Union lines at the north end of the field."[38]

Utley believed the inclusion of this property to be "highly desirable" for interpretation, but "absolutely essential" to maintain the "relatively unspoiled scene . . . . " Commercial development threatened the battlefield's pastoral character. "Most critically endangered at present are the ground upon which A.P. Hill's division battled Burnside's final drive to a standstill and a portion of the land occupied by "Stonewall" Jackson's men, across the road from the park visitor center, now being marketed as a commerical property." Utley felt assured that the commercial pressures were just beginning. It was "vital" that the mentioned sites, along with "vulnerable lands along the west bank of Antietam Creek," be acquired by the National Park Service to preserve the battlefield's historic condition.[39]

The problems associated with locating and identifying Clara Barton's field hospital at Antietam resurfaced in August 1972 when the need to present legislative support data before the 92nd Congress became urgent. Russ Dickenson, director, National Capital Parks requested Robert Utley's office to pinpoint the Barton field hospital site for purposes of acquisition and development.[40] The request could not be met.

---

37. Memorandum, Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation to Director, National Capital Parks, June 12, 1972.

38. Ibid., "Antietam National Battlefield Site," p. 2.

39. Ibid.

40. Memorandum, Director, National Capital Parks to Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, August 16, 1972.

Utley replied to the request:

> I regret that we cannot establish the location of the field hospital associated with Clara Barton for you. As indicated below this will require some further research and we do not have personnel available to undertake it. Such research projects would have to be conducted by capable historians within the region or by historians of the Denver Service Center.
>
> As you are probably aware a report on this field hospital's location was prepared by Park Historian Lagemann in December 1961. He placed the hospital in the buildings of the Middlekauff farm but his evidence was not particularly conclusive. His report was followed by another on the same subject in March 1971 prepared by Park Historian Atkinson. This latter report took issue with the conclusions in the report of Historian Lagemann and asserted that the Clara Barton site was in the buildings of the Sam Poffenberger farm. Mr. Atkinson's report, though not conclusive, appears to be the more convincing of the two but in his opinion, and ours, more research ought to be done. We do not believe that this research need be extensive -- it would acquire a reexamination of the few major sources cited in the reports plus the investigation of a few sources cited by Mr. Atkinson which he believed helpful but did not see.[41] It would also require an inspection of the sites . . . .

The additional research on the Clara Barton hospital site was not programmed.

For a discussion of Antietam's land acquisition program see Land Acquisition in Chapter XI.

---

[41] Memorandum, Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation to Director, National Capital Parks, September 22, 1972.

8. RESEARCH ON HISTORIC STRUCTURES AT ANTIETAM

On August 21, 1968, Chief Historian Utley informed the regional director of National Capital Region that research for historic structures reports was being scheduled for the Dorsey Farm smokehouse, Piper Farm slave quarters, and the Spielman Farm spring house at Antietam. The research was scheduled to be completed during fiscal year 1969 by historian John W. Bond, using Management and Protection funds available to the chief historian's office, and employing B&U funds included in the 1969 lump sum program. Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation staff approved the resource study proposal on December 17, 1968.[42]

The proposal read as follows:

> Two of the subject structures (the Piper House and Smokehouse) were important parts of the historic scene on September 17, 1762. When D. H. Hill's and Dick Anderson's troops were driven from Bloody Lane, they retired to Piper Lane. These structures were in the center of this position, and the Piper Barn was used as a Confederate field hospital. It is known that the Piper House has been altered and the buildings are in need of maintenance.
>
> The present Mumma House stands on the site of the house which was burned during the battle. As it was erected soon after the battle, it is more than 100 years old. The house is in need of maintenance.
>
> The two houses have been greatly altered, and the architects will need to examine the fabric to date some of the additions. Only the exteriors will be restored to reflect the historic scene.[43]

By June 2, 1971, Francis F. Wilshin, and not John Bond, had completed a manuscript complete with pictures, title page, maps, and negatives for the historic structures report for the Mumma Farm spring house, Piper Farm slave quarters, and Sherrick Farm smokehouse.[44]

---

[42] Memorandum, Chief Historian to Regional Director, National Capital Region, August 21, 1968; Memorandum, Acting Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, December 17, 1968, Park File.

[43] Resource Study Proposal Historic Structures Reports for the Mumma Farmhouse, Piper Farmhouse, and Piper Smokehouse, ANTI-H-6, March 12, 1971, Park File.

[44] Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Park, History to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site, June 2, 1971, Park File.

Architect Hugh C. Miller conducted further research on Antietam structures. He reported his findings and suggestions for work on the Sherrick House. On February 23, 1973, he wrote:

> The scope of the work is to dress up the interior by repairing plaster and painting, installing carpet on the floors, and installation of insulation in the attic. Electrical services will be provided to the building and electric heat furnished within the major spaces. This work is being proposed to dress up the building for use as temporary office spaces with some possible interpretation of some of the rooms if adequate furnishings and problems of visitor circulation can be worked out.
>
> From my quick inspection while working on the C&O Canal last fall, I was impressed with the generally pristine character of the interior spaces, particularly in the upper floors. Portions of the floors have never received any finish. Wall and trims, where painted, appear to have only one or two coats; and the graining effect of the doors is in good condition although the varnish has crazed. At that time, I spoke with Mr. [William] Failor, Superintendent of the Group, about the unique character of the building and the fact that these interior finishes should be recorded and studied before any alterations or repairs are made . . . .
>
> However, I am concerned that perhaps since there are limited funds the necessary studies and records will not be made prior to the repairs and refinishing of the interior. It is my recommendation that if there is no public use of this building proposed that this work not be performed until adequate funds for the study can be secured and the study completed if public uses are anticipated, and the study should be accomplished as part of this development. The installation of electricity and electric heat in the building are required for its preservation, and I am pleased that this work is already in process.
>
> At one time, there was some discussion of use of Job Corps or YCC volunteers to accomplish this work. I believe that the use of historic buildings for training of apprentices is not appropriate. However, I have the utmost confidence in the Chief of Park Maintenance, Dale Sipes; and his supervision of the work under the direction of architect [Archie] Franzen should be of first quality. However, I stress again that there should be no work on the fabric of the building until the existing finishes have been studied.[45]

Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Robert M. Utley concurred with Miller's recommendations on February 28, 1973.

---

[45] Memorandum, architect Hugh C. Miller to Chief, Park Historic Architecture, February 23, 1973, Park File.

He added, "We are pleased that heat is being provided in the building to ease the problems of preservation by eliminating the freeze-thaw cycle that has resulted within the walls during the past several years."[46]

Miller visited Antietam again on April 12, 1973, to inspect the fabric of major properties and to review the general scope of the park's preservation problems. He reported on the different structures:

> The Sherrick Farm. . . . It is my recommendation that any available funds for work on this house be expended to complete the exterior work: repointing the brick, repairing and replacing the wooden shutters, and removing concrete steps and slabs to facilitate drainage of storm water away from the house. The Park's maintenance force has qualified personnel to accomplish this work. Utmost care must be taken in removing the concrete slabs not to disturb evidence of earlier stairways or paving. It is my belief that with a very minimum of effort this house could be made into a study house for use of special groups and educational institutions interested in period building technology, craftsmanship, and architecture.
>
> The exterior of the Smoke House on this farmstead has been restored to standard; and at the current time, there is no need to restore the interior. The corncrib is expected to be of the 1860 period and needs work on the roof and foundation to preserve the structure. The present barn is a replacement on the original foundation and should be preserved - it has the correct proportions and texture for the historic period and is an important background building of the farmstead. The scope of the work on the barn involves replacement of doors and repairs of the siding to prevent accelerated weather damage. At such time as the metal roof needs replacing, a wooden roof of the historic period should be installed.
>
> The Piper Farm. The Piper Farm occupies perhaps some of the most historic ground on the battlefield since it was a staging area for the Confederates in the center of the battlefield. The house is a combination of pre-Civil War and post-Civil War structures which have yet to be studied in detail. This property is now vacant, and there is no preservation treatment other than an attempt to keep the building dry. Adjacent to the house is a slaves' quarters which has been restored and, with the exception of the parging of the masonry portion, is at standard. A historic period root cellar and ice house has recently collapsed following neglect to program the necessary stabilization. Only

---

[46] Memorandum, Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation to Director, National Capital Parks, February 28, 1973, Park File.

a portion of the structure can be salvaged for restoration.

The barn is one of the most spectacular visual elements in this portion of Washington County, but its scale and grandeur date from the early 20th century. Only about a third of the building is of the historic period. There are also several traditional type outbuildings presumed to date from the period of the extension of the barn. There is also a modern silo and milk house on the site. There are some considerations within the Park that this area should be restored to the 1862 appearance since it represents such a prime historic location. In so doing, the present visual qualities and esthetic values of the barn would be lost. There is also some consideration by the Park to make this area a demonstration farm site. This proposal has some merit since it would be possible to bring visitors into this area from the visitor center rather than providing new visitor service infrastructure. However, the use of this farm as a living history area may be confusing to the main theme of the battle story.

Dunkard Church. This structure has been restored to standard some years ago and is being maintained in a satisfactory manner. The adjoining non-historic properties create a serious intrusion on the site of the church and should be removed. It is my understanding that this property has a high priority for acquisition and that immediately following the purchase these obtrusive structures will be removed from the scene.

The Mumma Farm. This farmstead was burned by the Union forces prior [sic] to the battle, but there is good photographic evidence and architectural evidence that the major structures were not totally destroyed. They were rebuilt immediately following the War and are currently occupied and used by a farmer on a permit from the Park. The house, greatly enlarged in the late 19th century, has original internal walls. The barn as it was rebuilt has typical elements of a Maryland bank [barn]. A combination corncrib-pigpen, a spring house, and a blacksmith shop also survive and are thought to be of the post-Civil War period. Non-historic farm buildings include an equipment shed, garage, and several chicken houses. The major buildings, maintained by the Park, are in satisfactory condition. There are some serious structural separations where the brick wall was rebuilt to the original portion of the house. The historic outbuildings need repairs to the roof and siding and perhaps treating the bare wood with Hydrozo to preserve the fabric. As the resource studies are developed and the Master Plan completed, serious consideration should be given to the removal of the modern structures on this site. Restoration to the historic period probably is not warranted.

Areas proposed in new legislation. We looked at the general scope of the properties in recent legislation for acquisition and reviewed the current concept of taking easements with an option to buy. This proposal seems sound; however, any easements and options must include the buildings as well as the lands.

Many of the properties we saw are in such a condition that a preservation easement on the facades of the structures should be sufficient to maintain the desired effect of the historic resource in a man-made environment. However, certain focal buildings or groups of buildings that are along major access roads to the Park or in the foreground of important vistas should receive a higher degree of preservation. Purchase and sell back or fee ownership is warranted in many of these cases--the Newcomer House, barn, and tenant house; the log house of Poffenberger farm; the D. R. Miller Farm; and the Roulette Farm are examples of such focal buildings.

We also looked at the Pry House which was McClellan's headquarters. It is my understanding that this property is first priority for acquisition. This house has been recently refurbished although not historically. The brick summer kitchen adjacent to the house is in ruinous condition and should be immediately measured and stabilized. There is a historic or similar period barn on the site as well as a modern barn and milk house. Since this is a prime resource and since the building is unoccupied, every effort should be made to secure and protect the property now for our own best interest. At such time as the structure is acquired, there should be immediate funds and action to preserve its fabric by occupation by Park staff or by visitor use.

Recommendations. Immediate action is needed to minimize damage to outbuildings on the three farmsteads now owned by the Park. This can be accomplished with Park maintenance forces since key skills are represented on the staff . . . .

The historic resource study and a comprehensive Master Plan for the Park should be immediately programmed and completed so that resources managers can give some direction in their preservation activities. There should be no intervention into the fabric of any building, except repairs, without a historic structure report. The nomination of all historic properties to the National Register and the assemblage of the necessary information for the List of Classified Structures should provide an opportunity to identify the extent of the resources. At such time the scope of the Park is defined, it would be appropriate to identify the extent of required legislation and appropriations to bring necessary adjoining properties into Park management and up to standard.[47]

---

[47] Memorandum, Historic Architect Hugh C. Miller to Chief, Park Historic Architecture, April 16, 1973, Park File.

Architect Lee H. Nelson of the staff of Independence NHP visited Antietam on May 18 doing research for a "Technical Handbook" as it related to sections on wood and masonry construction. While at the park he made observations concerning Antietam's preservation challenges. He agreed that the Sherrick House was well worth preserving:

> . . . First of all, I was most impressed with the quality and integrity of the Sherrick House. This remarkable survival is a resource well worth our best efforts. It is most unusual that the grained doors have survived without any over-painting and that they are complete with their Carpenter locks and original signed butt hinges. I was especially impressed with the no-nonsense installation of portable heaters and surface mounted wiring. This is an approach I think we should take in more of our park buildings particularly where they do not require cooling and humidity controls. Considering the rapid obsolescence of mechanical equipment and the uncertain future requirements of many historic properties like the Sherrick House, this kind of heating system is especially appropriate because it does very little permanent damage to the fabric and because it is an honest solution to the problem.

Nelson was very distressed, however, at the obvious long-term neglect of the property at the Piper Farm. He wrote:

> . . . I don't know the past history of the Park Service stewardship of this property; but if anyone wanted to do an expose on Park Service neglect, this would be a classic example. This resource needs a rapid infusion of study, action, and money just to stabilize the deterioration to say nothing of its long-term preservation needs. It too needs temporary heat immediately, and it seems to me that the Sherrick House solution is ideally suited to the Piper Farm House. Obviously, there are many other problems such as security and maintenance that could be resolved by more frequent inspection of the premises. I would urge that this property be given a high priority for planning and programming development, or we will lose important elements of this resource.[48]

Superintendent Failor of the Antietam-C&O Canal Group subsequently submitted a proposal for funds to maintain the Piper Farm buildings and grounds. These funds were to keep the farm in a safe condition until historic restoration into a living farm exhibit could occur at a later date.

---

[48] Memorandum, Architect Lee H. Nelson to Chief, Park Historic Architecture, May 24, 1973, Park File.

Buildings	
Piper House (including painting)	$3,500
Barn	4,560
Smoke House	1,390
Slave Quarters	930
Blacksmith Shop	2,060
Corn Crib & Wagon Shed	2,060
Build plastic shed over Cave House	2,100
	$16,600

Grounds	
Remove non-historic leanto back of barn	$1,030
Remove non-historic dairy barn & silo	1,500
Fence buildings as required	630
Post & rail fence along Piper Lane	4,200
	$7,360
Grand Total -	$23,960 [49]

Architect Miller made another visit to Antietam on July 18, 1973. His investigations focused on the Piper Farm. He reviewed the scope of proposed work at the site:

> PIPER HOUSE. The Piper house is in reasonably sound condition. There are no serious structural faults although there are indications of some undermining of the foundation. Much of this damage is being caused by animal burrows and the subsequent settling of the foundation stones. Animals should be removed, their burrows sealed, and the foundation rebuilt on firm, undisturbed soil or bedrock. Both porches have sag problems. The causes of this should be investigated and corrected; and where possible, the porch structure--floors, posts, roofs, etc.--should be adjusted to level and plumb. The interior of the building shows no evidence of serious leaking at this time although there is some indication of previous leaking around the chimneys. All flashing at chimneys and valleys should be checked and repaired and the roof sheeting or structure repaired or reinforced where rotting has occurred from old leaks. New gutters and rainwater conductors should be installed on all roofs. Rainwater should be channeled to be carried well away from the foundation. All windows should be checked for weather seal and where necessary glass replaced. Chimneys and eave edges should be closed on the inside so that birds cannot nest within the building. A certain amount of the cleanup of the interior is desirable. This could include the removal of the modern wallpaper which is now coming off the plaster surfaces and a sweep up of the accumulation of animal

---

[49] Superintendent, Antietam-C & O Canal to Director, National Capital Parks, July 11, 1973, Park File.

refuse and nesting material. If the house is used for storage, these materials should be stacked in an orderly manner. As a caution, there should not be a general clean sweep in cleanups that would cause the disposal of building materials useful in the study and restoration of the house or objects used by early occupations to be destroyed. Prior to painting the building, it would be useful to do paint studies to determine original colors although much of the present exterior fabric is early 20th century. Sealing the interiors of the windows with clear plastic and installing electric heating units similar to the Sherrick House is a must. The revised estimates should reflect all this work.

BARN. The barn is in fair condition. Much of the damage can be attributed to the misuse of the structure by the present and previous lessees. The accumulation of manure within the stall areas over a period of time has rotted the sills and deteriorated the lime mortar of the masonry. From time to time, supporting members in both the stalls and the loft have been removed to accommodate modern farming operations. The structural post in the upper northwest corner of the barn has completely deteriorated and that portion of the structure is dependent only on the strength of the barn siding to hold up the roof and walls. Missing structural members must be replaced. Loads on major rotted members should be picked up without removing the original members by the construction of a new parallel structural system. Minor members that are rotted or deteriorated should be repaired with the addition of new wood as required. Barn siding should be repaired or replaced where excessive rot has occurred with weathered barn siding if possible. Masonry walls should be repointed with a new lime mortar after thorough cleaning of loose mortar material and foreign matter. The roof should be inspected for leaking and the system of rainwater gutters, and conductors repaired to provide complete drainage. The grade at the northwest corner of the barn should be adjusted so there is positive flow of rainwater away from the structure. This will require lowering the grade somewhat so that the bottoms of the barn siding are not in the soil. The roofs of the barn and lean-tos should be cleaned of excessive rust and painted. This will also include cleaning and painting of the ventilators. The $5,590 estimated for this work may not be adequate to cover this required work.

LEAN-TO. Do not demolish! The lean-to on the west side of the barn proposed for removal should be stabilized by supporting the existing structure with appropriate shoring. It appears that this lean-to shed may be the first addition to the barn. This structure must be preserved until definitive study of the barn can be made.

SMOKE HOUSE. The Smoke House is a log building covered with clapboard. The early portion of this building no doubt dates from the Civil War period. The building is now used for miscellaneous storage which is overloading the weak system of the roof ties. All this material should be removed with the necessary caution for study for any artifacts related to earlier periods of the building or the farm. The entire structure of the roof should be inspected for soundness. There is extensive dry rot in the tie beams and this may be prevalent in other portions of the structure. Where possible, a new structural system should be installed without disturbing the existing structure. The foundation and grade should be inspected for indications of changes and should be made sound. The grade should be adjusted to drain away from the building. The allocated money for this job seems adequate if there are no major structural problems within the foundation.

SLAVE QUARTERS. The slave quarters have been recently restored although some damage has occurred by abuses of the lessee running a water hose from the well through the door. Another system for providing water to his troughs should be provided so that the doors of this building can be kept closed. Chimney and window openings should be screened to eliminate bird access and the debris in the attic cleaned up. The early 20th century system for pumping water using an electric motor with pulley drive and rotating shaft should be preserved in place in the attic.

BLACKSMITH SHOP. The Blacksmith Shop requires extensive work to repair the roof and square the building. This damage occurred when a nearby tree fell on the structure. The animal burrows inside the shop should be dug out and the soil replaced and compacted. The wall and roof structures will require reinforcement with new members. The rotted and broken siding should be replaced with weathered boards if possible.

CORN CRIB. The Corn Crib and Wagon Shed also suffered damage from the tree fall and will require similar realignment and reinforcement of the structures. The roof will also need to be repaired to protect the structure. I believe the grade around these two structures can be adjusted so that rainwater will flow away from the walls. There may be no need for a system of gutter and rainwater conductors.

CAVE HOUSE. The construction of a plastic shed over the Cave House or Root Cellar is only a temporary measure; and although it would keep weather off this unusual structure, it would not eliminate deterioration of the building. It is my recommendation that a new estimate be made for work to include the removal of the collapsed walls to grade level or other sound foundation and the rebuilding of the walls and the roof to make this building complete. It may be possible to retain portions of the gable ends and entrance walls. If

> action is taken at this time to rebuild the upper portion of this structure, much of the integrity of the interior can be preserved. There is adequate information of the original configuration from studying the building in its now collapsed condition to do the work.
>
> DAIRY BARN AND SILO. The project to remove the nonhistoric Dairy Barn and Silo is appropriate although I doubt whether this project can be completed for $1,500. I indicated to Mr. Failor that he should send the documentation including history, present use, photographs of these structures, and a statement regarding proposed use of the area along with his request for demolition. I feel that the demolition of these buildings can be justified.
>
> FENCING. There is also a program to provide fencing around the buildings and along the lane both as a management procedure to keep the lessee's cattle away from the buildings and to reestablish the sense of the historic route of Piper's Lane. The present practice of dumping cement on the lane should be immediately stopped; and where possible, gravel rather than crusher run stone should be used to establish this surface. At no time should this road or the farm yard be paved. All these projects are immediate needs to protect the resource of the Piper Farm and are necessary steps to maintain the structures.[50]

By January 24, 1974, the superintendent of Antietam-C&O Canal Group received $24,000 in regional reserve funds to perform needed stabilization work at the Piper Farm. The work was to prevent further deterioration until restoration funds were available. The project's first priority was razing the non-historic dairy barn and silo.[51]

Historical architect Miller again visited Antietam on January 9, 1974, at Superintendent Failor's request. Miller viewed the Sherrick House, the Piper Farm, and the Pry House accompanied by Jim Brown, chief of visitor services, and Dale Sipes, chief of maintenance. He reported:

> SHERRICK HOUSE
>
> The temporary heating system and plastic storm windows installed on the interior of the Sherrick House appear to be working rather well in controlling the condensation and preventing a freeze-up of the interior of the structure. For

---

[50] Memorandum, Historical Architect Hugh Miller to chief historical architect, February 23, 1973, Park File.

[51] Memorandum, superintendent, Antietam-C&O Canal to assistant director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, WASO, through director: National Capital Parks, January 8, 1974, Park File.

some reason, several of the units have been disconnected and the heating elements removed. Dale Sipes was not sure of the reason for this but assured me he would check on any operational problems so that evaluations of the system can be made. If there are no mechanical faults, I would like to make the system and the equipment a standard for temporary heat.

PIPER FARM

The park has received about $25,000 from NCP for emergency work at the Piper Farm. We reviewed the scope of the work which should follow that outlined by trip report of July 23, 1973. The first consideration should be securing the house from weather and providing temporary heat. Work is needed to remove animal burrows and to strengthen the front porch. Also of top priority is the shoring of the several sheds that are in precarious condition. Mr. Brown indicated that he had prepared papers requesting demolition of the silo and milk shed and that the Park had a firm bid offer for this work. This demolition is low priority!

In order to carry out the structural stabilization of the barn, shed, and house there will be a need for professional architectural services . . . .

PRY HOUSE

We also visited the Pry House which will soon be purchased by the Government for inclusion into the Antietam National Battlefield Site. This house needs immediate attention so that the rain water that now pours down the face of the brick masonry and into the foundation coursing can be eliminated. At the same time that new gutters and rain water conductors are installed, there should be a thorough investigation of the roof fabric itself. In these maintenance projects, the materials should be replaced in kind. The ruins of the summer kitchen should be programmed for immediate measuring, perhaps by a HABS summer team, and if possible they should be stabilized. I encouraged Bill Failor to utilize this house as a residence, since it has been modified on its interior for modern use and the occupation by a park employee would provide a degree of protection . . . .

LAND ACQUISITION

I also discussed with Jim Brown the current proposals for lands acquisition for Antietam. It appears that the present proposal does not consider the cultural values as reflected in farmsteads on historic lands. The scope of the lands program should be expanded to protect all lands and structures.[52]

---

[52] Memorandum, Historical Architect Hugh Miller to Chief Historical Architect, February 19, 1974, Park File.

On March 22, 1974, Superintendent Failor submitted a request to remove five structures on the Lohman property. The buildings were part of land acquisition then in progress at Antietam and were an intrusion on the historic scene at Bloody Lane. Acting Director, National Capital Parks, John A. Townsley forwarded Failor's request to the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. Removal of the buildings would return the scene, as nearly as possible, to its state during the 1862 battle, but there was need for some consideration of the propriety of demolishing a two-story log house built between 1862 and 1873. The other four structures were not over 50 years old and had no historic value.[53]

A reply came on May 15, 1974 from Associate Director, Professional Services, Ernest A. Connally. He wrote:

> While we believe it probable that the Lohman House did not occupy its present site during the battle and is an intrusion on the historic scene we suggest that the research already done be supplemented by a physical examination of the building itself. If it was on its present site during the battle its logs and framing ought to have battle damage. Please advise us of the results of such an investigation.
>
> We note that the Lohman privy is over 50 years old also. Permission is granted to remove it, but we recommend that any good drop siding it contains be salvaged if it is demolished.
>
> We would concur in your decision to remove those structures from the Lohman site less than fifty years old.[54]

Further investigation of the Lohman property occured June 19 and 20, 1974, when Denver Service Center exhibits specialists and historic architects, and other National Park Service personnel visited the site. Their investigation had three goals,

> . . . first, to determine if the present structures occupied this site at the time of the battle; secondly, to identify salvageable material in event these structures were obliterated, and third, to act as a training exercise for National Park Service personnel.

---

[53] Memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam-C&O Canal to Director, National Park Service through Director, National Capital Parks; March 22, 1974; Memorandum, Acting Director, National Capital Parks to Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, April 1, 1974, Park File.

[54] Memorandum, Associate Director, Professional Services to Regional Director, National Capital Parks, May 15, 1974, Park File.

Their report on the structures read:
The Lohman house consists of a two-story log structure approximately 16' x 26' with horizontal siding and a full fieldstone basement. Chimneys of hand made brick are located in each gable end with the west chimney beginning on the second floor. This chimney is supported by the framing. Originally, the house was constructed from used materials (origin unknown) in a very poor manner. In its original condition, the basement had a fireplace, a dry pantry, and no interior stairway to the first floor. The walls in the fireplace room were plastered. The first floor consisted of two rooms with stairway connecting the first and second floors. The second floor also consisted of two rooms, whitewashed walls and a stairway leading to the attic. The attic was floored, but otherwise unfinished. The original chinking was used pieces of wood and stone and the dobbing consisted of clay, sand and animal hair and lime.

Our investigation revealed that in approximately 1900, the interior was covered with wood lath and plaster and the exterior logs were covered with 1" x 3" vertical lath and weather boards added horizontally. Three foot tongue and groove, beaded wainscoating was added to the walls of the first floor east room and the windows in the north wall were replaced.

In approximately 1930, the weather boards were removed along with the remaining original windows and doors. New weather boarding, south and west windows and door and north door were installed. The south porch was added and a new tongue and groove floor was placed in the east room, first floor. The original wood shingles were removed and a sheet steel roof added.

In approximately 1945, the wood floor of the south porch was removed and a concrete floor constructed in its place. Concrete was installed around the west and north foundation walls at this time.

During the course of the investigation, enough fabric was removed to assure that this structure did not occupy this location on September 17, 1862. Absolutely no evidence was found to indicate any Civil War involvement. The evidence indicated that the structure to be on this site approximately 1880.

The structure is presently in a very poor state of repair because of the heavy infestation of insects, both termites and powder post beetles, as well as poor construction practices.

The house, souvenir shop, privy, garage, and chicken house should be obliterated. Note; this is a recommendation and not a direction to carry out this activity. Arrangements should be made for an archaeologist to visit the site before any demolition begins.

The following is partial list of salvageable material:

1. Glass and sash
2. Bricks from chimney
3. All stone from foundations
4. Board and batten doors
5. Flooring from 2nd floor and attic areas
6. Floor joist
7. Porch columns
8. All hardware
9. Weatherboards
10. Logs and rafters

All salvage work should be accomplished by skilled craftsman.[55]

Another unsigned, undated report provides further details on the former Charles Lohman property structures. All the structures were vacant in 1974 and all were on the north side of Bloody Lane, 500 yards east of Maryland Route 65.

1. Dwelling

Description: Two story log house with weatherboard siding, half cellar with outside entrance, open front porch, enclosed rear porch, two brick chimneys.

Dimensions: Base, 24' x 16'; height, 22'; front porch, 20' x 24'; rear porch, 8' x 8'.

Condition: poor

History: The house was probably built between 1862 and 1873 while the land was owned by Samuel Mumma. No evidence has been found to indicate that any buildings were standing on this land during the Battle of Antietam in September 1862. Thirty-six reports written by officers commanding all of the divisions, brigades and regiments operating in the area during the battle were studied and none gives any indication of the buildings being present. Since the house would have been within 50 yards of the battle line, it is highly improbable that its presence was overlooked. Copies of a few of the reports are enclosed showing the attention to detail and numerous references to the Piper and Roulette buildings which were standing in the general area at that time. Also enclosed are maps showing troop movements over this area during the battle. Park Historian John M. Sanderson found no evidence of buildings standing in the area during the Civil War from materials available in the Library of Congress.

---

[55] Memorandum, Exhibits Specialist (Restoration), DSC, to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site, July 2, 1974, Park File. The following individuals participated in the investigations:
Kenneth May, exhibits specialist, DSC
James Askins, exhibits specialist, DSC
Douglas Hicks, exhibits specialist, DSC
Thomas Crellin, historic architect, DSC
James Smeal, historic architect, DSC
Allan Phipps, student architect, DSC
Gene Goldsmith, maintenance worker, Roosevelt-Vanderbilt Mansion
Norman McNutt, maintenance carpenter, Saugus Iron Works
Sonney Often-Brink, maintenance worker, Antietam National Battlefield Site

The earliest reference to buildings on this property is in the record of deed transferring the property from Samuel and Elizabeth Mumma to James H. Ward in 1873 (copy enclosed), Liber 72, Folio 3, Washington County Court House, Hagerstown. (All deed references are located in the Washington County Court House.) A photograph dated 1877 (enclosed) shows the house and a mortgage in 1878 (Liber 77, Folio 122) describes a two-story log house. The house and property was sold to Amanda S. Reynolds in 1900 (Liber 112, Folio 54). The announcement for sale published at this time (copy enclosed) describes a weatherboard dwelling.

In 1918, the house and property were deeded to Charles A. Lohman and Charlett R. Lohman (Liber 152, Folio 617). Since Mrs. Lohman's death in 1973, the house and property have been vacant. On February 12, 1974, the National Park Service purchased the house with 0.74 acres of land in fee simple from the Lohman estate.

Since the 1870s, two porches have been added to the structure. A front porch is visible in an aerial photograph dated 1931 in the park files. The enclosed back porch is absent indicating construction since 1931.

2. Outdoor Privy

Description: Double toilet, wood frame structure over a pit.

Dimensions: Base, 7' x 4'; height, 8'.

Condition: Poor

History: No accurate data on the date of erection has been obtained. The structure appears in the 1931 aerial photograph and local resident Paul D. Spielman states that it was present when he arrived in 1924. We can assume it does not predate the dwelling built in the 1870s since there would be no use for a privy before the farm was occupied. We can also be certain that the structure was not present during the Battle of Antietam since there were apparently no buildings on the land at that time.

The privy was used by the residents of the farm and by the customers of the tourist business. This building was included in the fee acquisition of February 12, 1974.

3. Concession Stand

Description: Wood frame stand with concrete slab porch, wooden floor.

Dimensions: Base, 12' x 12'; height, 13'.

Condition: Poor

History: The stand was built in approximately 1928 while the property was owned by the Lohmans according to Mr. Spielman. The 1931 aerial photograph shows the stand. The building was used as a sales outlet for souvenirs and refreshments by the owners until Mrs. Lohman's death in 1973. The building was included in the fee acquisition of February 12, 1974.

4. Garage and Chicken House

Description: Concrete block buildings with wooden doors, dirt floors.

Dimensions: Garage: base, 20' x 30'; height, 12'. Chicken house: base, 10' x 16'; height, 8'.

Condition: Garage, fair; chicken house, poor.

History: The garage was built in the late 1930s and the chicken house in the late 1940s according to Mr. Spielman. Neither building is visible in the 1931 aerial photograph. The assessment record for 1950 from the Washington County tax assessors office (enclosed) indicates that the buildings were assessed for the first time that year. According to an official of the assessors office, assesments are made in Washington County usually every 10 years and no less frequently than every 20 years. Therefore, the 1950 record indicates that the two buildings were built before 1930 and 1950.

When the structures were built, the property was owned by Charles Lohman who probably used the garage to store farm equipment and vehicles and used the chicken house for chickens and guinea hens. In recent years, the garage has been used to store livestock feed. The buildings were purchased in the fee acquisition of February 12, 1974.

Proposed Use

This report recommends that all the buildings be removed returning the scene as nearly as possible to its state during the Battle of Antietam in 1862. As there were no buildings in

> the area at the time and since these structures stand on a very crucial spot altering the original site of the desperate Confederate defense of "Bloody Lane," any attempt to restore the historic scene would have to include removal of these buildings.[56]

In 1975 the Lohman concession stand was removed. The other structures, including the house, still stood in 1983. For further information, see Chapter XI, Lohman Property and Historical Research.

---

[56] Report on Structures Former Charles Lohman Property Antietam National Battlefield Site, n.d. (1974), Park File.

9. ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD INVENTORY (1974 to 1977)

Roads & Trails

231	Historical Roads, stone & gravel	2732'
	Surfaced Roads, Roadways	6.45 miles
	Surfaced Roads, shoulder mowing	26.88 acres
	Graded Roads, shoulder mowing	1740'
	Graded Roads, roadside mowing	5 acres
	Snow Removal	7 miles
	Parking Lots (sizes - 80' x 160')	12,800 sq. ft.
	" " 65' x 395')	15,800 sq. ft.
	" " 40' x 260')	10,400 sq. ft.
	" " 20' x 132')	2,640 sq. ft.
	" " 20' x 128')	2,560 sq. ft.
	" " 16' x 160')	2,560 sq. ft.
	" " 9' x 120')	1,080 sq. ft.
	" " 35' x 155')	5,425 sq. ft.
	" " 52' x 165')	8,580 sq. ft.
	" " 38' x 195')	7,410 sq. ft.
	" " 20' x 85')	1,700 sq. ft.
	" " 11' x 135')	1,485 sq. ft.
	" " 22' x 82')	1,364 sq. ft.
	" " 40' x 48')	1,920 sq. ft.

Signs	83
Culverts & pipe drains	63
Large box drive under type (concrete)	1
Large drive over type (stone structure)	2
Open drains, stone	408'
Drain ditches & gutters	1,128'
Culvert markers	53
Guard rails	2,150'

14 Parking Lots with a total of 75,724 sq. ft.

INVENTORY 1974-1977

Roads & Trails--continued

231	Macadam access maint. roads	4005'	
	Access stone roads	2083	
	Bridge concrete type (Rodman Ave.)	1	
232	Surfaced Trails	20,242' or 3.88 miles	
	Brick walk (National Cemetery)	670'	
	Concrete walks	1,913'	
	Culverts or pipe drains	3	
	Culvert, large walk over type (concrete)	1	

Buildings & Utilities

261	Non-Historical Buildings	23	(18 listed in 1974).
	Flag Poles	2	
262	Well pumps (electric)	4	(3 listed in 1974).
	Well pumps (hand type)	2	
	Sewer systems	5	(4 listed in 1974).
	Water or drinking fountain	2	
263	Trash cans to maintain	51	
	Tulip can holders	24	
281	Trees to maintain	708	
	Shrubs	680	
	Flower planters	17	
	Grass cutting & trimming (develop areas)	120 acres	
	Grass cutting & trimming (field areas)	112 acres	

INVENTORY 1974-1977

Buildings & Utilities-- continued

282	Metal chairs	230
	Park benches	14
	Post & rail fence	332'
	Worm rail fence	1930'
	Miles of post and woven wire (29.28 in 1974).	33 miles
	Picnic area -- (12 tables)	1
	Boy Scout Camping Area	1
	Message repeaters	4
	Interpretive signs, markers & plaques	458
	Informational and other signs	767
	Wayside exhibits	26
	Metal gates	32
	Wooden gates	40
300	Bridges, historical (Burnside Bridge)	1
	Historical buildings	17
	Observation tower, stone structure	1
	Rostrum, brick & wood	1
	Iron fence to maintain	672'
	Historical stone fence (12,347" in 1974)	15,134"
	Statues & monuments	91
	Headstones	4,527
	Cemeteries	2
	Carriages & cannons	41

INVENTORY, 1974-1977

Buildings & Utilities — Continued

Gun barrels, markers on field	8
Dioramas, case display, panels, etc.	34
Stone wall at National Cemetery	2,053'
Pews in Dunkard Church	21
Stove, iron (Dunkard Church)	1
Table, wood (Dunkard Church)	1
Headstones in Mumma Cemetery	336

BLANK PAGE

CHAPTER XI

ANTIETAM FREE AGAIN JULY 1, 1974 - JULY 1983

1. REORGANIZATION, 1974

As of July 1, 1974, the C & O Canal and the Antietam National Battlefield Site were separated into two parks. Management assistant A.W. Anderson became superintendent of Antietam. Both parks retained their own staff, but Antietam's administrative functions were still handled by the C & O Canal administrative office. This included personnel actions, financial programming, and preparation of various reports and forms. The IRRM (Interpretation, Recreation and Resource Management) staff carried out its same functions: staffing the visitor center, orienting visitors to the battlefield, presenting audio and visual programs, giving walks and talks, presenting rifle-musket and cannon demonstrations, and carrying out other interpretive programs. The maintenance staff's primary function remained maintenance of the battlefield and cemetery. Both park staffs remained housed in the Antietam visitor center, which created problems of space and function.[1]

2. KEY PERSONNEL 1974-1983

a. Superintendent.

A. W. "Andy" Anderson came to Antietam in 1971 after a long National Park Service career. Originally from Colorado, Anderson began work for the Park Service in 1959 as a seasonal technician at Petrified Forest National Park. He became a permanent employee at Carlsbad Caverns National Park in 1960 as a park guide. Anderson was park ranger at Lake Mead National Recreation Area in 1961; district ranger at Zion National Park in 1964; district ranger at Blue Ridge Parkway in 1966; chief ranger at Ozark National Scenic Riverways in 1969; and management assistant at the C & O Canal-Antietam Group in 1971. Anderson obtained the superintendency of Antietam National Battlefield Site in 1974 when the park separated from the C & O Canal. He served as superintendent for three years and nine months; leaving Antietam in 1978 to become chief ranger at Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area.

---

[1] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1974.

Superintendent Anderson had to rebuild Antietam after its separation from the C & O Canal in terms of staffing, staff morale, funding, and improving the park. He stated the rebuilding was "like starting a new area." Anderson supervised the completion of many projects while keeping in mind his goal of restoring Antietam to prominence. During his tenure as superintendent, Anderson's staff performed physical research and restoration of the Pry House; initiated a "living farm" program at the Piper Farm as part of the interpretive division; completed landscaping at the national cemetery and protected headstones; replaced the national cemetery's historic brick sidewalk and restored the entrance gate; restored the historic Burnside Bridge; completed changes in the visitor center museum exhibits and text with aid from Harpers Ferry in 1975; conducted an extensive special events program; and in 1977-1978 conducted inspections, planning, and meeting with public groups concerning Monocacy National Battlefield. Superintendent Anderson fought to keep construction and other encroachments from developing on Antietam's borders.[2]

Virgil Leimer obtained Antietam's superintendency in 1978 after a long National Park Service career. Originally from Nebraska, he served in the Navy during the Korean Conflict, worked in administration for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from 1956 to 1958, and attended Colorado State University from 1959 to 1962, obtaining a Bachelor of Science degree. Superintendent Leimer's first National Park Service seasonal position was in 1961 at Badlands National Monument. He became a permanent employee at Colonial National Historical Park as a park ranger in 1962, and was promoted to district ranger at Yorktown in 1966. Leimer moved west to Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in 1969 and served as chief, division of visitor activities, resources management and special land use; and as acting superintendent.

Leimer's primary concerns at Antietam were restoration of the historic scene, safety projects, and energy conservation. He worked to improve management efficiency by attracting volunteers to complement the interpretive program, receiving donations of land and money, and to rewrite and tighten scenic easements already in force at the park. Leimer worked to buy additional rights on land easements and to negotiate for tighter controls on easements.

---

[2] Interview, A. W. Anderson, August 15, 1983.

Antietam's land acquisition legislation was in place before Superintendent Leimer arrived at the park, but he participated in planning for Monocacy National Battlefield. In 1983 Monocacy development stood at a standstill, and Superintendent Leimer hoped for the plans to move forward within 18 months.

Leimer believed in maintaining Antietam's historic scene, which he had inherited through others' hard work. He therefore did not agree with the 1982 decision not to restore the Piper Barn to its 1862 appearance. Superintendent Leimer hoped that attitudes would change and that in the future the Piper Barn would be restored to interpret the scene at the time of the Battle of Antietam.[3]

b. Chief, Interpretation, Recreation, and Resource Management

Edomo Mazzer began working at Antietam in 1974. His National Park Service seasonal work began in 1959 with jobs at Glacier National Park and Death Valley National Monument. Mr. Mazzer became a per-manent employee in 1961 as a general ranger at Glen Canyon National Historical Recreation Area. From there he moved to Fort Jefferson National Monument as site manager in 1967 and to Everglades National Park in 1968 as district naturalist. In 1972 Mazzer joined Morristown National Historical Park's staff as chief, visitor protection. He was originally from Pen Argyl, Pennsylvania.

Chief, IRRM, Mazzer's goals for his division included providing for the park visitors in the best way possible so they would enjoy the park and understand why it was established. Mazzer wanted his division to be the best in the park and he preferred incorporating staff members' ideas and trying new projects in an effort to have his operation run smoothly, rather than pushing his own preferred projects. The biggest problem he faced in the interpretive division was the issue of women staff members' participation in rifle firing and cannon demonstrations. He believed the effort to bar women employees from such activities to be unfair discrimination.[4]

---

[3] Interview, Virgil Leimer, August 12, 1983.
[4] Interview, Edomo Mazzer, August 11, 1983.

c. Interpretive Specialist

Paul Chiles began working at Antietam as interpretive specialist in May 1981. He started his National Park Service career as a seasonal interpreter at Gettysburg National Military Park in 1970 and 1971. After obtaining a bachelor's degree in history at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Chiles served two years in the Army. From 1974 until 1976 he worked for the Veterans Administration in Denver. He rejoined the National Park Service in 1976 as a ranger intake trainee at Badlands National Park. His arrival at Antietam in 1981 fulfilled Chiles' goal of returning to a Civil War park where his "job and hobby are the same thing."

Chiles worked at Antietam to provide maximum visitor contacts with a minimal seasonal interpretive staff. Budget cuts and hiring ceilings did not provide enough people or money to run the entire park, let alone the interpretive division in the early 1980s. While managing the Parks and History Association operation at Antietam, specialist Chiles hired a full-time salesperson to release seasonal Park Service staff time for visitor services. Chiles worked to broaden the Antietam library collection. Specialist Chiles' long-range historical research project was to do statistical analysis of all combatants at the 1862 Battle of Antietam. He wanted to use a computer system to index names, ranks, and units of soldiers in an attempt to discover exactly who fought in the battle, to add names to the numbers, and to "humanize the war."[5]

d. Park Technician

Betty Otto began working at Antietam in 1962 as a temporary typist. After a brief time working for the Veterans Administration, she returned to Antietam as a permanent employee, clerk-typist, in June 1963. She became a park guide and was later promoted to park technician/interpretation. Her major duties included managing the curatorial program, the library and museum, and historical research. She served as both the EEO Counselor and the FWP Coordinator. In 1972 she became the coordinator of the VIP program in the park. Technician Otto was originally from Hagerstown, Maryland.

The VIP program grew from 20 to more than 200 volunteers under Betty Otto's direction. She began with volunteers at the Dunkard

---

[5] Interview, Paul Chiles, August 12, 1983.

Church, recruited senior citizens to volunteer at the National Cemetery lodge, and expanded the program to include reenactment groups in costumed living history programs. She also had volunteer assistance with curatorial, museum, and library work. The directon and scope of Antietam's interpretive programming was dependent upon the Volunteers in Park program.

Betty Otto was responsible for most of the suitability and feasibility studies done for the 1978 land legislation, and for an interpretive emphasis on the park's natural resources and women's history. She helped develop text for the "Antietam Visit" film, worked with Harpers Ferry staff to redevelop Antietam's museum display, and as an on-going project, she acquired copies of diaries and accumulated records belonging to Antietam soldiers. This research provided historical support for the interpretive programming.

In Betty Otto's view Antietam regained its identity since its separation from the C & O Canal. Because of good public relations Antietam had "come out front" in establishing its importance as a major historical site. Technician Otto was pleased to see historic structures being restored as part of resource management because, in her opinion, the structures were vital to the interpretive program at the park.[6]

e. Chief of Maintenance, 1974-1981

Floyd "Buck" Gatrell served as Antitam's chief of maintenance from 1974 until 1981. Gatrell, who was born and raised in Sharpsburg, began his National Park Service career in 1951 as a seasonal maintenance worker at Antietam. In 1960 he became a permanent employee, was later promoted to maintenance foreman, and became chief of maintenance when Antietam separated from the C & O Canal. He retired from the Park Service on disability.

Under Gatrell's leadership the Antietam maintenance division restored many historic structures and stabilized others. His staff restored the New York monument. They stabilized the Piper Farm structures and restored the slave house and root cellar. The Burnside Bridge was stabilized and its concrete cap replaced with a historically accurate wooden cap. Historic stone walls along Branch Avenue and at the Pry House were restored. Gatrell's greatest achievement was his work with Antietam carpenter Henry "Sonny" Aufdem-Brinke in restoring the Pry House after it burned in 1976. He considered the restoration to be "really beautiful."[7]

---

[6] Interview, Betty Otto, August 11, 1983.

f. Chief of Maintenance

Sam Nichols was a relative newcomer to the National Park Service when he began work at Antietam in April 1982. He spent 12 years working for the Fairfax County, Virginia, park system from 1967-1979. He joined the National Park Service in 1980 as a tree trimmer with National Capital Region. He moved to Glen Echo as facility management specialist in 1981 before being assigned to Antietam.

Sam Nichols supervises a strong cyclic maintenance program at Antietam. His first priority remains stabilization of historic structures, including restoration of stone walls and the repair of monuments. Nichols' staff also works to upgrade utility and water systems, and to retrofit structures for energy conservation. Future plans for the maintenance division call for an increased amount of reactive maintenance work being performed at Monocacy National Battlefield. Nichols also spent much time preparing for the enactment of A-76 bid procedures in 1984. This work involved preparing performance work statements detailing all maintenance, commercial, and industrial work. Nichols kept documentation on time and expense of the maintenance operation as background paperwork, preparatory to opening bids for the work in the private sector.

3. ADMINISTRATION

a. Personnel--Organization, 1974-1982

Budgeted permanent positions at Antietam ranged from 11 to 21 during the mid- to late-1970s and early 1980s. During these years the permanent staff was supplemented by seasonal staff and by people working under a variety of work programs. The Comprehensive Employee Training Act of 1973 provided people who were paid by the Washington County Manpower Commission, clerical workers paid by the Washington County School Board under the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, and still other workers who came to Antietam through the Youth Conservation Corps and Young Adult Conservation Corps programs. In fiscal 1977 Bicentennial Land Heritage funds provided the park with two new permanent maintenance worker positions and allowed three subject-to-furlough workers to be converted to permanent full-time.

---

[7] Interview, Floyd Gatrell, August 12, 1983.

The beginning of calendar year 1979 brought a hiring freeze which had an impact on Antietam's workforce. As a result of the freeze, a permanent full-time maintenance worker position vacated early in April 1979 remained vacant throughout the year. Two subject-to-furlough maintenance worker positions, a part-time clerk-typist position, and a park technician position were not filled until July, even though they had been approved for establishment on the annual operating program in mid-December 1978. When the freeze was lifted, personnel ceilings were established for the region. To meet those ceilings, the National Capital Region Personnel Management Review Board reviewed every SF-52 submitted for action, and many full-time permanent positions were allowed to be filled on a "less-than-full-time" basis only. Personnel ceilings continued to impact Antietam's staffing in 1980, and by 1981 the staff was still plagued with vacancies in every division caused by transfers, retirements, and resignations. Hiring freezes compounded the problem, resulting in many key positions remaining vacant for extended periods of time.[8]

b. CETA

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act was a federally funded program which found jobs for approximately 800 people in Washington County. City and county government offices and other public service agencies hired unemployed people under the program. Many private industries in the county also participated. Antietam benefited with three positions being filled on the IRRM staff in 1975. CETA workers contributed hours in the following positions: one clerical aide--231 hours, and one library aide-445 hours. In addition to the clerical work, eight CETA workers contributed hours in the maintenance division in 1976. Their accomplished projects:

1. Grass cutting and trimming
2. Painting of buildings and cannon carriages
3. Cleaning of fence rows and boundary lines
4. Painted road marking on tour roads
5. Removed dead wood and trees from trails, National Cemetery, Brigade Park, and Maryland plot

---

[8] Superintendent's annual report(s), 1974-1981.

6. Cleaned buildings, observation tower, and tour roads
7. Removed vegetation growth from historic stone walls and structures
8. Performed trash pickup along tour roads
9. Washed and cleaned vehicles and equipment
10. Repairs to guard rails and fences.

In 1977 CETA supplied 10 employees in maintenance, and one each in IRRM and administration. Eleven youths and five adults participated in the 1978 CETA program. In 1979 one youth from CETA assisted in curatorial programs. Six adults worked in maintenance and one adult assisted in administration.

In 1980 the park staff was supplemented with six CETA positions: one administration position--9.6 work months, five maintenance positions--34.2 work months for a total of 43.8-work months. Late in the summer of 1980, however, the local CETA office received directions to review their program in relation to existing regulations concerning pay and wage ceilings. The result was the finding that CETA could no longer place participants in wage grade positions with the federal government. Antietam's maintenance division lost authorization for CETA positions as a result. A proposal for three resource management park aides, one library aide, and one information/sales receptionist was submitted for fiscal year 1981, but was denied because of funding cuts in the CETA program. Apparently the fears that no CETA support would be forthcoming in fiscal 1981 proved false, for the 1981 superintendent's annual report states that CETA supplemented the maintenance staff with three employees who worked 630 hours.[9] In 1982 there were four CETA workers at the park.

c. YCC

Antietam's first Youth Conservation Corps program occurred in 1977. The eight-week program was a non-residential operation and provided 16 enrollees and three staff members with a diversity of conservation related projects to complete on the battlefield. The maintenance division benefited from the program because YCC provided a workforce to complete projects that were considered low priority. The 1977 projects were:

---

[9] Ibid., 1975-1981.

1. Cleaned and removed all dirt and vegetation from stone walls.

2. Removed 3.5 miles of rail fence and replaced with new.

3. Replaced 14 signs on the Snavely Ford Trail.

4. Picked up all litter from 8 miles of tour roads, 5 miles of walking trails.

5. Replaced and repaired deterioriated posts and rails along Bloody Lane.

6. Cleaned and rebuilt the trail that leads from the wood storage area to Antietam Creek.

7. Cleaned and removed all dead wood from 3.5 miles of trails in the park. Filled holes with stones and regraded where required.

8. Cleaned and removed all rust and loose paint from three historic cannon carriages and repainted.

9. Re-layed stones and stabilized tops of walks in park and removed all vegetation on 8 miles of walks.

10. Replaced and repaired missing slats from trash can holders; repainted and installed new trash cans.

11. Painted and catalogued numbers on cannon tubes and carriages.

12. Made repairs to all picnic tables and painted them.

13. Fabricated and installed access gates for the Piper Farm trail; installed drain pipes for new trail.

14. Painted Spring House at Mumma Farm.

15. Made new doors for Visitor Center.

16. Installed a new Best lock system in the park.

17. Painted all guard rails with woodlife.[10]

A second eight-week YCC program occurred in 1978. The program began June 26 and ended August 18. Four staff members came on duty three days before the program began and remained three days after the program ended. The 1978 program was accident free, which was quite an accomplishment for the 21 enrollees. U.S. Army vehicles were used to transport work crews to their project locations, but a major problem occurred halfway through the program when the decision was made not to use these vehicles. Two station wagons were leased and used for the rest of the summer. The 1978 YCC crews accomplished these tasks:

---

[10] Ibid., 1977.

1. Replaced and added 40 trees in the Philadelphia Brigade Park and provided proper fertilization for each tree.

2. Improved the stability of the culverts along the Snavely Ford historical and nature trail. This project also included lining the waterway to each culvert with stones to minimize erosion.

3. Stabilized those portions of the Antietam Creek bank along the Snavely Ford trail that was being eroded by the water of the creek and cutting into portions of the foot trail.

4. Repaired and graveled 2½ miles of walking trails.

5. Enlarged the present picnic area to accommodate 12 additional tables.

6. Began the cedar tree removal project on those portions of the Piper Farm classified as pastureland. Project should be completed during the 1979 encampment.

7. Replaced the hazardous and decrepit steps and hand rail leading from the upper walkway to the Snavely Ford trail head at the Burnside Bridge.

8. Moved approximately 300 feet of a boundary fence to its proper location in addition to providing repairs to deteriorating boundary fencing.

9. Restriped parking spaces on six parking lots as well as repainting all tour directional arrows and vehicle stop lines at all stop signs.

10. Placed barricades across visitor-made foot trails up the hillside leading from Burnside Bridge to the parking lot. This was done in the interest of visitor protection by forcing them to use the provided paved walks.

11. Control and removal of noxious weeds and grass at visitor use facilities along sidewalks, parking lots and foot trails.

12. Cleaned historic buildings of dirt accumulations and removed old paint in preparation for repainting.[11]

---

[11] Ibid., 1978.

The 1979 YCC program proved beneficial again because enrollees completed work projects which could not have been done by the park maintenance staff because of higher work priorities. It was reported:

> The program for the 20 enrollees commenced on June 25 and ended on August 17 with the four staff members being brought on duty June 18 and terminated August 22. Work projects for the enrollees were planned to be meaningful and yet provide a varied work experience in the progressive completion of all projects. Environmental awareness was subtly interjected into each project to complement the required weekly ten hours of exposure to that portion of the program. Lectures on the environment and trips to various locations fulfilled the required Environmental Awareness curriculum.

The transportation problems were not repeated from the year before. The Young Adult Conservation Corps program provided two vans and a pick-up truck was acquired through the Regional Youth Activity Office.

The list of 1979 YCC-completed projects is impressive:

> 1. Paint pedestrian crossing bars and lines at points on tour roads where visitors would be crossing to receive an interpretive message or view an historic structure.
>
> 2. Striping along edges of the road designating the location of hazards such as culverts or depressions was also completed. Overall purpose was for the safety of the visitor.
>
> 3. A total of twelve fire rings 6 feet in diameter were constructed in the Rohrbach campground. The rings will help contain the fires in specific locations and prevent the unsightly scatterings of blackened areas made by previous campers. The rings will also prevent the scattering of rocks that are a potential hazard to grass-mowing equipment.
>
> 4. Repair was done to a large storm drain ditch near the historic Burnside Bridge. The drain extends under the Snavely Ford trail and empties into the Antietam Creek. Stones were cemented together and used to line the ditch to deter future storm damage.
>
> 5. Stone riprap was applied to 3,000 square feet of washed out ditch located on the Piper Farm along Richardson Avenue. Hopefully, the stonework will help cut down on the serious erosion taking place.
>
> 6. Repair 1,200 feet of the washed out Snavely Ford trail with crusher-run stone. Portions of trail were washed out by flood and water and presented a safety hazard to the visitor.

7. Clean, prime, and paint six Civil War cannon carriages.

8. Repair deteriorating wood rail fence bordering both sides of historic Bloody Lane.

9. Construct and place eight benches along the Snavely Ford trail. The benches were made from logs collected in the park. The benches were very beneficial to the elderly and handicapped to rest on while walking the trail.

10. Remove detrimental and unsightly vegetation from the National and Mumma cemeteries and old dry stone walls. Project included replacing loose or fallen stones.

11. Trimming vegetation along both sides of walk at Visitor Center, Dunkard Church, Maryland Plot, and Burnside Bridge areas.

12. Repair and cover three drain pipes used to carry run-off water under the Snavely Ford trail. This was in conjunction with the removal of hazardous trees along the two-and-one-half miles of trail. All wood was sawed into 24" lengths.

13. Construct 200 linear feet of fence consisting of wood post and wire fence. Fence is used to prevent motorists from entering the campground.

14. Remove undesirable cedar trees from the pasture land of the Piper Farm. Trees were used as wildlife shelters and to control soil erosion on the farm.

15. Reconstruct drainage ditch along portion of the Burnside Bridge tour road and line the ditch with stone cemented together.[12]

The budget for the 1980 YCC program amounted to only $23,000. Because of budget reductions, the YCC staff was reduced to three members instead of the previous four. The number of enrollees was reduced to 16. Staff positions consisted of a camp director and two combined positions of environmental awareness/group leader and a work coordinator/group leader. The staff began work June 16 and finished August 20. Enrollees reported to work June 23 and finished on August 15.

Acquiring transportation vehicles proved to be a major problem. Transportation did not become available until after the program started. Only then did the project manager acquire a pickup truck from Fort Ritchie, a twelve-passenger van from the Washington, D.C., Job Corps, and a nine-passenger station wagon from the Baltimore General Services Administration Motor Pool.[13]

---

[12] Ibid., 1979.

The YCC program finished its fifth year at Antietam in 1981. Because of budget reductions, Antietam had to share 70 selected enrollees with two other parks -- Harpers Ferry and C & O Canal. The C & O Canal became the host park and put 50 enrollees to work. Antietam and Harpers Ferry thus had 10 workers each for the season. Antietam's YCC budget totalled $10,110, and the program began June 22 and finished August 14, 1981 with no accidents.[14]

The 1982 YCC program at Antietam was greatly reduced because of budget cuts and the possible elimination of the program. Six enrollees participated and the program had an authorized budget not to exceed $10,800. The enrollees' salary cost was estimated at $7,200.

A new recruiting system was implemented, one in which the project manager was authorized to hire eligible applicants. Antietam's chief of maintenance, Sam Nichols, preferred the previous computer method because it covered a wider geographical area and it was impartial in selection. Even though the 1982 selection process was conducted in a fair manner, the previous method of recruitment prevented parents from asking why their children were not hired and it protected the project manager from criticism of favoritism.

Even with the reduced scope of the program, the park staff believed the benefits to both Antietam National Battlefield and the enrollees were worthwhile. The YCC projects were labor intensive with low material cost. The 1982 crew painted almost half of Antietam's cannons and carriages, painted 25 percent of the cast iron 1890s War Department position markers, refurbished benches and the numbered trail markers on the Snavely Ford trail, rebuilt and painted picnic tables, and after clearing brush and weeds, rebuilt 1,440 linear feet of historic stone fence bordering the Piper Farm along Route 65.

---

[13] Ibid., 1980.
[14] Ibid., 1981.

After a damaging storm on July 11 the young people cleaned downed limbs, leaves, and debris from the national cemetery, Philadelphia Brigade Park, Snavely Ford trail, Burnside Bridge, and from Antietam Creek. Approximately 60 acres were cleared. The crew also repaired a washed-out section of the Snavely Ford trail and rebuilt retaining walls at the culvert.

Nichols' summation of Antietam's 1982 YCC performance was a testament to the program's continued worth to both the park and the participants:

> During the orientation, subsequent meetings and throughout the duration of the program, every effort was made by both the interpretive staff and maintenance personnel to impress on the enrollees the importance of their work to the National Park Service in general and particularly how each project related to specific environmental concerns. Even though this year's program was much more goal oriented and less specific in its approach to environmental awareness education, many practical lessons were learned.
>
> The Youth Conservation Corps participants were of tremendous help to us this summer and we would benefit greatly, particularly in these austere times, by the return of this or a similar program in the future. We would hope that our allocation could be greater next summer due to the excellent results of this year's efforts and Antietam National Battlefield's continuing need for positive youth programs.[15]

d. YACC

The Young Adult Conservation Corps program was implemented at Antietam on April 5, 1979, with a total of ten enrollees as part of a 100-enrollee crew hosted by the C & O Canal National Historical Park. This program, like the YCC, helped reduce the backlog of low priority projects which the park maintenance force had not been able to complete. The 1980 YACC program provided only five people for a total of 2.8-work years as a supplement to the park staff. Five people worked in the YACC program at Antietam in 1981 for a total of 6,521 hours.[16]

e. EEO

An Equal Employment Opportunity Committee was elected at Antietam in 1974 to create and maintain a climate of fair and equal

---

15. Annual Report 1982, Antietam National Battlefield, Youth Conservation Corps, Park File A98.
16. Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1978-1981.

CETA, YACC, AND YCC WORKERS 1975-1983

YEAR	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act	YACC Young Adult Conservation Corps	YCC Youth Conservation Corps		
			staff	youths	weeks
1975	3				
1976	10				
1977	12		3	16	8
1978	16		4	21	8
1979	8	10	4	20	8
1980	6	5	3	16	8
1981	3	5		10	6
1982	4			6	8

opportunity for all Antietam employees. The superintendent established an EEO Affirmative Action Plan and included the plan in the goals for the fiscal year. The park staff also had an EEO counselor and a Federal Women's Program coordinator. Throughout the ensuing years staff members participated in a variety of programs designed to heighten awareness of the EEO program, to keep informed of hiring procedures and career opportunities, and to increase the numbers of female and minority seasonal employees through recruitment at local colleges.

Minority recruitment remained a challenge in Maryland's under-represented western region. Antietam's staff responded to this situation in 1979 by starting an outreach program to inform the public about federal job opportunities. The program was implemented in September after National Capital Region's minority program for seasonals had no impact on Antietam's staffing. Staff members contacted 20 schools and colleges about the staff's availability to present on-site talks concerning federal job opportunities. They directed special emphasis toward minority schools and communities. Antietam's administrative technician became a participating member of the Washington County Employment Advisory Committee. This committee helped coordinate the hiring and training of people in Washington County through the various local, state, and federal agencies with an emphasis on affirmative action.

In 1980 three minority employees joined Antietam's staff. This representation was three more than in 1979. Recruitment efforts throughout 1980 and 1981 retained their emphasis upon staff cooperation with local educational and rehabilitation agencies such as Good Will Industries, the Washington County Employment Advisory Committee of Hagerstown Junior College, Shepherd College, the local chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the county CETA office, and local schools in an effort to acquaint the public about federal employment policy and procedure.

Another aspect of EEO at Antietam was the Minority Business Enterprise Program. This program emphasized identification of minority-owned business in an effort to offer them the opportunity to participate in government bidding procedures for contracts.[17]

f. FWP

In October 1967 Executive Order 11375 added sex to other prohibited forms of discrimination of federal employment. The Civil Service Commission then set up the Federal Women's Program, which was integrated into the EEO program in 1969. Antietam's Federal Women's Program coordinator acted as a resource person and assisted in carrying out the program. The coordinator acted as consultant to Antietam's administration staff on matters of advancement of the status of women, plans for improvement, and followup after plans were put into effect.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s Antietam's coordinator participated in regional meetings and workshops which were designed to provide guidance and further development of skills needed to implement the Federal Women's Program in the park and region. The Antietam staff made special efforts to direct women into federal employment and the number of permanent female staff ranged from one to five in the years 1975-1980.

During International Women's Year 1975 the park staff inaugurated a series of talks and slide programs on women and the Civil War. The programs, "Prominent Women During the Civil War," "Women During the Battle of Antietam," and "Heroines of the North and South during the Civil War," reached an audience of more than 200 visitors.[18]

4. BUDGET AND FINANCE, 1974-1982

The introduction of Zero Base Budgeting (ZBB) in 1977 made a critical difference in Antietam's funding and workpower. Instead of basing next year's budget on last year's budget with justifications needed only for increases, ZBB sought rejustification for Antietam's total program. In 1976 Antietam's staff believed that the institution of ZBB would justify Antietam's needs and prove that previous year bases had been too low. In 1977 the staff was proved correct. ZBB assisted the staff in documenting gross underfunding and understaffing. The new program brought Antietam increases in both funds and in workpower.

---

[17] Ibid., 1974-1981.
[18] Ibid.

The paperwork and time involved in instituting the new program proved, however, to be monumental. "Key staff members started working on the FY 79 and 80 ZBB on December 13, 1977, and finally completed the entire process, reviews, and consolidation statistics on March 12, 1978. Division chiefs worked almost solely on budget preparation during this time, thus causing a backlog in their other duties," the superintendent noted.

The approved park budget in 1979 suffered a decrease of $10,000 from the approved ZBB because of congressional budget cuts imposed on the National Park Service. Additionally, $9,000 was held back to enable Antietam's budget to absorb 40 percent of FY 80 pay increases. In past years these increases were funded entirely by Congress or from Washington Office contingencies. The park was not affected too adversely because of unusually high lapses in personnel caused by hiring freezes and ceiling reductions.

Approved Operating Programs 1975-1982

Fiscal
1975 - $234,320
1976 - $251,900
1977 - $293,000 (originally set at $263,500, but moved after reworking and justification to National Capital Region)
1978 - $400,000 (first year for ZBB)
1979 - $443,100
1980 - $492,500 (including $13,000 for personnel and vehicle funding at Monocacy National Battlefield)[19]
1981 - $542,100
1982 - $516,500

5. PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

C & O Canal staffers moved into new headquarters at Ferry Hill Farm in 1976. Up to that time the Antietam and C & O Canal shared space at Antietam's visitor center although the two parks had been administra-tively separated since 1974. All of the office furniture and machines were moved to the new headquarters. At the end of fiscal year 1976 Antietam received $1,600 to replace file cabinets and bookcases previously shared by both staffs. Antietam received no new office furniture, but its staff moved their offices from downstairs to the upstairs in the visitor center. The remaining furniture was simply reorganized.

---

[19] Ibid.

In 1977 Antietam staffers made physical on-site inventories. Using a 143-page printout of Antietam-C & O Canal property, staffers reviewed every item until all Antietam's property was identified, coded, and separated from the C & O Canal's organization code. The action served to aid in better management and control of park property.[20]

In October 1978 the park's imprest fund safe was forcibly entered and robbed of $244. On February 22, 1979, a new imprest fund safe was delivered. The cost to Antietam for the theft, which was charged to the park, and for the replacement safe was $1,870.[21]

6. PLANNING

Antietam's administrative staff used several planning documents as guidelines when plotting the course of the park's future. The master plan dated from 1971 and by 1974 was in need of revision. In 1979 Antietam's staff developed the draft of a resource management plan and completed the crime prevention and security plan. It was not until November 1981 that the Antietam resources management plan was completed, and approved copies arrived from National Capital Region on March 31, 1982. The staff also kept a five-year conservation program, a five-year development program, and a cyclic maintenance program up-to-date as guideline documents during the late 1970s.[22]

7. STATEMENT FOR MANAGEMENT

Statement for management documents, approved in 1976, 1979, and 1983, also served as bases for planning and development. The statements contained proposals for future public use, historic preservation, land acquisition, interpretive programming, and management actions. They also outlined significant park resources, management objectives, land classification, and influences on management.[23]

---

[20] Ibid., 1976-1977.

[21] Ibid., 1979.

[22] Ibid., 1974, 1979, 1981, Weekly Activities Report, April 1, 1982, Park File A2623.

[23] News Release, National Park Service, February 28, 1977 Park File A6435; Statement for Management, Antietam National Battlefield Site, December 16, 1976; Statement for Management, January 23, 1979; Statement For Management, March, 1983.

8. ADVISORY COMMISSION

An Advisory Commission to Antietam served as an advising body to the National Park Service in the 1970s. The commission was established in 1972 and chaired by Washington County Commissioner Rome Schwagel. Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Republican from Maryland, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Republican from Maryland, and Representative Goodloe Bryon, Democrat from Frederick, selected the seven member group. The commission's principal interest was following pending congressional legislation concerning Antietam's land acquisition. After initial action in 1972, the group met only a few times by 1974, and not at all in 1975-1977 because of the long wait for congressional action.[24]

9. LAND ACQUISITION, 1974-1983

Antietam experienced changes in its land holdings and status throughout the mid- to late-1970s. Realizing that a loophole existed in the April 22, 1960, act which set a limit of 1,800 acres for the park, Antietam's managers and congressional allies set to work to close the loophole which threatened the battlefield. The 1960 act provided that 600 acres of the 1,800 could be acquired under fee title by purchase or condemnation. The fee acquisition of 600 acres was completed by 1974. By 1983 the park held 814.02 acres in fee, acquiring them through donation, acquisition, and transfer. The 1960 act also contained the authority to acquire scenic easements or other less than fee interests, including acquisition of the fee title and reconveyance to the former owner with restrictive covenants placed upon the land. By 1983 Antietam held 899.26 acres of scenic easements. Monies for these easements came from the National Park Service inholding program. Antietam's managers feared that years would pass before the authorized ceiling of 1,800 acres was reached because of the restrictive nature of the available funds.

The loophole, or flaw, in the 1960 legislation was that it set no boundaries for the park. An administrative boundary of 1,800 acres had been adopted, but no legislative boundary existed. Since 1969, bills were introduced in an attempt to protect the battlefield from encroachments. In 1972 the Advisory Commission analyzed what boundary and methods would best protect the site. They worked

---

[24] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1974.

ANTIETAM PLANNING DOCUMENTS

1. NPS Management Policies and Long Term Management Plan

Interpretation Guidelines, NPS-6

Other guidelines as appropriate.

2. Current Planning Document for Area

Statement for Management, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1979, 1983.

Master Plan: Antietam Battlefield, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1971.

Interpretive Prospectus, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1970.

Resources Management Plan, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1981.

3. Other Relevant Documents

Antietam Chronology and Miscellaneous Facts, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, (n.d.).

Antietam -- Human Suffering Unequalled - (History of the Park), National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1979.

Bibliography -- Battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg, Maryland September, 1862, (Books Related to the History of the Battle), National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1981.

Collection Preservation Guide, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1980.

Document Safety Program for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1978.

List of Classified Structures, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1981.

Museum Scope of Collection, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, 1977.

closely with area landowners. Their work resulted in the introduction of S.4081 in 1972. The bill proposed increasing the acreage of Antietam to 3,211.52 acres. It had to be reintroduced twice, as S.386 in 1974, and as S.91 in 1975, before it passed on November 10, 1978. Public Law 95-625 (92 Stat. 3488) authorized the purchase of scenic easements and the alteration of the boundary to include those lands. The word "Site" was also dropped from Antietam's official name.[25]

Other land acquisition success occurred during these years alongside the change in legislative status. At the beginning of 1974, the park possessed a total remaining fee acquisition authority of 4.33 acres. Ample authority remained for acquiring scenic easements, but considerable landowner opposition existed toward, the easement program and this prevented any significant acquisition attempts during the year. In one instance, the park staff used a combination of fee/scenic easement along with the National Park Foundation's assistance to complete closing on four tracts in fee, containing 3.89 acres. Less than fee interests, principally scenic easements, were acquired for five tracts, containing 150.34 acres.

The park staff considered these acquisitions significant, even though they were small in acreage. The staff tailored the legal descriptions to fit the location of improvements, and in doing so they acquired the Pry House (George McClellan's headquarters site), the souvenir stand on Bloody Lane (Lohman property) which the staff had wanted to remove for years, and the nonhistoric buildings, which the park staff also wanted to remove, next to the Dunkard Church.

In June 1974 the staff met with a private organization called "Antietam Protectors, Inc.," which was soliciting funds to purchase private land at Antietam. They planned to donate the land to the National Park Service and to coordinate their activities with the chief of lands, National Capital Parks.[26]

In 1975 the park staff acquired the Fred Kramer property, consisting of 120 acres. The scenic easement cost $96,000. The staff appraised four additional properties. The lands office was moved from National Capital Parks in 1975, resulting in the lands office in

---

[25] Statement for Management, Antietam National Battlefield, March 1983; The Post, Frederick, Maryland, July 23, 1974.

[26] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1974.

Philadelphia being responsible for overseeing Antietam's land program. Local real estate dealers still performed appraisals, however, and land contracts with local owners continued.[27]

On June 30, 1975, Antietam Superintendent Anderson wrote a memorandum to the National Capital Parks Director concerning a study of an omnibus bill proposal for the purpose of ceiling increases and boundary changes of Antietam National Battlefield Site. Anderson's memorandum contained detail later included in the September 4, 1975 Suitability/ Feasibility Study, which offered four alternatives for changing Antietam's boundaries.

Alternative I was to do nothing with the present boundary and to allow present operation to remain as it was. By 1975 the park had acquired 799.52 acres in fee and another 290.35 acres in less than fee. This gave the park a total acreage of 1,089.87 acres to operate within. The battleground might lose its historical significance and become more difficult to interpret if the scene were altered by private development. Encroachments were a constant threat. Once the land was developed for private purposes, the existing site of 799.52 acres would be penned in. The 1960 ceiling of 600 acres to be acquired in fee by purchase or condemnation had been reached by 1975. Of the remaining 1,200 acres to be acquired in less than fee, according to the 1960 ceiling, only 199 acres of fee land had been acquired by other means and approximately 290 acres of scenic easement had been acquired by 1975. To meet the legislative requirements the remainder of the land could be acquired only in less-than-fee ownership or in fee if the land were donated. Since fee donation was unlikely in 1975, several historically important sites could not be fully protected under the existing authorization.

The then-current acreage of 799.52 represented less than one eighth of the historic battlefield's total acreage of 8,000. The alternative to leave the present boundary intact offered some protection of the battle scene, but did not fully protect all of the historical sites. Nor did it offer scenic protection on the battlefield outside of the authorized 1,800 acres. Superintendent Anderson commented, "One might compare the 'piece-meal' assaults during this one-day battle with the 'piece-meal' land acquisitions which have taken place since the park's establishment in 1890." Anderson believed that if the 799.52 acres were mandatory, then preservation of the entire scene was vital.[28]

---

[27] Ibid., 1975.

Alternative II proposed to increase the park acreage to 3,260, which represented 40 percent of the land of the 8,000-acre battlefield. It also represented an absolute minimum to preserve the historic scene. The proposal would prevent further encroachments of building and land speculation, and land development.[29]

Alternative III proposed to increase the park acreage to 3,704. This included approximately 100 acres where a signal tower was sited, 152 acres where the Franklin Hospital was located, 172 acres at the house where General Mansfield died, and 68 acres where General Meade's headquarters was situated. This proposal of an extra 1,952 acres would increase the acreage by 492 acres beyond Alternative II. Superintendent Anderson thought the plan "a superior and ultimate proposal which will protect and preserve the greatest portion of the battle site. Land resources under this proposal ideally protect the significant and vital areas of the battlefield as well as structures. New dimensions to the park's interpretative program can be projected. Unfavorable encroachments will no longer be a major concern if this plan is accepted."[30]

Alternative IV reflected the recommendations of the Citizens Task Force after public meetings with federal officials for legislation drafted in 1972. The alternative was similar to Alternative II. Acquisition would be both in fee and less than fee interests. Fee acquisition would apply to the most historically significant properties in private ownership. In other areas, owners could have the option to sell fee title instead of a scenic easement, or they could use only fee. Sellback provisions contained in the Land & Water Conservation Fund

---

[28] Memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam to Director, National Capital Parks, June 30, 1975, Park File ANB Suitability/Feasibility Study, Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, September 4, 1975, pp. 5-6.

[29] Suitability/Feasibility Study, p. 11.

[30] Suitability/Feasibility Study, p. 13; memorandum, Superintendent, (sic) Antietam to Director, National Capital Parks, June 30, 1975, Park File.

Act would be utilized to dispose of all but less-than-fee interest. Any scenic easements would contain the stipulation that the National Park Service be given first option to buy if and when the owner wished to sell in fee.[31]

Superintendent Anderson thought Alternative II to be the best choice of the four alternatives. "The boundary expansion proposal will preserve the scene from detrimental encroachments and provide the opportunity for visitors to achieve a more meaningful understanding and appreciation of why this hallowed ground was set aside as part of the Heritage of the American people." He also hoped that Alternative III would be given favorable consideration.[32] Several years passed before the omnibus bill proposal became law in 1978.

Three parcels of private land came into the park's hands in 1976. The Allen R. Wilson property containing 43.23 acres was placed under scenic easement in May 1976. The Grafton Smith parcel of 1.1 acres was acquired under scenic easement also in May. The National Park Foundation acquired the Charles F. Kauffman (Otto House) parcel (2.15 acres) in February. The latter property was to be held in trust until legislative authority allowed the National Park Service to purchase the land in fee. The two and one half story Otto House was of pre-Civil War vintage, and the park staff considered it a valuable addition.

By 1976 the situation wherein landowners opposed scenic easement began to change. Park staffers believed the scenic easement stipulations had not been properly explained to owners, making them reluctant to sell. Changes occurred after the Philadelphia Lands Office realty specialists and the park staff made diligent efforts to explain easement procedures. Many landowners reconsidered selling scenic easements on their property.

On December 22, 1976 Antietam's staff learned that the newly established Monocacy National Battlefield was to be placed under their management jurisdiction. Land acquisition was scheduled to begin in October 1977. The National Park Service had the authority to acquire approximately 650 acres, mostly in scenic easements.[33] A discussion of Monocacy's authorization and land acquisition will follow in the section titled Monocacy National Battlefield.

---

[31] Suitability/Feasibility Study, p. 15.

[32] Memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam to Director, National Capital Parks, June 30, 1975, Park File.

Antietam did not acquire any scenic easements in 1977. Several problems, however, arose with easements already held. Several easement tracts were being sold and others were in a negotiable state. When William Reams of Keedysville, Maryland, purchased 49 acres of Tract 03-101, he did not fully understand the scenic easement stipulations attached to the land he bought. Several other problems arose which were reported to the Philadelphia Lands Office.

Later in the year a local realty company, Machat Realty, Inc., negotiated with a Mr. and Mrs. Ottinger to purchase a section of tract 01-102 and to build a house. This attempt to circumvent the scenic easement stipulation on the land was thwarted when Superintendent Anderson stopped construction. The staff agreed that attempts to build on scenic easement lands would continue. Constant monitoring was needed to ensure that scenic easement restrictions were upheld.[34]

In 1978 the staff had problems administering the scenic easement agreements because of the loose form in which they were written. Antietam's superintendent hoped to write "tighter" documents for future easements to prevent misinterpretation.[35]

Local opposition to expanding Antietam's boundaries became vocal as Senator Mathias' bill to purchase or acquire easements for up to 2,200 additional acres moved through Congress. On February 9, 1978 the Washington County Planning Commission postponed endorsing the Antietam legislation. The commissioners were unfamiliar with the proposal and they wanted to read the terms before recommending support or opposition. Several of the commissioners opposed to the park expansion voiced a concern over reduced property tax revenues if the legislation passed. But neither Bob Romanowski, a park planner with the National Park Service, or Marion Morris, legislative aide to Senator Mathias, could answer whether the federal government would increase its financial compensation to the county for tax-exempt holdings if the Mathias legislation were approved.[36]

---

[33] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1976.
[34] Ibid., 1977.
[35] Ibid., 1978.

On February 13 the planning commission decided not to take a position. The county commissioners were left to endorse or not, without the usual planning board recommendation. The planning commission members held divergent views on the issue. "Their responses ranged from: why should the federal government buy more land to 'commemorate killing' to 'we need to preserve some of our heritage.'" Others believed Washington County zoning ordinances were adequate to protect the historic site.[37] On the same day, the county commissioners postponed a discussion of the Mathias legislation. They wanted to talk with Rome Schwagel, chairman of the Advisory Commission, which had previously help prepare similar legislation.[38]

Further action occurred in May 1978 when Congressman Goodloe Byron successfully urged a House subcommittee to drop the idea of purchasing land bordering the battlefield. He said the amended measure was designed to "protect the property tax base in Washington County." He also stated that his bill more accurately reflected the county commissioners' wishes, because they had rejected the Mathias proposal to double Antietam's size through federal purchases of easements and land. The commissioners had agreed that historic sites and other land surrounding the park should be protected from development, but they wanted the task accomplished through local land use controls or through purchase of easements. They opposed outright purchases of additional land by the federal government because that action would remove more land from the county's tax roles. As of May 8 it could not be determined if Senator Mathias' bill were being changed accordingly. An aide's only comment was that the bill was "still being reworked."[39]

---

[36] The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, February 10, 1978.
[37] Ibid., February 14, 1978.
[38] Ibid., February 15, 1978.
[39] Ibid., May 8, 1978.

Public Law 95-625, passed November 10, 1978, gave the Secretary of the Interior authorization to acquire only scenic easements over 1,450 acres of additional land. Antietam's staff acquired no land for the park under this act in 1979.[40]

The Washington Office of the National Park Service requested information from the Antietam staff in 1980 concerning boundary adjustments in order to determine the adequacy of park protection. Paul Goeldner, chief of Historic Resource Services in the National Capital Region, met with Superintendent Virgil Leimer, and the two agreed that Antietam's exterior boundary was sufficient for general protection. They believed that some adjustment should be made within the boundary on lands under scenic easement. For example, the Pry House was purchased in fee in 1974. The fee ceiling under previous authorization was reached upon this action, so a scenic easement was purchased on the remaining Pry property. The park in 1980 thus had an access easement from Route 34 to the Pry buildings. Coincidentally an historic stone fence abutting the barn and crossing the house's front yard was not entirely owned in fee by the park. Additionally, land was needed in fee to build a small vehicle parking area away from the immediate historic site; to restore the access route; to have sufficient land to include all the historic features; and have land enough for visitor travel around the Pry buildings without trespassing on private property.

Antietam's staff completed the land acquisition plan on April 11, 1980. As part of the plan's development all local landowners were invited to meet with Superintendent Leimer for discussion and answers to their questions. About 40 landowners responded.

Problems with the loose wording of scenic easement documents occurred again in 1980. The park staff was unable, under the terms of one document, to prohibit construction of a home and barn. Under the negotiated scenic easement the staff only had the option of determining the new buildings' location. As a result, the construction site was located in a depressed area near the Zouave Monument so that visual intrusion remained at a minimum. No land was purchased for Antietam in 1980.[41]

---

[40] *U.S. Statutes At Large*, vol. 92, pt. III; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1979.

Early in February 1981 Antietam's staff learned that National Park Service's land acquisition funds would be held back until October 1, 1981. This action deferred $400,000 for Antietam. Funds totalling $93,000 were made available, however, to purchase Antietam's top priority scenic easements which were then under negotiation. At the end of 1981 Antietam acquired 197.91 acres in scenic easement from Charles F. Ritchie, tracts 01-144, 02-122, 02-128, 07-128, 07-119, and 07-123. Daniel Sheedy of Recreational Properties Association, a subdivision development near the Pry House, inquired about donating fee ownership of two parcels. Since the 1978 legislation prohibited fee acquisition the Antietam staff researched all legislative actions and decided that fee acquisition was still authorized under the act of 1940. This was correct only if the land were donated or purchased with donated funds, and if the land were within the 1940 boundary. The National Park Service field solicitor concurred with the staff's interpretation.[42]

Antietam National Battlefield's land acquisition status in April 1982 stood at a total acreage of 1,501.07, with 802.77 acres in fee, 694.34 acres in scenic easement, and 3.96 acres in right-of-way. One year later, in March 1983, Antietam's acreage was 1,705.99 acres, with 814.02 acres in fee, 899.26 acres in scenic easement, and 3.96 acres in right-of-way. The 1,705.99 acres were classified as historic zone, with three sub-zones. These were: 1. Park Development--sub-zone including 8.12 miles of paved tour roads, 3.96 miles of walking trails, one visitor/administration center, one maintenance shop, and one group campground. 2. Special Use--approximately 551 acres were under agricultural special use permits issued by the park to perpetuate the agrarian scene. 3. Natural--approximately 30 acres of wooded parkland along Antietam Creek. Protection of this resource was a major problem.[43]

---

[41] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1980.

[42] Ibid., 1981.

[43] Statement for Management, Antietam National Battlefield, March 1983, pp. 4-5.

10. MONOCACY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD, 1934-1982

The Act of June 21, 1934 (H.R. 7982, 49 Stat. 1198), passed by the Seventy-Third Congress, authorized the Monocacy National Military Park. An appropriation of $50,000 was authorized for development by the federal government, as soon as the needed land was donated to the government at no expense. The act, however, was never implemented. No lands were donated and no development took place.

Years passed but Monocacy was not forgotten. The battlefield was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic Landmark on February 4, 1975. A total of 1,200 acres were listed at both a southern and northern site. Meanwhile, Maryland Representative Goodloe Byron introduced legislation for several years during the mid-1970s in an effort to start development at Monocacy. H.R. 3830, which Byron introduced on February 27, 1975, proposed an acquisition of approximately 650 acres.

Subsequently, the National Park Service authorized a planning team to develop planning alternatives for the site. The Suitability/Feasibility Study for the proposed battlefield was completed in May 1976 and it listed three alternatives for development, analyzed options for protecting the area, and detailed the battlefield's historical importance. The document contained no recommendations for any of the planning alternatives.[44]

On October 21, 1976, Public Law 94-578 was signed into law by President Gerald R. Ford. It provided for increases in appropriation ceilings and boundary changes in certain units of the National Park System. Monocacy's name was changed from Monocacy National Military Park to Monocacy National Battlefield, and it received an authorization for an appropriation of $3,525,000 for land acquisition. Development could not exceed $500,000. On December 22, 1976, Antietam's staff gained management oversight of Monocacy, and funding became available after October 1977.[45]

In September 1977 Representative Byron announced that a Monocacy Battlefield Advisory Committee had been appointed to assist in the park's planning and land acquisition. The committee was composed of twelve local people involved in county planning, historical site interpretation, and in the park system. The members conducted historical research for information pertaining to the battlefield and solicited for purchases or donations of artifacts associated with the battle. Antietam park personnel attended all of the committee's scheduled meetings to compile data, provide guidelines and to act as advisors, although not in an official capacity. Antietam's staff made public plea, via a local newspaper, to area residents for information about Monocacy. They sought pictures or drawings of the battle; clippings, and/or published stories, and topographic maps.[46]

---

[44] Suitability/Feasibility Study, Proposed Monocacy National Battlefield, Frederick County, Maryland.

[45] The News, Frederick, Maryland, March 7, 1977.

On November 10, 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed H.R. 12536 (Public Law 95-625), a $1.2-billion omnibus park bill, into law. The bill contained $3.5-million for Monocacy National Battlefield, and expanded the park's boundaries by approximately 587 acres. Another omnibus park bill, H.R. 3, passed in 1980, added 450 acres to Monocacy.[47]

The act of October 1976, in addition to authorizing the battlefield, required that a master plan (GMP) be developed and transmitted to Congress by October 1979. The study was programmed to start in FY 78 and be completed in FY 79. The Antietam staff worked throughout the calendar year 1979 to complete the plan. They held public meetings in 1978 and 1979 for comment on four proposed alternative plans for Monocacy. Antietam Superintendent Virgil Leimer explained the proposals and took comments at the July 9, 1979, meeting in Frederick. Although the plan was due to the committees on interior and insular affairs on October 21, 1979, the National Park Service had completed only an environmental review by August 24, 1979. This was transmitted to Congress in mid-1980 to comply with the provision of the law. At the end of 1980 the plan was still in draft stage. Antietam's staff received a final copy of the Monocacy National Battlefield General Management/Development Plan in September 1981.[48]

---

[46] Ibid., September 27, 1977; Superintendent's Annual Report 1977; The News, Frederick, Maryland, November 4, 1977.

[47] News-Post, Frederick, Maryland, November 11, 1978; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1980.

[48] Memorandum, Director, National Park Service to Legislative Counsel Through Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks,

Throughout 1980, 1981, and 1982 Antietam's staff conducted Monocacy's land acquisition program and maintained acquired property. The staff held a board of survey for various Monocacy properties, erected a fence around the Worthington house to protect the historic resources, and removed nonhistoric buildings. They also cooperated with National Capital Region and Denver Service Center specialists to plan preservation on several historic structures, to begin drafting a resource management plan, to determine security needs, and to plan development/study package proposals for Monocacy's historic structures.[50]

Monocacy's Land Acquisition Plan was approved by the regional director on August 24, 1979. As of May 24, 1982, 418.1 acres had been purchased in fee, and 1.88 acres in right-of-way. There remained to be acquired 723.92 acres in fee, 443.64 acres of less-than-fee scenic easements, and 69.5 acres in right-of-way. This made a total of 1237.06 acres. The total of authorized acres inside Monocacy's boundary stood at 1657.04, with an acquisition ceiling of $7,750,000 and a development ceiling of $1,750,000.[51]

By July 1982 Monocacy National Battlefield faced financial problems. According to *The Post* of Frederick, Maryland, the National Park Service only owned a parking lot and two parcels of land after spending nearly $2 million. Only $600,000 in acquisition funds remained and Congress had not authorized funds for the 1982-83 fiscal years. Additionally two of the three tracts of land purchased were fringe lands not involved in the Monocacy combat. *The Post* stated:

> Congress and the National Park Service appear to have periodic bursts of interest, including the unusual buying spree over the past four years, this time leaving nearly

---

(49 continued) June 19, 1978, Park File L14 Acquisition & Disposal of Land "Omnibus Bill"; *The Morning Herald*, Hagerstown, Maryland, July 7, 1979; *The Frederick Post*, Frederick, Maryland, July 7, 1979; memorandum to Chief, Office of Legislation, National Park Service from Regional Director, National Capital Region, July 9, 1980, Park File D18 Planning Program "Monocacy General Management Planning;" Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1979, 1980, 1981. . . .

50. Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1980, 1981; Weekly Activities Report, January 7, March 4, April 29, May 13, June 17, July 1, July 8, September 9, 1982. Park File A2623.

51. Memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield to Regional Director, National Capital Region, May 24, 1982, Park File L1415 Acquisition of Lands Policy and Procedures.

> $2 million of purchased land sit . . . . Unless the park service is allocated more money, Monocacy National Battlefield appears to have a slim chance of reaching completion for some time. Even should Congress authorize funds, the money won't reach the battlefield before 1984.[52]

11. ENERGY CONSERVATION, 1978-1982

Throughout the mid-to late-1970s and early 1980s energy conservation became a national concern. Because of rising fuel costs and national dependence upon foreign oil sources, an energy conservation movement gained impetus which affected all government agencies, private industry, and individual citizens. Within the federal government steps were taken to identify energy loss in all aspects of operations and to reduce fuel consumption. The National Park Service responded by conducting energy audits on all existing buildings in accordance with Executive Order 12003 dated July 20, 1977, and by emphasizing its energy conservation management program.[53]

Antietam's staff submitted quarterly and annual energy reports to the regional energy coordinator at National Capital Region concerning energy activities. Antietam had been reported collectively with C & O Canal when the two parks were grouped and no separate figures were kept for Antietam's energy consumption. The first report submitted for Antietam alone was for FY 1975's second quarter.

The biggest energy project undertaken by the Antietam staff during FY 1978 was insulating the maintenance shop. The shop, dating from 1927, was a major waster of electrical energy because of heat loss from lack of proper insulation. The staff insulated the exterior walls and ceilings; installed and caulked storm windows; installed insulation on the back of the shop's large doors; installed three new overhead doors; and weatherstripped all doors at a cost of $10,000. The park's chief of maintenance became the energy conservation coordinator in 1978, and an open meeting was held to solicit staff input on conservation ideas.[54]

---

[52] The Frederick Post, Frederick, Maryland, July 19, 1982.

[53] Memorandum, Associate Regional Director, Administration, National Capital Region to National Capital Region and All Offices, June 16, 1978, Park File A7021.

[54] Memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam NBS to Regional Energy Coordinator, National Capital Region, October 27, 1978, Park File A7021; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1978.

The Antietam staff completed seven conservation projects in 1979:

1. Installed day/night thermostats in visitor center, lodge building, and Pry House.
2. Rewired basement offices and installed baseboard heaters in each office with individual thermostat controls.
3. Turned off hot water heaters at visitor center and maintenance shop. The hot water is turned on only when needed.
4. Installed woodburning furnace at the visitor center.
5. Insulated lower end of the maintenance shop.
6. Replastered ceiling in the Dunkard Church and added more insulation.
7. Installed woodburning stove in the historic lodge building.

The staff set thermostats at 65°F during the day and 58°F at night in the winter. In summer the thermostats stayed at 80°F. In 1979 mowing and trimming operations were reduced by 20 percent.[55]

In 1980 the Antietam staff installed woodburning stoves in the maintenance shop and the Pry House. They also installed a combination wood/oil/coal furnace in the visitor center. Antietam's maintenance foreman conducted an experiment test burning alcohol as an oil substitute. One hundred ninety proof alcohol provided comparable heat to oil and could be used as a fuel oil substitute for heating. The principal problem in using alcohol was the prohibitive cost. Despite the impracticality of using alcohol on a mass scale throughout the park, a push mower and a pickup truck were converted to its use. Other staff efforts to conserve fuel included stopping all non-essential electrical use and driving compact vehicles whenever possible.

Conservation efforts yielded decreased useage of utilities and fuel:

Form of Energy	FY 79	FY 80	Difference	
Electricity (KWH)	149,780	160,049	+ 10,269	+ 6.9%
Fuel Oil (Gallons)	4,180	1,650	- 2,530	- 60.5%
Gasoline (Gallons)	1,558	1,343	- 215	- 13.9%
Diesel Fuel (Gallons)	202	636	+ 434	+ 214.9%

---

[55] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1979.

The electrical consumption increase occurred because of the historic Pry House restoration in the winter of FY 80. There had previously been very little heat on in the building. Restoration work also required electrical use. The addition of a new theater to the visitor center also increased electrical consumption.[56]

Energy conservation measures undertaken by Antietam's staff in 1981 were numerous, and ranged from cleaning all the chimneys in the park to installing hot water heaters with fiberglass. Six inches of insulation were installed in the attic of the restrooms in the visitor center and the maintenance shop storage area, and all windows in the visitor center observation room were replaced with thermopane glass.

The Antietam staff's efforts did not go unnoticed. On March 30, 1982, Superintendent Leimer held a meeting in the visitor center theater for all the park employees. Each employee received a copy of a "Unit Award for Excellence of Service, Antietam National Battlefield." The award was in recognition of the Antietam staff's significant contribution to the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service in the field of energy management. Secretary of the Interior James Watt cited the staff's

> unusual progress in implementing energy conservation measures into their everyday duties and activities by the formulation of a successful, progressive, affirmative action energy conservation program involving all employees in the park and a wide scope of disciplines such as interpretation, budgeting, incentive awards, property and procurement management, vehicle management, public affairs, and maintenance.[57]

12. MAINTENANCE, 1974-1982

The following sections detail yearly maintenance/restoration/preservation efforts on Antietam's structural resources completed by the maintenance staff:

---

[56] Ibid., 1980.

[57] Weekly Activities Report, April 1, 1982, Park File A2623; Citation, Unit Award for Excellence of Service, Antietam National Battlefield Park, February 19, 1982, Park File A021.

(1) Burnside Bridge

1975 -- Removed deteriorated boards and replaced with new lumber; mud and driftwood deposited by high waters were disposed of; repointed some deteriorated mortar joints.

1976 -- Removed old wood coping and replaced with new lumber painted with Woodlife; repointed all bad or loose mortar joints; removed drift from bridge and creek.

1977 -- Painted all wood with Woodlife twice during the year.

1978 -- Repointed all open joints and painted wood coping with Woodlife.

1979 -- Repointed all open joints and painted wood coping with preservative.

1980 -- Removed and restored approximately 320 square feet of fallen walls.[58]

(2) Cannon

1976 -- Painted 41 cannon carriages. An inventory of all carriages and guns was taken.

1978 -- Painted 38 cannon carriages.

1979 -- Repaired and painted six carriages.

1980 -- Repaired and painted eight carriages.

1981 -- Restoration of a limber and caisson for display at the visitor center was completed and cannon carriages were painted to match.[59]

(3) National Cemetery

1974 -- Landscaping completed around cemetery.

1975 -- Painted all wood on rostrum with hydrozo.

1976 -- Cleaned and painted metal fence and gun barrels. Removed eight large hazardous trees. Twenty-seven trees planted in the spring. One hundred and fifty headstones were straightened and relined.

1977 -- Painted all wood on rostrum with Woodlife. Ran a new 110 volt line to light the American flag at night. The flag was flown 24 hours a day. Removed all brick and blacktop from in front of the cemetery and lodge building. Resurfaced the area with handmade brick. Repairs were made to the slate roof and the observation tower. Removed old concrete porch and reconstructed with brick. Discovered an underground cistern at the lodge building. Filled the cistern with clean sand to preserve it and to make it safe for visitors.

---

[58] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1975-1980.

[59] Ibid., 1976, 1978-1981.

1978 -- Many repairs were made to the lodge building including: installation of new screen doors, replacement of some window sills and trim; insulation of ceilings; installation of storm windows; removal of deteriorated plaster; replastering; removal of all old wiring; installation of new panel and completely rewired building; installation of new oil heating unit; and installation of new water pressure pump in main water lines. Repairs were made to the brick work of the rostrum, and all wood was repainted with Woodlife.

1982 -- The joints of the rostrum and of the mule barn were repointed.

Providing custodial care to the cemetery had become an increasing problem by 1982. The tombstones, memorials, trees, and shrubs were obstructions to the mowing operation. Grass had to be trimmed around each one of the obstructions. Because many of the cemetery's trees were deciduous, leaves required raking and removal every autumn. Many work hours were required each spring to prepare the grounds after a dormant winter season. No guidelines existed for the care and maintenance of historic tombstones. The loss of CETA and the YACC caused serious maintenance problems, because before 1981 they had provided most of the grounds maintenance.[60]

(4) Dunkard Church

1976 -- An old house trailer sitting near the Dunkard Church was sold to the highest bidder and removed on October 27, 1976. The action enhanced the historic scene around the church.

1977 -- Repairs were made to the church's front doors, windows, and shutters; the trailer site foundation was removed.

1979 -- The ceiling was replastered and more insulation added, a task completed through negotiations with local contractors.

During the year the National Park Service made arrangements to remove nonhistoric structures from the Dunkard Church vicinity. The Turner residence, barn, and washhouse were frame structures, in poor condition, located directly south of the church. Their date of construction was unknown, yet on the basis of historic documentation the Park Service was confident that no buildings stood on the site during the battle of Antietam. The buildings most probably dated from the late 19th or early 20th century. The Turner buildings were intrusions on the historical battlefield scene and they possessed no historical or architectural value. They were removed in 1980 and the area was regraded, sown with grass seed, and planted with trees.[61]

---

[60] Ibid., 1975-1978, Weekly Activities Report, March 11, 1982, memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield, Park File A2623; to Acting Associate Regional Director, Professional Service, May 11, 1982, Park File A98.

(5) Lohman Property

1975 -- In April the Lohman concession stand was removed. It was a nonhistoric structure. Research continued on the Lohman House.

1982 -- Antietam's staff received word from the State Historic Preservation Office that the Lohman House was not historic and did not contribute to the battlefield's significance. The staff thus had clearance to dispose of the building.[62] The house, however, still stood in 1983.

(6) Monuments

1976 -- All the metal gates at the Reno monument were cleaned and painted. The metal fence at the McKinley monument was cleaned and painted.

1978 -- Repairs were made to the General Mansfield, General Starke, General Anderson, and General Richardson monuments.

1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 -- All 97 monuments were inspected for weather damage, caulked, and winterized.

1981 -- All marble and stone work from the New York monument, which was deteriorated and sunken from age, was removed. Antietam's staff restored the monument to its original condition.[63]

(7) Mumma Property

1976 -- At the Mumma House the front porch was removed and replaced with concrete. Repairs were made to the barnyard, and stone and clay were hauled in to stabilize the base.

---

[61] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980; Acting Regional Director, National Capital Region, Lowell Sturgill to J. Rodney Little, June 26, 1979, Park File D34.

[62] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1975; Weekly Activities Report, April 8, 1982, Park File A2623.

[63] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1976, 1978-81.

1980 -- The barnyard stone wall was restored, and the barn and corncrib foundations were repaired.

1981 -- The Mumma barn and spring house were painted under contract.

1982 -- During the year the National Park Service proposed to rehabilitate the Mumma Cemetery wall. The cemetery dates to 1790 and is enclosed by 665 feet of stone wall in a rough square shape. The wall was composed of local fieldstone laid in random courses with mortar, averaging 4 feet high. The Park Service proposed to take the wall down and place concrete footings under the wall area. The wall would then be rebuilt in its original configuration. Existing cement capstones, possibly nonhistoric, would be put back on top of the wall to protect the stonework from water intrusion. The National Park Service sought clearance for the work from the State Historic Preservation Office, which concurred on March 22.[64]

(8) Observation Tower

1976 -- All missing and broken tile on the tower's roof was replaced.

1977 -- All the mortar joints, interior and exterior, were removed and repointed with new mortar. The iron plates atop the walls were stabilized, and the iron stairways were cleaned, repaired, primed, and painted.[65]

(9) Otto Property

1980 -- The park staff discovered, after extensive research, that they had a use, occupancy, and maintenance easement on the Otto property, which was owned by the National Park Foundation. The property had been deteriorating rapidly with no repair, but after the easement was discovered Antietam's staff performed emergency work to close all the house's windows and doors with plywood and to repair the roof.

1982 -- On September 20 someone broke into the Otto House. A lock and hasp on one of the doors was broken.[66]

---

64. Ibid., 1976, 1980, 1981; Deputy Regional Director, National Capital Region, Robert Stanton to J. Rodney Little, February 24, 1982, Park File H32.

65. Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1976, 1977.

66. Ibid., 1980; Weekly Activities Report, September 23, 1982, Park File A2623.

(10) Piper Property

1974 — Funds totalling $27,000 were available to start restoration on the cavehouse and farm house. Contemporary nonhistoric buildings were removed from the property. Other repairs included:

> Residence--electric heaters were installed in the historic Piper House to provide a more consistent temperature and improve conditions to prevent further deterioration of the interior. The front porch was rebuilt and painted. Repairs made to doors, roof, chimney, and windows. The stone foundation repointed.
>
> Smokehouse--The roof was repaired and painted. Doors were repaired and the foundation repointed.
>
> Slave House--Doors were repaired and the stone work repointed.
>
> Blacksmith Shop--The hearth was rebuilt. The roof was repaired and painted. Replaced all deteriorated lumber in the building. The building was straightened and braced. The exterior of the building was whitewashed.
>
> Wagonshed and Corncrib--Replaced all large timbers in the building. Replaced broken rafters and all deteriorated lumber. Damaged tin on roof was replaced and painted. New doors were built and the exterior was whitewashed.
>
> Dairy Barn & Silo--Both buildings demolished and rubble removed to the dump.
>
> Historical Barn--Replaced some large timbers in the base of the barn. Nailed down the tin roof and painted. Replaced and repaired all downspouting and gutters. The exterior was whitewashed.
>
> Historical Cavehouse--The building was torn down to the footers and restored. All the stones were replaced along with the wood work. Historic wood shingles were installed.

1975 — Funds were needed for the Piper Farm property to convert it into a site to depict day-to-day life during the Civil War era. Several rooms in the house, along with the blacksmith shop and slave quarters could be used to give demonstrations of period arts and crafts. Repairs to the house during the year consisted of general repair work for the doors and windows. New routed signs were made to identify each building on the property.

1976 — Repairs during the year included:

Residence -- removed wall paper from living room walls; replaced and painted; repairs made to doors and windows; painted roof.

Slave House -- repairs made to doors and all exterior woodwork painted.

Blacksmith Shop -- installed new blower to hearth in shop; painted roof; whitewashed wood.

Smokehouse -- painted metal roof.

Wagonshed -- painted metal roof and whitewashed all wood.

1977 -- Repairs during the year:

Barn -- Made repairs to roof; replaced and made repairs to loafing pen under barn; worked on cistern at barn to keep water from getting into basement.

Stabilized leanto that is part of Piper Barn to make it safe.

Made repairs to corncrib at Piper Barn; replaced most of the beams and some siding.

1979 -- Antietam's superintendent and other staff members met with National Capital Region interpretive specialists and Harpers Ferry Center planners concerning the historic structures report of the Piper Barn.

1981 -- The slave house was painted under contract. During the year restoration specialist James Askins observed a structural problem at the Piper Barn which required immediate stabilization work to prevent a structural failure. The west stone foundation wall of the barn beneath a large wooden post which divided the two sets of barn doors was collapsing. If the stones fell two floor beams which bore onto the wall would be left without vertical support. Askins feared the beams were in danger of falling. He recommended immediate and temporary stabilization.

1982 -- Members of a Denver Service Center team, along with a National Capital Region historical architect, met with Superintendent Leimer on January 13 to discuss restoration of the Piper Barn. They agreed that the mid-nineteenth century structure should have the highest priority and that the 1914 addition should be removed to preserve the 1862 scene. Problems relative to making long-term decisions on park structures occurred at this time because there was no general management plan, development concept plan, or a detailed interpretive prospectus for the park. Public involvement was necessary before the work could start. As a result, Superintendent Leimer invited public review and comment on the proposed plans to stabilize the barn and to remove the 1914 addition.[67]

On February 4, 1982, the assistant manager of the National Capital Team, Denver Service Center, sent copies of the Piper Barn draft historic structure report in preliminary to the National Capital regional director for his review. The need to obligate the construction funds during the fiscal year required the report be sent for review before editing. Two design alternatives were presented in the report. Alternative I called for the preservation and stabilization of the existing structure. This proved to be the recommended alternative of the Denver Service Center. Alternative II called for restoration of the barn to an 1862 appearance, involving demolition of the 1914 addition and some conjecture as to the structure's 1862 configuration. Both the park and the regional staff favored the second alternative. The assistant manager, Richard G. Huber, added, "It has come to our attention that this decision may cause a conflict between approving offices, relative to preservation policy and the lack of any long-range planning on the subject property. We urge that these issues be resolved in a timely manner."[68]

On March 23, 1982, Acting Regional Director Robert Stanton wrote to the executive director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, detailing the work to be done in the Piper Barn stabilization project. The bank barn had a pre-Civil War stone section with hand-hewn interior timbers and beams, plus the 1914 wooden extension. Most of the stabilization work was to take place within the original barn's stone walls except for stabilization of the 1914 extension's second floor. Work was to consist of: restoring stone foundations; repairing original stonework; installing concrete footings; replacing damaged threshold sills, replacing floor joists, replacing damaged or rotted purlins, rafters, siding boards, and rake boards; installing French drains around the barn's perimeter if soil tests indicated the need; installing concrete foundations for forebay stone wall; repointing exterior stonework; and replacing gutters and downspouts. Because the Piper Barn was to be stabilized to its existing appearance except for the removal of a collapsed shed, Acting Regional Director Stanton believed that the rehabilitation would have no adverse effect on the characteristics which qualified Antietam National Battlefield for the National Register of Historic Places. The Advisory Council approved the stabilization plans on April 14, 1982.[69]

---

[67] Superintendent's Annual Report(s) 1974-1977, 1979, 1981, memorandum Architect in Charge, Williamsport Training Center, DSC-TNC, James S. Askins to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site, March 27, 1981, Park File D22; Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Cultural Resources, National Capital Team, DSC to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield, January 20, 1982, Park File H30; Weekly Activities Report, January 14, 1982, Park File A2623; The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, February 25, 1982.

[68] Memorandum, Assistant Manager, National Capital Team, DSC to Regional Director, National Capital Team, DSC to Regional Director, National Capital Region, February 4, 1982, Park File H30.

Work began on the Piper Barn on April 1, 1982. One month later, no decision had been made concerning the barn's final treatment. Assistant Manager Huber wrote Acting Regional Director Robert Stanton on May 4 requesting that the final decision on whether to restore the entire structure or to remove the 1914 addition be made. The decision would affect the work progress at the site.[70]

Stanton wrote to the associate director, Cultural Resources Management of the National Park Service on June 14, 1982, concerning the Piper Barn controversy:

> Our objective at Antietam is to preserve the setting and to interpret the events of the Civil War battle of September 17, 1862. All subsequent monumentation and construction of a cemetery, overlooks, tour roads and visitor center have been focused on that day in history.
>
> The Piper barn, a prominent element of the scene between Sharpsburg, the park headquarters and Bloody lane, was a

---

[69] Robert Stanton to Robert R. Garvey, Jr., March 23, 1982, Park File.

[70] Memorandum, Assistant Manager, National Capital Team, DSC to Regional Director, National Capital Region, May 4, 1982, Park File.

> simple, stone-ended, gable-roofed structure in September 1862. That structure is intact but such obscured by a wood-sided extension datable to 1914 which conceals an original stone end wall and nearly doubles the mass of the barn. Five roof ventilators of the same era have greatly changed its silhouette.
>
> Removal of the 1914 additions would return the barn to the mass and outline of the battle date with little or no conjecture. From a management point of view it also would eliminate a considerable maintenance and restoration cost associated with the preservation of the extension.
>
> We have been fortunate that land uses, primarily agricultural, have not changed dramatically throughout the years and the historic scene has an integrity unmatched at other Civil War sites.
>
> Full use of the barn by the farmer-lessee will prevent interpretation except as part of the historic scene. Living history at the Piper Farm was discontinued several years ago and there is no interest in its resumption. Retention of the 1914 addition would indicate a greater interest in local history and evolving farming practices than is appropriate to the legislated purpose of the Park. When Supt. Virgil Leimer sought public comment on the alternatives for the Piper Barn, local historian and Civil War round table leader John Frye recommended removal of the 1914 addition for reasons of historic authenticity.[71]

Acting Associate Director, Cultural Resources Management Douglas H. Scovill reviewed the proposal to return the Piper Barn to its 1862 appearance. The National Park Service chief historical architect and chief historian visited the site on August 19, 1982, and their findings strengthened Scovill's view that it was impossible to restore the barn to its appearance at the time of the Antietam battle. Too many aspects of restoring the barn's appearance remained unknowable and speculative for any restoration to conform to National Park Service guidelines. Restoration of the Piper Barn could not, in Scovill's view, be substantiated by historical, physical, or pictorial evidence. Scovill also cited legislative constraints and economic considerations against restoring the barn to its 1862 appearance. Scovill's final recommenda-

---

71. Memorandum, Acting Regional Director, National Capital Region to Associate Director, Cultural Resources Management, NPS, June 14, 1982, Park File.

tion was that the Piper Barn, including the 1914 addition, be preserved/restored as it stood.[72]

A compromise thus took place concerning the barn's treatment. By the summer of 1983 the barn had been stabilized by the Williamsport Training Center staff using period construction techniques and methods. For the immediate future (10-15 years) the barn would stand stabilized, but no work was done which could not be reversed. An example of the compromise was the barn's roof. The training center staff retained the barn's tin roof as an interim measure, but if future plans called for restoring the barn to its 1862 appearance, the tin roof could be replaced with one of wooden shingles.

For further information on the Piper Farm living historic demonstrations see the second Volunteers in Parks.

(11) Pry Property

1974--Antietam acquired the Pry Farm property during the year. Minor repairs were made to the house, the grounds were cleaned and the grass cut.

1975--Funds were needed for the rehabilitation and historical preservation of the Pry House so that it could serve as residence quarters and a visitor contact station with pertinent exhibits. Repairs made during the year:

> Residence--all doors and windows winterized; new gutter and downspouting installed; nailed down tin roof; heating units repaired and serviced.
>
> Barn--All deteriorated boards removed from front of barn and replaced with new lumber; large doors in back of barn repaired; tin roof nailed down.
>
> Wagonshed--replaced blown off roof with new lumber and tin; did repair work to stone foundation.

1976--Repairs made during the year:

> Barn roof nailed down; primed and painted.
>
> Repairs made to sides of barn, doors, and foundations.
>
> Residence--roof repaired and painted; all burned rooms stabilized; windows and doors closed up; new underground

---

[72] Memorandum, Acting Regional Director, Cultural Resources Management to Regional Director, National Capital Region, September 10, 1982, Park File H30.

> electric line run to house with 200 amp panel installed in basement; electric heaters installed in each room.[73]

On October 23, 1976, the Pry House caught fire and partially burned. Damage was estimated at a cost of $91,500. The fire loss: front porch completed destroyed, estimated repair cost--$12,500; front entrance, sidelight transon, door and jamb with hardware--$4,000; central hall, first and second hall floors with open stairway, southeast first and second floor room, complete interior repairs--$13,500; replace 13 window units--$4,500; two exterior door units--$1,500; complete heating system--$3,500; complete electrical system--$5,000; plaster damage--$5,000; damage to interior finishes from heat, smoke and water--$10,000; masonry damages--$32,000.

After the fire, Antietam's staff feared vandals would further damage the house while seeking souvenirs and other historical items. Rangers patrolled the area in an effort to keep trespassers out.[74]

1977 — Basic temporary repairs to the house after the fire consisted of painting the damaged roof, providing a margin of safety for workers inside the house, and keeping the weather out. Repairs were also made to the Pry Barn doors. The barn's back porch was removed and stored in the building.

1978 -- Funds were provided for restoring the Pry House. These amounted to $40,000 in FY 1977, $67,300 in FY 1978, and $34,000 in FY 1979 to finish the restoration. Repairs to the house during the year were extensive:

> Removed all old plaster, made and installed 14 complete windows and trim. Replaced 7 interior doors, front door and entrance way. Made all trim and molding for interior. Made and replaced all window sills and lintels with wood, steel, and brick work. Removed all old mortar joints by hand from brick work. Replaced 70% of all mortar joints with new mortar to match old mortar joints. Replaced about 1,500 damaged brick. Replaced all damaged wood beams and floor joists with new oak lumber. Beams were mortised by hand to receive tenon of floor joist and pinned. Removed all old electric wiring and plumbing. Replaced 60% of plumbing to kitchen, bathroom, and basement. Cleaned all brick by hand.

---

73. Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974-1976.

74. National Park Service Case Incident Report, October 24, 1976, Park File D24; Report of Survey, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, November 29, 1977, Park File D24.

> Replaced all broken window glass. Made complete new stairs that would be installed when electric contractor is finished. Installed new well pump and wiring.

In September 1978 Superintendent Leimer sought final restoration clearance for the Pry House from the National Capital Region regional director. As of September repair work was underway, and a contractor had started work on installing the house's heating and air conditioning system. All wiring was to be recessed into the brick and all rooms needed replastering. Ventilating duct-work would be concealed. The Antietam staff planned to use the front portion of the house for visitor interpretation while using the rear of the house for employee quarters.

The house's porch that burned was not the original porch. Reconstruction plans thus called for the Historic Resources Division from National Capital Region to reconstruct the porch using a period photograph as a guide. The kitchen, in the rear of the house, was to be used for quarters and a concrete slab was to be poured for the floor.[75]

1979 -- Restoration continued on the house throughout the year. Funds allotted for the work were expended. The year's work consisted of:

> Installed two new heating units. Rewired house and ran underground electric line. Installed wire lath on interior of house and replastered. Completed bathroom and kitchen. Installed all trim, molding, and baseboard. Completed work on open stairways, front and back porches. Installed new light fixtures, smoke detectors, and exhaust fan in the attic. Completed all masonry work on foundation, brick work and chimneys. Replastered all basement walls and whitewashed. Primed and painted all exterior woodwork. Purchased cedar wood shingles for roof that is to be installed in April, 1980. Removed Pry dairy barn, milkhouse, and three silos.

Additionally, the Pry Barn received repairs. Missing stones from walls were replaced; the foundation interior and exterior was repointed; and lintels and windows on the barn's south end were replaced. All of the work was accomplished through contractors. Two old trailers on the farm were sold through public bids.

---

[75] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1977-1978, memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam NBS to Regional Director, September 19, 1978, Park File D24.

1980 -- Antietam's staff received permission to use the Pry House as park housing, yet the house stood vacant throughout the year because of the need to separate the electrical usage between the quarters and the government-use area. A well was drilled to ensure an adequate water supply. During the year storm windows were installed on the house; all interior walls and woodwork were painted; wood shutters, a new well pump and a chlorinator were installed; basement stairs were placed; and a stone wall at the Pry Barn was restored. In 1980 Gary Scott, an architectural historian at National Capital Region, wrote a historic structure report of the Philip Pry House, headquarters of General George B. McClellan at Antietam.

1981 -- The Pry House was painted by a contractor. Two electric meters were installed, one for the quarters and the other for the park's use. The ductwork was changed to accommodate the dual use.[76]

(12) Quarters #1

1974 -- The exteriors of the residence and garage were painted.

1976 -- The kitchen, living room, dining room, den, and the wall to the stairway of the residence were painted. Carpeting was installed in the bathroom.

1978 -- A new hot water heater and new heating unit were installed. The second floor interior was painted.

1979 -- A new roof was built over the back porch. The residence's exterior was painted, and new gutter and downspouts were installed.

1980 -- A concrete walk was built from the parking lot to the residence.

1981 -- The kitchen was remodeled to allow installation of three inches of insulation on the outside walls.

1982 -- A septic system was installed.[77]

(13) Sherrick Property

1974 -- Rebuilt stone wall fronting the Sherrick House. The stone foundation of the corncrib was repointed, and the barn and corncrib were whitewashed.

---

[76] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1979, 1980, 1981.

[77] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974, 1976, 1978-1981; Weekly Activities Report, October 28, November 18, 1982, Park File A2623.

1975 -- At the Sherrick Barn the wind damaged roof was repaired, new siding on the gable ends and back of the barn was installed, all new lumber was painted, and new downspouting and gutter on the barn's back side was installed. At the house all exterior woodwork was painted and all broken glass replaced. All exterior woodwork at the smokehouse was painted.

1976 -- Repairs were made to the barn floor and foundation, and the foundation was whitewashed. All exterior woodwork on the corncrib was whitewashed.

1977 -- A water line was run out to the barn and all holes in the barn were closed in an effort to keep out the pigeons. Vandalized windows in the Sherrick House were replaced. A new wood shingle roof was installed on the corncrib and all rafters and sheeting were replaced.

1980 -- Sixty percent of the historic stone wall at the Sherrick House was restored.

1981 -- The house, barn, and corncrib were painted by a contractor and the stone wall restoration was completed.

1982 -- Joints and the interior of the Sherrick Barn were repointed.[78]

(14) Signs

	No. of signs, tablets and markers, cleaned, repaired	Comments
1974	233	Many prepared for Boy Scout trails.
1975	190	51 cast iron signs straightened and stands concreted.
1976	160	74 directional signs from Atlanta, Ga., received and placed on field cast iron tablets and wayside signs painted, refurbished 32 wayside

---

[78] Superintendent's annual report(s), 1974-1977, 1980-1981, weekly activities report, January 7, 1982, March 18, 1982, park file A2623.

		exhibits, reflectors put on all culverts, new traffic signs and symbols signs put up
1977	75	
1978	160	
1979	75	
1980	80	
1981		
1982		Construction of concrete bases of interpretive cast iron signs[79]

(15) Stine Property

1974 -- The recently acquired Stine property contained a one and one half story brick/wood house. The building was designated park living quarters. Two bedrooms, two closets, and a hallway on the second floor were repaired. Electric heaters were installed in the bedroom and a new electric panel was installed in the basement and the house rewired. A new septic system and water system with a hot water heater and water softener were installed, and a well was drilled.

1975 -- Extensive repairs were made to the Stine house during the year. A deteriorated front porch and basement stairway were removed, the porch floor and stairway were replaced with poured concrete, a new shower was installed in the bathroom, and an iodinator and retention tank were added to the water system.

1976 -- New storm windows, storm door, commode, and vanity were installed in the house.

1977 -- The kitchen and bathroom were remodeled and several interior rooms were remodeled.

1978 -- Aluminum siding was installed on the gable ends of the house. Cabinets and counter tops were positioned in the kitchen.

1979 -- A new heating unit was installed.

---

[79] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974 - 1977, 1980 - 1981; Weekly Activities Report, January 7, 1982, March 18, 1982. Park File A2623.

1980--Four rooms on the first floor were consistently sweating. Insulation was installed on the inside and covered with panels.

1981--Repairs were made to the water system.[80]

(16) Stone Walls

1976--Antietam's staff took an inventory of all the park's stone walls. The total feet of dry stone was 9,410, and mortared walls 5,724.

1979--One thousand three hundred feet of stone wall along Branch Avenue were removed. Local contractors poured underground concrete footers and reconstructed the stone wall.

1981--Restoration of the stone wall in front of the Sherrick House was completed.[81]

(17) Visitor Center

Several alterations were made to the visitor center during the 1970s and 1980s.

1974--Landscaping around the visitor center was completed.

1978--The visitor center restrooms were expanded by approximately 300 square feet, and facilities for handicapped visitors were added.

1979--Antietam's staff made plans to add an auditorium/theatre to the visitor center. Controversy arose when a Civil War Roundtable newsletter editor in Little Rock, Arkansas, disapproved of the addition. Both the park staff and regional office staff answered letters on the subject after the editor voiced his opinion through his newsletter, prompting reader correspondence. As a result, Antietam's staff reviewed their planning procedures with the state historic preservation officer, the local Civil War Roundtable, and a member of the Washington County Historical Society. Assured of correct procedures, Antietam's staff continued their planning and began the auditorium addition construction. In August 1979 Bushey Associates of Hagerstown, Maryland, was awarded the $22,000 contract to develop the plans.

1980--By the end of the calendar year the work under contract for alterations and the addition to the visitor center neared completion. The $253,488 contract provided for adding the auditorium, redesigning the museum, and installing a chair lift in the visitor center for handicapped visitors. On August 30, 1980, Antietam's 90th birthday, Superintendent Leimer and National Capital Parks Regional Director Jack Fish held a ribbon-cutting ceremony opening the 134-seat auditorium. 1982 — Antietam's staff began planning for redesigning the visitor center observation room and lobby.[82]

---

[80] Ibid., 1974-1981.

[81] Ibid., 1976, 1979, 1981.

13. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

1975: Antietam's staff took an inventory of all buildings in the park, made drawings of them, and sent the information to the National Capital Parks Regional Office. The inventory showed 18 historical buildings and 23 nonhistoric buildings.

1982: The updated five-year (FY 1984-1988) cultural resource preservation program for Antietam contained development proposals for several of the park's historic buildings and structures:

1. Replace 6 miles of boundary line fences along Mansfield Avenue, Smoketown Road, Starke and Cornfield Avenue, Mumma Lane, Bloody Lane, and Richardson Avenue.

2. Preserve the Pry Farm buildings to accompany the restoration of the Pry House. An archeological profile was needed to locate foundations of structures and to ascertain if terraces once existed in the Pry House front yard. Historic architectural studies were needed on the existing structures.

3. Preserve the Sherrick House which was deteriorating and in need of extensive repairs.

4. Stabilize the Piper Farm buildings, consisting of the residence, smokehouse, slavehouse, blacksmith shop, corncrib, and wagon shed. Repairs would hold the buildings intact until an approved general management plan and interpretive prospectus determined which buildings would be restored and what programs they would host.

5. Resurface 6 miles of tour roads (excluding Branch Avenue) and 14 parking lots. The existing roads were badly cracked since no resurfacing had been done since 1956, with the exception of Branch Avenue.

---

[82] Ibid., 1974, 1978, 1980; Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, August 10, 1979; The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, September 6, 1980; Weekly Activities Report, April 29, June 3, 1982, Park File A2623.

6. Restore a portion of Bloody Lane by removing approximately 225 yards of asphalt surfacing and replacing it with clay and stone. The lane would be returned to its mid-19th century appearance.[83]

1982-PRIP: Secretary of the Interior Watt provided funds to the National Park Service for use in upgrading maintenance programs and visitor service facilities. Antietam received Park Restoration and Improvement Projects (PRIP) funds, which were spent on a variety of maintenance projects. The staff completed 100 percent of the following FY 82 PRIP projects:

By Contract:	
- Repair Visitor Center roof	$27,800
- Resurface 1.11 miles of tour walks	$10,484
- Prune and shape trees	$8,294
- Replace trees	$3,450
By Day Labor: (park staff)	
- Repair foundation of Sherrick Barn	$9,000
- Repoint 3 historic buildings, Rostrum, Mule Barn, Lodge Building	$6,000
By Day Labor: (other than park staff)	
- Stabilize Piper Barn—DSC	$180,000
- Research/Prepare Administrative History--DSC	$24,000
- Rehab Mumma Cemetery Wall--C&O	$22,000
TOTAL	$291,028

In addition to the projects listed above, energy retrofit funds were made available at end of fiscal year and were used at Antietam for the following project:

- Install wood/coal heating system for Maintenance Shop (Equipment purchased FY 82, installed by park staff early FY 83)	$10,500

---

[83] Superintendent's Annual Report 1975; Memorandum, Superintendent Antietam National Battlefield to Division of Programming and Budget, National Capital Region, December 1, 1982. Park File D22.

ROADS AND TRAILS MAINTAINED AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD BY NPS STAFF 1974-198

PROJECTS	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	198
Acres of mowed area-shoulders	52	52	--	--	50	40	40	40
Ft. hist. roads maintained	2,732	2,732			2,732			
Parking lots maintained	14	14						
Culverts cleaned and maintained	66	66		62				
Feet of access stone roads	2,083	2,083						
Wooden gates	40	40						
Boy scout area	1	1						
Picnic area	1	1						
Boundary fence erected feet	1,140				1,200			
Metal gates maintained		16						
Snavely Trail 1½ miles		Regraded		Restoned and rolled		1,600 ft-washed out repaired	1,100 ft. washed out repaired	
Potholes		Filled		Yes	Yes			
Snow removed		8 miles						
Center lines painted		Yes		6 miles		Yes	Yes	Yes
Fence repairs		Yes			6,140 feet, new Rodman Ave.			Smoketown Rd. Mumma & Bloody

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

PROJECTS	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Curbing work				Yes				Yes - Burnside Bridge
Walls replaced				315 sq. yds. visitor center				
Resurfaced						Bloody Lane, Rt. 65 to Mumma Lane		
Parking Lot for Handicapped Burnside Bridge						1 4-car lot trail built		Bloody Lane (3)
Ramps for handicapped								West Woods Cornfield

GROUNDS MAINTENANCE AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD BY NPS STAFF 1974-1982

PROJECTS	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Cubic yards of trash disposed	776	976	1,120	1,560	520	590	605	600	
Monuments caulked and winterized	91	91	91	91			600		6 winterized
Dead trees removed		59	37	62	37	7			5
Feet of hist. stone wall main.		12,374	15,251	15,251					
Feet of iron fence maintained		752	752	752					
Cannon & carriage		41	41	41					
Acres mowed	232	232	232	232	200	200	175	175	
Observation tower	1	1	1	1					
War Corresp. Arch	1	1	1	1					
Planted trees				60		27	27		
Pruned trees				150		155		yes	
Fertilized trees				446	40		120	yes	
Miles of boundary fences cleaned	28	33		22		32	28	28	
Stonewall restored							Pry House Sherrick House		
Cemetery headstone reset					255				
Masonry work									17 projects
Shrubs planted						58			

492

14. RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

a. Fish and Wildlife

The hunting season in 1974 and 1975 in western Maryland extended from September to March. Potential hazards to Antietam visitors occurred when landowners with scenic easements next to the park gave hunters permission to hunt on their land. Antietam's staff had to patrol frequently to stop hunters from creating hazardous conditions by hunting on scenic easement lands.

Throughout the 1970s there was very little fishing within the park boundaries. Antietam Creek contained rough game species of fish but no game fish. In 1982 Antietam staff people worked cooperatively with State of Maryland Department of Natural Resources officials to stock Antietam Creek within the park boundaries with 1,500 rainbow trout. The initial stocking was on an experimental basis and future stockings depended upon visitor use and conservation efforts.

In 1975 and 1976 the Antietam battleground suffered from an infestation of woodchucks. The animals were a safety hazard to visitors, local farmers, and historic structures as well. A U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service official and Maryland Natural Resources biologist visited the park in 1975 to locate the animals' heavy concentrations and to discuss control and reduction within National Park Service regulations. Despite the initial survey and approaches to neighboring landowners to control the woodchucks on their properties, the infestation increased in the park in 1976. National Capital Region, however, stated an environmental impact statement was needed before the woodchuck population could be reduced.[84]

b. Water Resources

Water resource management at Antietam in 1974 and 1975 was done in cooperation with the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. Water samples of Antietam Creek were taken twice monthly to detect pollution amounts. The procedure was discontinued in February 1975 at the request of the Washington County Environmental Protection Agency. Local residents used Antietam Creek for recreational activities such as swimming, rafting, canoeing, and fishing. Antietam rangers gave verbal safety warnings to the creek users concerning potential pollution and other hazards.[85]

---

[84] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974, 1975, Weekly Activities Report, April 1, 1982, Park File A2623.

c. Special Use Permits - Natural/Cultural Resources

In 1978 Antietam staff members decided to allow area residents to take dead and downed wood from the park on an individual permit request basis. Trees damaged by storms or disease were dropped only by park staff, and not the public, because of safety concerns. Additionally, private individuals could take the wood only if the removal did not create further hazards; if it did not interfere with park operations; or if the wood was in excess of the amount the staff needed for replacement of pieces in historic structures or for firewood at the organized group campground. By 1979 Antietam's staff started using wood stoves and furnaces to heat several structures within the park. With staff demand for the wood running high, individual permits for local residents to collect dead and downed trees were discontinued.

In March 1978 a special use permit was issued to local resident Paul Spielman for grazing and agricultural use of the Mumma Farm area. The park thus had six special use permits in force.

1.	West part of Sherrick Farm (Chapman)	30 acres
2.	East part of Sherrick Farm (Whipp)	140 acres
3.	Piper Farm (Culler)	180 acres
4.	Mumma Farm (Spielman)	138 acres
5.	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company	3 telephone poles
6.	Potomac Edison Company	5 electric poles

In 1979 the park staff established a cache of firetools at the maintenance building. The cache contained tools for a six-person crew. The staff also worked on a cooperative agreement for handling fire calls with the Sharpsburg, Maryland, Volunteer Fire Company.

Antietam's staff began work during 1979 on the park's natural resource management plan. Drafts of the plan were sent to the regional office for comment, and by June 1980 the park staff forwarded a final draft of the plan to the regional office for approval. The staff also sent a draft of a water resources plan for approval. Both plans, however, were held in the regional office pending new guidelines being issued by the National Park Service in the Washington, D.C., office.

---

[85] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974, 1975.

In 1980 the park staff took inventory of significant resource problems at Antietam which they included in the Regional 1980 Threats to the Park Report. Several conditions threatened Antietam:

1. Land Development: Housing development on lands adjacent to the park threatening the historic scene.
2. Water Pollution/Organic: Effluent, insufficiently treated and raw sewage discharged into Antietam Creek from either municipal or private areas.
3. Water Pollution/Toxic Chemical: Pesticides, primarily applied aerially on farmlands for "no till" farming.
4. Hunting: Reduction of wildlife population by illegal hunting.
5. Water Pollution/Inorganic: Application of fertilizers on adjacent farmlands affecting ground water and the aquatic communities in Antietam Creek.
6. Archeological Collecting/Relic Hunters: Relic hunters using metal detectors are removing cultural resources from the park and disturbing various sites.

Work began again in March 1981 on Antietam's resources management plan. The plan included two sections covering cultural and natural resources in the park. The staff detailed proposed projects which they developed. These projects, when completed, would help solve these major resource problems:

I. Cultural Resources:
    A. Archeological Resources Basic Inventory, Survey and Interpretation of Data: Determine possible locations of archeological sites within the park boundaries and development of base maps.
    B. Historical Structure Preservation: Preparation of a periodic inspection schedule for all historic structures to identify the degree of deterioration of these structures.
    C. Historic Landscaping Program: Research on developing a landscaping program to ensure the preservation of historic landscapes.

II. Natural Resources
    A. Groundhog Management Program (Population to Survey): Monitor and survey park's groundhog

population to determine growth rate, size, and locations of population.

B. Management Program for Agricultural Lands: Development of new guidelines and standards to improve the management of agricultural special use permits in the park.

C. Snavely Ford Trail: The moving of approximately 360 feet of the trail to prevent washouts.

D. Hazardous Tree Management: Development of an inspection plan to identify potentially hazardous trees.

The plan was completed in November 1981 and sent to Regional Director Manus J. Fish for his signature.[86]

The resource management plan was designed to function as a guideline for cultural resource protection and preservation. The March 1983 Statement for Management contained more proposed projects which, when completed, would offer information the park staff could use when managing Antietam's cultural resources:

A. Curatorial Operations: Accountability of the park's 1,674 object collection was updated with all objects being catalogued and accession records updated. The collection storage area was expanded and contained proper storage shelves and racks. The park staff also used an approved, updated Scope of Collection Statement.

B. Collection Preservation Guide: The guide was completed in 1980 and almost immediately implemented.

C. Security of the Collection: In March 1983 an intruder detection system was being installed in the visitor center. Any intrusion would set off an alarm heard over the park radio system, which would be monitored by park protection people 24 hours a day.

D. List of Classified Structures: The inventory of historic structures was updated as of January 4, 1983. Work was ongoing in updating old museum files in the museum object accession and history files. Photography and reevaluation of collection objects also was an ongoing project.

---

[86] Ibid., 1978-1981.

The 1983 Statement for Management listed several more threats to cultural resources at Antietam. These threats were identified in addition to the significant resource problems listed in the Regional 1980 Threats to the Park Report:

1. Groundhogs undermine historic structures.
2. Vandalism to historic structures.
3. Acid rain may deteriorate monuments and structures.
4. Flooding of the Antietam Creek impacts Burnside Bridge.
5. The park lacks an archeological resources inventory.
6. The historic scene needs to be documented.
7. Lack of an automatic fire suppression/detection system in the visitor center/museum.

The 97 monuments and 214 historic markers at the park had not suffered much deterioration by 1983. The lack of air pollution and heavy industry in the local area helped limit deterioration, and vandalism was minimal. Antietam's staff believed a professional study should be conducted to determine the extent of deterioration of the older monuments, including the War Correspondents' Memorial at Gathland.[87]

15. SEARCH AND RESCUE

The two-and-one-half mile Snavely Ford nature trail was the only area in the park where search and rescue could be needed. The rolling terrain, bissected by gullies, and containing trees and underbrush, could be hazardous during wet weather. The park rangers and maintenance people were trained to handle minor injuries, but when outside assistance was needed, local area rescue units were available. Antietam's staff maintained good working relationships with several local agencies: Maryland State Police; state of Maryland Natural Resources Police; Sharpsburg, Maryland, fire and rescue squads; and the Washington County Sheriff Department.[88]

16. CAMPGROUND MANAGEMENT

Antietam maintained Rohrback Campground, a group camping area, which had minimal development. The campground was utilized year-

---

[87] Statement For Management, Antietam National Battlefield Site, March 1983.

[88] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1974.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES, 1974 - 1981
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Years	Major Offenses	Verbal Reminders Minor Off.	Case Incident Reports	Violation Notices, Minor Offenses	Courtesy Tags	Magistrate Citations	Vandalism	No. of Park Personnel
1974		171	0	1 for $25	0	0	Decreasing	
1975			58	11	30	0	Decreasing	
1976			76		50	0	Decreasing	3
1977			48(1)		32	16	Increasing	
1978 (2)	1(3)		81(4)		58	25	Increasing	
1979			97(5)		22	9	Decreasing	
1980			115(6)	7	18	0		
1981	15(7)		28	4	17			
TOTALS	17	171	503	23	227	50		

(1) Includes 16 incidents of destruction of public property valued at $1,500.00.

(2) All park protective rangers inducted into Lodge 88 of the Fraternal Order of Police in 1978.

(3) A break in at the Visitor Center in October 1978, $378.22 in cash stolen, also 3 HT-220 park radios and 2 radio chargers.

(4) Includes 31 incidents of destruction of public property valued at $5,500.00.

(5) Includes 19 incidents of destruction of public property valued at $3,600.00.

(6) Includes public property destroyed valued at $3,600.00.

(7) Includes 5 larceny-theft, 5 vandalism, 3 preservation of public property, 2 forcible entry at a cost of $1,525.

Compiled from Superintendent's Annual Reports
1974-1981

round, especially by Boy Scouts of America groups. Park staff gave oral and handout information on safety and park regulations, and occasionally provided interpretive services during Boy Scout camporees.[89]

17. COMMUNICATIONS

In 1974 Antietam staffers had no radio or radio-telephone communication system in the park. The situation was potentially hazardous because summons for immediate help in emergency situations would not be possible. Despite the urgent need, two years passed before a radio system was installed in 1976. The park used the same frequencies as the neighboring C & O Canal, with the addition of a private line, so as not to interfere with C & O radio traffic. Both parks were able to converse and offer aid in emergency situations.[90]

18. INTERPRETATION

a. General

Antietam's 1982 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services detailed the park's interpretive themes and program objectives. The interpretive staff used these themes and objectives as guidelines when they developed their interpretive programming.

The park's interpretive themes were derived from the September 17, 1862, battle of Antietam. They included the events leading up to the battle; the battle's military maneuvers; the battle's significance in the Civil War; the battle's effect on the farm community of Sharpsburg; and the lives of farmers, townspeople, and soldiers during time of the battle. The park staff strove to meet two objectives in their interpretive programming: to foster public awareness and understanding of the battle of Antietam, with particular emphasis on the events leading up to the battle, the military maneuvers during the battle, and the battle's effect on the Civil War and the community of Sharpsburg; and to emphasize the lives of farmers, townspeople, and soldiers during the battle. Antietam's staff wanted visitors to become aware of the battle's significance through contact with interpretive programming. The staff also wanted handicapped visitors to

---

[89] Ibid., 1974, 1978.

[90] Ibid., 1974, 1976.

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

ACRES MAINTAINED BY MEANS OF SPECIAL USE PERMITS, 1974-1982

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Sherrick Farm West (1)	30	33	33	30	30	30	33	no report	
Sherrick Farm East (2)	140	117	117	140	140	140	117		
Piper Farm (3)	180	191	191	180	180	180	191		
Mumma Farm (4)	138	156	156	138	138	138	138		
TOTAL-ACRES	488	497	497	488	488	488	479		
SPECIAL USE FOR UTILITIES									
C & P Telephone	3 poles	3 poles	3 poles	3 poles	3 poles	3 poles	3 poles		
(electricity) Potomac Edison	5 poles	5 poles	5 poles	5 poles	5 poles	5 poles	5 poles		
PERMIT HOLDERS									
(1) Hugh D. Chapman	Purpose of permit for grazing and agricultural use to help maintain the 1862								
(2) Merle F. Whipp	historic scene.								
(3) Lynn B. Culler									
(4) Paul Spielman									
Hay Permit									65 acres 85% complete

Compiled from Superintendent's Annual Reports 1974-1981
Weekly Activities Report, 1982

FIRE PREVENTION 1974-1981

YEAR	GRASS FIRES	STRUCTURAL FIRES
1974	0	0
1975	0	0
1976	1	1 (Pry House)
1977	0	0
1978	0	0
1979	0	0
1980	0	0
1981	1	0

SAFETY 1974-1981

YEAR	VISITOR INJURIES	EMPLOYEE INJURIES	MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENTS
1974		1	
1975	1	2	
1976	4	1	0
1977	1	3	0
1978	0	0	1
1979	5	4	1
1980	9	16	3
1981	3	3	2

share in this awareness through access to the park's facilities, and for non-English speaking visitors not to be excluded from learning the park story.

Antietam's interpretive program was composed of several different resources and activities:

1. The primary purpose of the visitor center was to orient visitors to the park themes and to provide necessary information for a safe visit. Exhibits, pamphlets, and audiovisual equipment provided information and a trained staff provided aid and information.
2. Conducted tours including guided walks, bicycle and bus tours. The tours supplemented information provided at the visitor center, and they were presented by seasonal and permanent staff throughout the year.
3. Historical talks varied in content, but they were designed to relate the park's interpretive themes. Primarily centered around the visitor center, the talks were presented by seasonal and permanent staff from June through August.
4. Seasonal staff wearing period costumes demonstrated rifle firing on a daily basis from June through August. Their programs explained how Civil War rifle-muskets were fired and described the life of a Confederate soldier. The programs were presented next to the visitor center.
5. A six-person gun crew, all volunteers dressed in period Confederate clothing, presented cannon firing demonstrations on weekends in the summer. The demonstrations, extremely popular with visitors, were presented near the visitor center and explained how a Civil War cannon was fired.
6. Five different children's programs were offered on a request basis from June through August by seasonal staff. They occurred in different locations in the park. Each program was designed for various age groups and presented historical themes in a meaningful way to children.
7. Items such as brochures, pamphlets, audio stations, slide programs, and exhibits helped to implement the park staff's interpretive objectives.
8. Outreach programs acquainted and encouraged potential visitors with opportunities and events at the park. Potential audiences included community groups, clubs, schools, under-served populations,

handicapped populations, tourism officials, newspaper and magazine readers, and radio listeners.

9. The 10.5-mile Antietam Historical Trail was designed primarily for Boy Scouts, but it was also used by the general public. When visitors completed hiking the trail they acquired a basic understanding of the park's major historic themes.

10. The Volunteers in Parks Program provided an invaluable service to Antietam's interpretive programming. The volunteers, usually dressed in period clothing, offered programs with historical themes on weekends from May through September. The National Park Service staff at Antietam believed the volunteer programs to be the most popular of all the park programs.

11. Special events occurred year-round at Antietam. Annual events included an Easter Sunrise Service held at the visitor center by local Sharpsburg churches. The event started at the visitor center in 1966 and before that time the church groups held their services at the intersection of Harpers Ferry Road and Branch Avenue. The annual Memorial Day services were held in Sharpsburg and at the national cemetery. The Sharpsburg American Legion Post no. 236 cooperated with the Antietam staff to sponsor the event. A commemorative Dunkard Church service was held annually. The traditional service commemorated the 1862 service wherein the pacifist brethren sought safety after hearing the battle at South Mountain. Other events included foot races, seminars, and exhibits. These events supported the park's interpretive objectives, but also fulfilled the National Park Service's 1980s emphasis on recreation and urban programs.[91]

After Antietam separated from the C & O Canal the interpretive staff continued conducting both casual and formal activities at the battlefield. Programs after 1973 were expanded and improved. These included interpretive horse patrols, bus and bicycle tours, historical hikes, guided automobile caravans, and musket and cannon firing demonstrations. The 1974 interpretive program moved into a new direction when a park employee portrayed a Confederate soldier in a living history presentation. Experimental blacksmithing demonstrations were held at the Piper Farm. Although these proved to be premature, the interpretive staff believed the site to be an ideal natural setting for living history farm activities and portrayal of military activities. A staff member volunteered study time for the proper operation of a blacksmith forge and worked in cooperation with a blacksmith at Harpers Ferry.[92]

---

[91] 1982 Annual Statement For Interpretation and Visitor Services, April 1982.

The 1975 interpretive program continued many of the same programs from the year before with the exception of the horse patrol because of a disabling injury to the horse. The nationwide energy crisis also decreased the numbers of bus and bicycle tours and guided caravans. Noted during the year were the visitor comments about Antietam's rifle-musket demonstrations. Many visitors remarked they did not wish to view such demonstrations at Antietam after seeing the same type of demonstration at Harpers Ferry. Living history interpretive programs grew, however, because of visitor interest. Several more interpreters portrayed both Union and Confederate soldiers, explaining their war experiences. Blacksmithing demonstrations also increased over the previous year because of a newly placed informational entrance sign which directed visitors to the Piper Farm area. The park seasonal portraying the blacksmith received further training from the Harpers Ferry blacksmith. Visitor comments about the Piper Farm area favored establishing a total living history interpretive program at the site.

Another new interpretive direction taken by Antietam's staff was their creation of children's programs. These included orientations to the battle history, children's rifle-musket firing demonstrations, a discussion of the Dunkard Church, and coloring sessions with Civil War pictures. Other new interpretive programs focused on the women's role in the Civil War and on Antietam artillery.[93]

In 1976 staff people and trained volunteers continued interpreting Antietam through casual and formal programs. The horse patrols ceased when the horse "Impy" was transferred to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The numbers of bicycle and bus tours increased during the year because of increased publicity. Living history programs continued to grow as volunteers added new role portrayals. The artillery programs also were expanded, with talks on the importance of artillery at Antietam and cannon firing demonstrations. Blacksmithing and other craft demonstrations at the Piper Farm also increased over the previous year, as did the children's program. The interpretive staff wrote activity booklets containing games, quizzes, and puzzles which they distributed to visiting children.

---

[92] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1974.

[93] Ibid., 1975.

During the year emphasis in programming moved away from the visitor center and onto the battlefield. Seasonal interpreters rode bicycles on the grounds answering questions and interpreting the historic scene. Interpreters also worked at fixed positions such as the observation tower and the Burnside Bridge. An automobile tape tour which guided visitors over the park tour roads received much favorable comment from visitors.[94]

Antietam's artillery crew included three women for the second season in 1976. They fired an 1841 6-pounder bronze gun and an 1857 12-pounder Napoleon every weekend. The women--Beth Roulette, Cathy Shank and Ann Marie Roulette--were seasonal rangers who, according to the Hagerstown Morning Herald, "became cannoneers when there just weren't enough men to go around." The cannon crews were short-handed and a decision had to be made whether to discontinue the program or train new people. The women thus became part of the six-person crew to demonstrate the cannon and musket firings at Antietam. The move to have women portray Civil War soldiers was justified on "historical precedence" if not "historical accuracy." Mike Mastrangelo, interpretive specialist at Antietam, stated that the aspect of accuracy was "not significant to the present-day objective of the cannon demonstration . . . . Importance is placed on accurate Confederate uniforms, how the artillery was loaded, and the safest procedures in firing the piece, NOT on what particular sex is carrying out the commands."[95] For further information see Women Cannoneers Controversy.

---

[94] Ibid., 1976.

[95] The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, August 3, 1976.

Major changes in interpretive programming occurred in 1977. Cannon demonstrations were discontinued pending compliance with new National Park Service standards for black powder demonstrations. Antietam's staff corrected deficiencies and expected artillery demonstrations to resume the next year. The staff also ceased offering historical walks because of poor attendance.

Visitation continued to increase at the Piper Farm and trained volunteers continued offering living history portrayals. Greater emphasis was placed on the children's programs, then in their third year. New programs included Drummer Hoff Penny Theater (ages 4-6), Sunken Road to Bloody Lane--A Walk Through History (ages 9-13), Civil War America (all ages), Guns and Butter at Antietam, You Get Both (all ages), Soldier and Story Times (ages 8 and over), and Flags That Talked (ages 8-13). Each program was offered two and three times a week and several required reservations.[96]

The popular cannon and musket demonstrations were restarted in 1978. Black powder inspectors passed Antietam's black powder programs with only a few deficiencies, easily corrected. Nine separate living history encampments were presented the summer of 1978 by outside reenactment groups. The Piper Farm was not opened to visitors during the year, despite its popularity, because of the lack of qualified permanent, seasonal or adult volunteers to supervise the young volunteers who participated in the program.[97]

Off-site programs increased by 48 percent in 1979 over the previous year. A variety of programs were given by both the interpretive staff and volunteers. The traditional cannon and rifle-musket demonstrations were repeated in the year's programming, but changes were made in the format. Each seasonal interpreter was required to learn all five cannoneer positions, and each was expected to explain the gun crew's duties and tasks.

The National Park Foundation and the Parks and History Association funded printing costs for a Teacher/Student Guide to the Civil War which was offered free to teachers and other visitors. The packet was

---

96. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1977.
97. Ibid., 1978.

designed for teachers and students in grades 7-12 by a Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, student.

The 1979 interpretive season also included seven new programs and the reprinting of several park brochures. To expand visitor information services, Antietam's staff printed the park's principal brochure into French, German, and Spanish. Local maps were printed as handouts, local eating facilities were listed and directions given on paper in an effort to better answer visitor questions.[98]

The summer of 1980 proved to be an excellent one for cooperative interpretive programs with volunteers and reenactment groups. A variety of demonstrations were offered, including sword and sabre drills with mounted and unmounted troops, cannon firing demonstrations, and a fashion show of Civil War-era clothing. Scheduled programs included rifle demonstrations, rifle-musket and cannon demonstrations, and interpretive talks presented on the battlefield.

A handicapped access trail to the Burnside Bridge was opened in 1980. The facility offered parking space and access to the bridge.

The Parks and History Association printed a Snavely Ford Trail brochure during the year, and a new color park brochure was distributed in August. The Teacher/Student Guide was out of print and Antietam's staff submitted a reprint order to the Parks and History Association because teacher requests for the packet were numerous.

An orientation slide program entitled "Antietam Victory" served as a basic introductory audio-visual program for Antietam's visitors. During the year, however, plans began for the production of a new movie for Antietam.[99] Further details on the film can be found under "Antietam Visit" film.

In 1981 park volunteers contributed 65 percent of Antietam's interpretive programs. Regularly scheduled programs reflected an emphasis on effects of the battle on the local civilian population and women's role in the Civil War and in the Battle of Antietam. Demonstrations of rifle-musket and cannon firing and of Civil War close order drill were offered to the visiting public.

---

[98] Ibid., 1979.
[99] Ibid., 1980.

The Boy Scout Antietam Historic Trail Guide was written by park staff and printed by the Mason-Dixon Council, Boy Scouts of America. The Parks and History Association reprinted the Teacher/Student Guide after it was rewritten.[100]

Superintendent Leimer announced a new program in 1982 for groups interested in Civil War soldiers' overnight camp experiences. Fraternal organizations, church, youth, and school groups could make reservations to spend a weekend with overnight camping, participating in roll call, weapons drill, assignments, inspection, and mess call. A park volunteer provided the activity by request on weekends.

Interpretive programming for summer 1982 included walks, talks, rifle and cannon demonstrations, and infantry drill. Volunteers often gave special presentations in place of regularly scheduled programs.[101]

For further information on Volunteers in Parks, see the section Volunteers in Parks.

b. Environmental Education

In the mid-1970s Antietam's interpretive programming reflected a national concern on the status of the environment and a growing emphasis on environmental education. Antietam's staff and teachers from Sharpsburg Elementary School and other Washington County Schools developed a cooperative curriculum for student and teacher use.

In 1974 school teachers utilized National Park Service and state and county environmental education program materials. Environmental hikes along Snavely Ford Nature Trail were offered by Antietam interpreters upon group request. Antietam National Cemetery, designated an environmental study area, was used as a resource by school and scout groups.

These programs continued into 1975, and by 1976 the Washington County Board of Education had developed a continuing environmental program wherein an outdoor recreation director coordinated field trips with Antietam's staff. Snavely Ford Nature Trail, the tour roads, Antietam Creek, the Piper Farm, and the cemetery all served as study

---

[100] Ibid., 1981.

[101] News Release, Antietam & Monocacy National Battlefields, March 5, 1982; Weekly Activities Report, September 2, 1982, Park File A2623.

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD, MARYLAND INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMS 1974-1981

INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMS	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Orientation Talks	--	--	1,401	--	--	5,666	4,275	77,784
Antietam Hist. Trail	--	--	--	--	--	2,298	1,757	1,936
Md. Hist. Trail	--	--	--	--	--	54	--	--
Dunkard Church Program VIP	manned	3,662	6,974	yes	5,064	3,887		VIPs in period dress
Soldier's Life Programs	563	--	--	--	4,850	5,455	3,889	2,018
Nat. Cemetery VIP	manned	832	2,231	yes	906	657	--	--
VIP Visitor Center	1,378	4,416	yes	2,225	1,521	--	--	--
Piper Farm Program - VIP	326	1,452	yes	0	0	0	0	0
Burnside Bridge VIP	--	2,501	yes	10,880	5,197	0	0	0
Bicentennial Film Festival - VIP		400	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shakespeare Festival - VIP	--	1,456	0	0	0	0	0	0
Frederick Douglas Theater - VIP	--	400	0	0	0	0	0	0
Off Site Activities	270	433	1,202	3,006	--	1,564	2,050	452 By NPS Personnel
National Symphony Concerts - VIP	--	1,350	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunken Lane - VIP	--	--	--	--	1,225	2,060	0	0

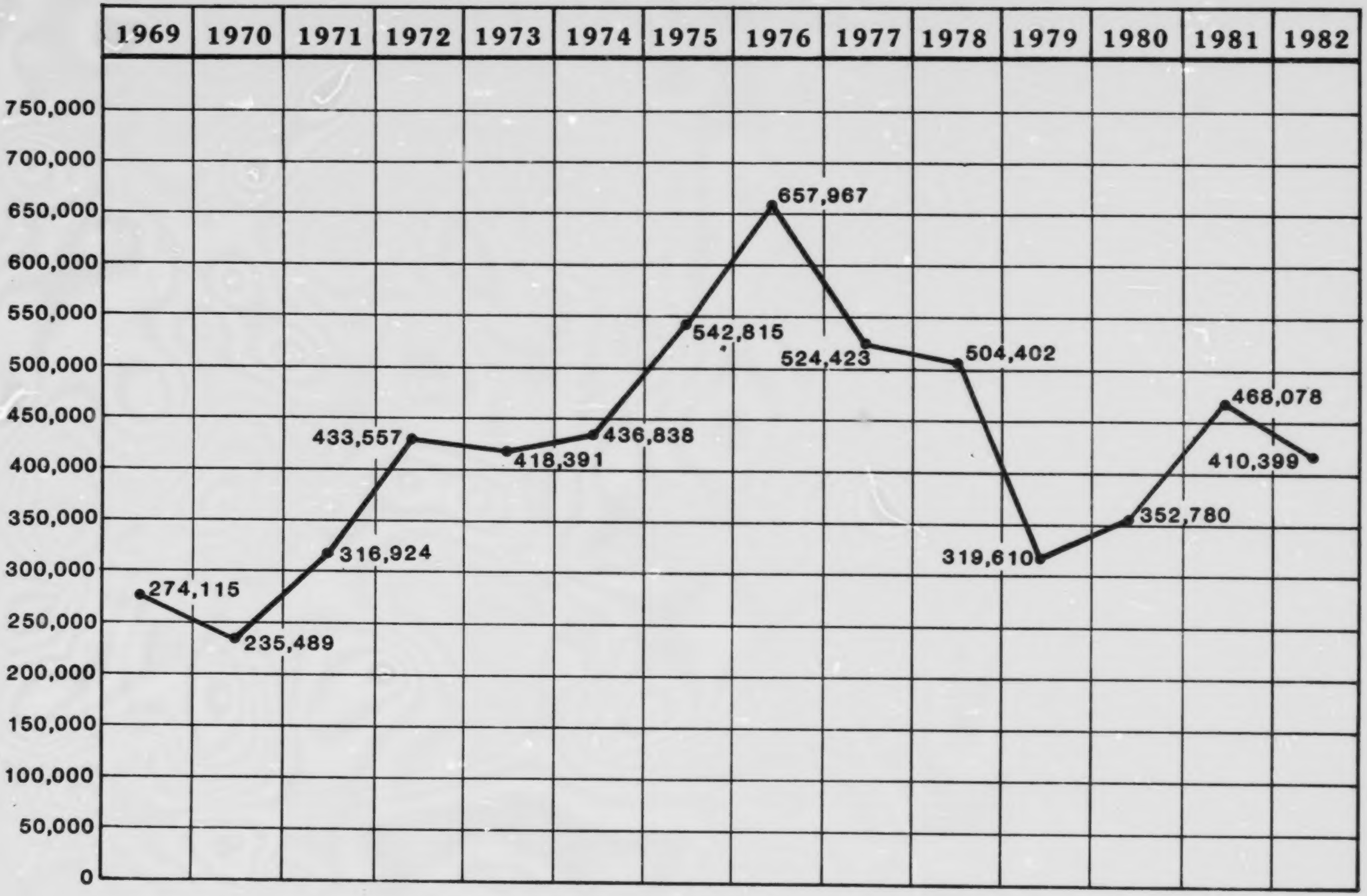
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD, MARYLAND   INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMS   1974-1981

INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMS	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Slide Program at Visitor C.	74,020	71,570	75,397	59,876	66,362	50,406	61,944	63,359
Self-Guiding Auto Tour	368,953	466,846	575,803	453,163	?	214,301	?	--
Audio-Guided Tours	--	--	--	--	7,455	--	--	--
Wayside Audio Talks	136,859	142,283	167,211	241,117	166,946	103,534	101,419	124,849
Historic Walks and Hikes	2,923	2,420	683	58	101	548	1,160	--
Bus Tours	2,127	1,001	1,360	296	103	1,047	--	--
Auto Caravans	805	150	98	188	128	1,285	--	--
Talks	361	339	352	846	85	4,771	4.883	4,183
Organized groups	14,760	14,046	14,884	10,216	7,805	--	--	--
Musket Firing Transportation	19,301	14,945	18,493	12,579	8,817	7,217	8,263	6,860
Cannon Firing Demonstration	2,639	3,687	4,490	1,255	4,012	1,840	1,926	VIP Weekends 2,365
Childrens Program on weekends	--	yes	yes	465	200	182	635	439
Bicycle Tours	216	89	105	65	50	36	0	0
Horse Patrols	1,299	519	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trail Rides	--	26	--	--	--	--	--	--
Self-guiding nature trail	3,153	3,627	3,815	5,116	6,636	4,789	3,986	Snavely Ford Nature Trail
Camp Fire Prog.	3,034	25	--	--	--	2,818	1,324	1,320

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD, MARYLAND INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMS 1974-1981

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Annual Dunker Church VIP Heritage Program	--	--	125	--	--	--	--	--
Bus Tour-VIP	--	24	--	--	--	--	--	482
Report as			(Visitor Center)					
TOTAL CONTACTS	118,110	116,320	140,751	90,887	--	--	--	--
TOTAL VISITORS	436,888	542,815	657,967	524,423	504,401	319,610	352,780	468,078
VIP Contacts	30,000	5,222	21,396	19,622	25,661	17,423	20,884	18,300

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
VISITATION CHART 1969 to 1982



5/2

areas for groups. An Antietam seasonal interpreter made flora and fauna nature guides available for the Snavely Ford Nature Trail. Additionally, the park interpretive staff included environmental messages in all of their interpretive programs.[102]

c. Women Cannoneers Controversy

From 1975 to 1981 female National Park Service seasonals served on Antietam's artillery crews as part of their interpretive duties. The women interpreters additionally participated in the rifle firing demonstrations from 1979 to 1981. In 1981 all four seasonal interpreters hired were women, which resulted in an all-female crew for the cannon and rifle demonstrations. Not enough seasonals, male or female, were hired in 1982 to compose a complete crew, and during that year volunteer reenactment groups took charge of presenting the cannon firing demonstrations so popular with the visiting public.

Antietam's interpretive specialist, Mike Mastrangelo, justified women portraying Civil War soldiers on "historical precedence" if not "historical accuracy" in 1976. This reasoning came under attack in 1981. Jerry Russell, national chairman of the Civil War Round Table Associates in Little Rock, Arkansas, objected to women's participation on the cannon crews on the basis of historical accuracy. Russell did not object to the women firing the rifles or the cannon. He did object to their dressing in men's period clothing and firing the guns, while still remaining identifiably women. He believed the citing of the few known historical instances of women disguised as men and serving on gun crews, in an effort to justify staff women's participation, to be wrong. Historical accuracy could be maintained if the women crew members cut their hair and disguised themselves as men, following the example of the historical women. However, if the women crews remained identifiably women while dressed in men's historical dress, Russell believed the visiting public was being misled. Russell asserted his objections were not discriminatory in intent, rather, they were in the interest of historical accuracy.[103]

On August 10, 1981, National Park Service Director Russell Dickenson responded to Russell's concerns. "At Antietam the female gun crew is indefensible when the women are in military uniforms of the period. Our Interpretive Guidelines for living history demonstrations clearly state that accuracy is mandatory in living history. The use of women in period military uniform violates that basic tenet. If, however, the park were to use the ladies in the NPS uniforms to demonstrate cannon firing as a procedure, it would not be in violation of our guidelines."[104]

---

[102] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974-1976.

[103] Interview, Patricia Lammers, Aug. 10, 1983, interview, Jerry L. Russell, August 10, 1983.

Regional Director Jack Fish also addressed Jerry Russell's objections. On December 3, 1981, he reiterated Director Dickenson's views and assured Russell of the National Park Service's commitment to accurate representations of history in interpretive programs. "While many women served as soldiers in the Civil War, our research shows that they were always disguised as men. . . . We will revise our program at Antietam, and when women are involved in demonstrations they will interpret an accurate portrayal of the female role."[105] As a result of the director's and regional director's comments, female interpreters did not participate in the rifle firing demonstrations, starting in 1982.

Patricia Ann Lammers, a seasonal technician at Antietam who served on the cannon crews from 1979 to 1981, filed an EEO Complaint of Discrimination against the National Capital Region of the National Park Service. She feared that if women could not present interpretive Civil War black powder firing demonstrations in a soldier's period dress uniform, then the future seasonal hiring of women at Antietam and other applicable parks could be affected.

Director Dickenson's response to this and other controversies centering on military and native American living history programs was to thoroughly review Park Service guidelines for living history, and the role of living history in interpretive programming. He addressed the issue in a June 10, 1983, memorandum as follows:

> Recognizing that we cannot actually re-create the past, interpreters are bound by the need for both accuracy and honesty to clearly inform our visitors that such programs are designed to evoke a small, out-of-context segment or aspect of the past in order to help understand it better. We are interpreting -- not re-creating.

---

[104] Russell E. Dickenson to Jerry L. Russell, August 10, 1981, private collection.

[105] Jack Fish to Jerry L. Russell, Dec. 13, 1981, private collection.

> Current employment of equal rights laws, attitudes, and respect for the intelligence of our visitors dictate that the selection or criteria for the presentation of interpretive programs should not reach the point of intruding upon the rights or opportunities of our employees for job experiences for which they have career interest and qualifications. Accuracy should be concerned with the information that the individual presents and how effectively he or she presents it--not with the authenticity of the individual's race, ethnic background or their sex.[106]

Director Dickenson also cautioned against misusing the powerful and effective technique of costumed interpretation:

> When utilizing this technique, care must be exercised not to mislead the public or create a lasting historical inaccuracy in their minds. When the composition of the available workforce does not match the historical composition of the people involved in the proposed activity, these differences from the historical past shall be clearly pointed out to the public.[107]

Patricia Lammers withdrew her complaint of discrimination based on Dickinson's stated clarification. She and others, where appropriate, agreed to clearly identify to visitors that a few women did disguise themselves as soldiers in the Civil War, and that four such women were at the Battle of Antietam. As of July 1983 female National Park Service interpreters could present Civil War black powder firing demonstrations in period costumes if required as part of their job description.[108]

d. Redesigned Exhibit Room

The exhibit room in Antietam's visitor center was redesigned and opened to the visiting public in late May 1981. Exhibits focused on the common soldier by using quotes from letters and diaries to present thoughts and emotions of those caught in the conflict. Military uniforms and equipment of both officers and common soldiers were also displayed. Antietam's staff received a "tremendous number of compliments" on the exhibits' new emphasis. The National Park Service Harpers Ferry Design Center designed the new display.

---

[106] Memorandum, Director to All Regional Directors, June 19, 1983, Park File.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Settlement Agreement, National Capital Region, National Park Service, July 6, 1983, Private Collection.

One exhibit of a soldier's camp scene fronted by long overhanging plexiglass photo panels became a safety hazard. The situation was resolved in 1982 by placing three low matching display cases under the panels. Future plans also called for a central exhibit area to display reproduction Civil War clothing and equipment. The exhibit was to be a "touch and feel" exhibit for children and for the visually impaired. The Parks and History Association funded uniforms, equipment and labeling for the exhibit.[109]

e. James Hope Paintings

Antietam received $6,000 in 1979 to purchase historical paintings by Capt. James Hope, a Civil War soldier and painter in his later years. Hope saw action at Antietam and recorded battle scenes in his sketchbook, which he later used in creating historical panoramas. In 1870 Hope moved to Watkins Glen, New York, to open a studio. From 1872 to 1892 he painted both landscapes and Civil War panoramas, but after Hope's death his collection was forgotten. Antietam bought the paintings from Dr. Larry Freeman of Watkins Glen, who rescued the works from the Hope gallery after 25 years of flood damage and neglect.

The first painting delivered to Antietam in 1981, after restoration by Bruce and Craig Etchison of Clear Spring, Maryland, was a 12-foot painting of the Burnside Bridge. The "Battle of Antietam, Burnside Bridge," which arrived on March 24, 1981, was unveiled with ceremony on April 1 and installed on the visitor center lobby south wall. The second, third, and fourth paintings, "Looking West of the Dunkard Church," "Antietam Looking North," and "Battle of Antietam, Looking South" were positioned in the visitor center after they were restored. The fifth painting, that of an Army of the Potomac camp scene, was not restored. A sixth canvas, a fragment showing Bloody Lane, was not restorable and was offered as a gift to the park.

Captain Hope's scenes of the Battle of Antietam are considered to be the most precise historical paintings of the battle known. The park staff integrated the paintings into their interpretive programs, and by 1982 up to 16 talks on the subject were offered to visitors weekly.[110]

---

[109] Ibid., 1981; The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, June 9, 1981; Weekly Activities Report, April 1, 1982, Park File A2623.

[110] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1979, 1981; The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, April 23, 1981; Weekly Activities Report, June 17, 1982, Park File A2623.

f. "Antietam Visit" Film

Tim Radford of Harpers Ferry Center began production in 1980 of the 16-mm film "Antietam Visit" to replace the park's orientation slide program "Antietam Victory." A Harpers Ferry film crew conducted live-action filming on September 5, 6, and 7. They shot scenes at the Piper Farm, Miller's Cornfield, and the Burnside Bridge; and fired small arms and cannon at Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge and Dunkard Church. A brigade of reenactment professionals, proven to be the safest and highest quality professional reenactors, volunteered for the film. The film's producer was committed to accuracy.

Even though the film's completion date was set for June 1981, the finished product did not reach the park until 1982. Antietam's staff planned a grand preview for March 28 and invited National Park Service and Maryland state officials. More than half of the 160 people who viewed the film's first showing were area residents.

"Antietam Visit" is a 26-minute documentary covering the events of the 1862 Maryland Campaign and Battle of Antietam. President Lincoln's October 1862 visit with General George McClellan highlighted the battle's implications. The film stressed the need for a Union victory to enable President Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. Production costs totaled $50,000.[111]

g. Cooperating Association

Antietam National Battlefield joined the Eastern National Park & Monument Association as a sales agency in fiscal year 1960 and withdrew in fiscal year 1969. Since its separation from the C & O Canal, Antietam has belonged to the Parks and History Association, established in 1968.

Antietam's staff thought that having a cash register would aid in managing a more efficient sales operation in 1974, a request prompted by an increase in sales during the year. The staff still needed the register in 1975 when 27 new sales items were offered to the visiting public.

---

[111] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1980; memorandum, Audiovisual Production Officer to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site, July 23, 1980, Park File A82; memorandum, Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield to Regional Director, National Capital Region, February 24, 1982, Park File A82; Weekly Activities Report, February 18, March 18, April 1, 1982, Park File A2623.

The park purchased an 1841 Mississippi rifle-musket to use in rifle-musket firing demonstrations; repaired a wheel on an 1841 Napoleon cannon carriage, also used in demonstrations; and restored a blacksmith shop bellows all with funds donated to the park by the association in 1975.

The park staff finally got its cash register in 1976. Association funds provided for new library books and prizes for an "Art in the park" contest, sponsored in cooperation with Washington County schools. A battlefield tape tour and five new books were offered for sale during the year.

A big boost to sales in 1977 was the Antietam Commemorative Medallion. Many poor-selling items were removed from the sales list to consolidate park inventory. The automobile tape tour continued to be a good sales item.

In 1978 new publications and souvenirs of Civil War currency and photographs of Civil War leaders were offered for sale. Another new item was a park ranger coloring book for children. Despite an appreciable drop in visitation to the park, the association's sales increased during the year. Donated funds purchased library books, printed Antietam's bird list, and financed a 10-mile marathon held in October.

Sales remained over $30,000 in 1979 despite another decline in park visitation. More new publications were offered for sale, along with a poster featuring Antietam generals. Donated funds purchased historic prints, provided for lamination of tactical maps, and covered partial printing for Teacher/Student Guide to the Civil War.

In 1980 the association increased its sales at Antietam by 25 percent. It offered for sale new publications and a U.S. Geologic Survey map of the battlefield area. Antietam's staff used donated funds to print a new Snavely Ford trail brochure, to frame and mat 13 woodcuts and engravings from the park library, and to buy 13 books for the library.

Eighteen new publications were offered for sale by the association in 1981. Sales topped $50,000 as a result of the staff's involvement and enthusiasm. The association inventory was a representative collection on the Civil War and the Battle of Antietam. The park staff constructed a walnut display unit for association use during the year. Sales in 1982 continued to exceed the previous year's total, and by November sales topped $60,000.[112]

h. Curatorial and Library Activities

To complement their interpretive programming, the Antietam staff developed monthly special exhibits for display in the visitor center during the mid-1970s. Themes of the exhibits focused on the Civil War; the Battle of Antietam; individual people, culture, and life-style of the 1800s; local and regional history; social and women's history; and displays of artifacts. In 1974 staff members conducted several curatorial method demonstrations on how to clean and preserve both metal and paper artifacts. These programs were of interest to visitors with private collections.[113]

---

112. Richard D. Jamgochian to Betty J. Otto, May 21, 1982; Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974-1981; Parks and History Association Annual Report, October 1, 1978 to September 30, 1979, Park File A42; Parks and History Association Annual Report, October 1, 1979 to September 30, 1980, Park File A42; Weekly Activities Report, December 2, 1982, Park File A2623.

113. Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974-1977.

PARKS AND HISTORY ASSOCIATION - COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION
1974-1982
(Year - October 1 to September 30)

YEAR	GROSS SALES	DONATED BY ASSOCIATION TO BATTLEFIELD
1974	$21,102.00	
1975	$22,344.00	$1,350.00
1976	$25,822.00	$ 640.00
1977	$27,748.00	
1978	$34,350.00	$ 406.83
1979	$31,940.00	$1,223.00
1980	$43,149.88	$1,126.85
1981	$51,453.42	
1982	$64,865.66	

January 1 - November 30

After Antietam's separation from the C & O Canal, an effort was made to inventory all archival objects. But by 1975 the inventory was only 65 percent completed because of other priority work. Locks were installed on all the specimen vaults for better security and the park's part-time curator, Betty Otto, continued an on-going program of cleaning and treating museum objects. Since 1973 more than 100 objects had been treated with the cooperation of Harpers Ferry Museum Operations.[114]

In 1976 Betty Otto, aided by a regional curator and two conservators, completed a quick inventory of park archival objects. They also moved the collection storage area from the national cemetery lodge to the visitor center basement during November. The move was prompted by the need for improved security and a controlled environment. Cleaning and preservative treatment for both display objects and archival objects was 70 percent complete in 1976.[115]

A physical inventory of Antietam's archival objects was completed in March 1977. Reappraisal of the collection was needed because values were based on "guesstimates" and outdated information. In 1977 the value of the archival collection was placed at $94,456.45. The value of objects worth more than $100 and rare, invaluable objects totaled $86,837. Both of these figures were believed by the park staff to be too low. During 1977 the park curator was assisted by Shepherd College intern students, a park maintenance worker, and YCC enrollees in curating approximately 50 objects--updating records, cataloguing, cleaning, and preserving.[116]

In July 1978 one museum object and nine archival objects were discovered to be missing. The museum object, part of an exposed bursting shell exhibit, was believed to have been stolen. The park curator determined that the three of the missing items had disappeared during the past year. Park accessions totaled 1,292 donations by 1978.

---

[114] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1974-1977.
[115] Ibid., 1975.
[116] Ibid., 1977.

Members of the YACC videotaped park curatorial activities in October 1978 when 180 objects were excavated from under the Pry House kitchen fireplace floor during restoration work. Other curatorial work occurred during the year, when 50 of the Piper Farm blacksmith shop's reproduction tools and equipment were inventoried, cataloged, cleaned, and preserved. On May 30 an assistant regional curator evaluated Antietam's museum operations and records. The park staff's work was rated excellent.[117]

YACC enrollees built a storage rack for 33 ceremonial state flags, which was placed into the collection storage room in 1979. On July 20 Curator Betty Otto, assisted by YACC and CETA workers, completed an inventory of archival objects.

Emphasis in 1980 was placed upon bringing Antietam's museum collection records up to policy standards. Superintendent Leimer, Chief of IRRM Ed Mazzer, and Betty Otto cooperated with Regional Curator Mike Vice and the Harpers Ferry Museum Services Division to insure proper storage for artifacts by expanding the existing collection facility in the visitor center basement. They installed filters over the fluorescent lights and installed a dehumidifier. The addition of hygrometer and temperature gauges assured proper monitoring of environmental conditions on a daily basis.

Museum acquisitions catalogued in 1980 totaled nearly 350 because the staff obtained several hundred personal items belonging to the Philip Pry family. The yearly inventory of archival objects revealed one item missing, and the reproduction objects accountability was nearly complete at the end of the year. Much work went into curatorial operations in 1980, as all the objects which were to be incorporated in the redesigned exhibit room had to be processed.[118]

By 1981 catalogued objects in Antietam's collection totaled 1,638. Property inventories were completed on July 9, and reconciliation for missing objects was to be accomplished through the park's Board of Survey by July 1982. Antietam's administration twice submitted requests

---

117. Ibid., 1978.
118. Ibid., 1980.

for a park aide position to assist the part-time curator, because of the volume of curatorial work to be done.

National Park Service registrars, along with regional curators and Harpers Ferry experts, spent several months during 1981 at Antietam to update the museum collection. The expanded object storage area, designed by Harpers Ferry Museum Service staff, was completed by May 1.[119]

In 1982 Betty Otto worked to complete the project requirements listed in a museum evaluation report. Three objects were found to be missing during the year. Efforts to reorganize card record files according to new classification and categories met with success, while reorganization of accession folders and history files was expected to require four to six months longer. With the onset of hot and humid summer weather, the park staff closely monitored the collection and exhibit rooms to keep them within acceptable temperature and humidity limits. Recordings in May were not within acceptable limits, but after the air conditioning was turned on in June acceptable readings were recorded 80 percent of the time. Two hygrothermographs were installed in August for a one-month trail period in the collection and exhibit rooms to check the temperature and humidity gauges for accuracy.

As of September 16, 1982, the park held 1,672 catalogued artifacts. During the year a volunteer identified original and reproduction Civil War field artillery carriage iron work found in the Pry Barn. The reproduction pieces would be used to repair display carriages located on the battlefield, and the original pieces were to be stored until a service wide moratorium on accepting curatorial items was lifted.[120]

The Antietam park library was an on-site-use-only primary resource for the park's staff, and interested visitors and researchers. Betty Otto, assisted by two Shepherd College students, completed a library inventory on December 1, 1977. They photocopied title pages of all hard bound books and special paperback books to use as a permanent record inventory. Approximately 75 percent of the library's holdings were rare or out of print publications. The holdings also contained the Henry Kyd Douglas collection. Letter files of research documents, photographs, and slides were to be inventoried when time permitted.

---

[119] Ibid., 1981.

[120] Weekly Activities Report, Jan. 21, June 3, June 24, Aug. 5, Sept. 16, Dec. 27, 1982, park file A2623.

The 1977 library inventory accounted for the following items:

Total hard-bound books	556
Special paperbacks	48
Total	604
Periodicals and paperbacks	346
Microfilm	4
Records (Music)	7
Filmstrips with record (environmental)	3
Motion picture films	32
Tapes (audio)	43

In 1978 the park staff and volunteers finished an inventory of all publications, reorganized map files with a reference index, reorganized the photograph files with a reference index, reorganized the historical photograph record book, and compiled bibliographies for Antietam and Monocacy using the library holdings. The number of hard bound books in the library increased to 657, when 101 publications were added during the year through donation and Parks and History Association purchases.

A YACC worker set up and completed a map and photograph file system in 1979. The library collection grew with the addition of 23 military history publications; 14 periodicals, filmstrips and tapes; and photocopies of unpublished soldiers' letters and diaries which related to the 1862 Maryland campaign. By 1980 the library contained 3,500 photographs, 2,000 slides, and more than 900 publications, periodicals, maps, and research documents.

Eighty-three Civil War publications valued at $850 were added to the library in 1981. The library collection also contained 100 Civil War regimental and state histories, and the estimated value of the library collection was $14,475.

The park library was utilized not only by staff and researchers who physically used the facility, but by people who wrote the staff, seeking research and/or genealogical information. The curator and volunteers provided this service, as well as loaned maps, photographs, slides, monographs, and reproduction clothing and equipment to writers, students, news staff, and National Park Service staff from other areas.[121]

i. Historical Research

Historian Jack Sanderson, The Antietam-C&O Canal Group historian, assisted the Antietam staff with military and historical structure research until July 1974. He completed preliminary architectural data studies of the Sherrick Farm and the Pry House. A brief study was prepared on the Charles Lohman House to document its construction date. Preliminary research by both staff and volunteers was conducted for the proposed development of the 1800-1900 living history program at the Piper Farm.

In 1975 research on the Lohman House continued. The scheduled demolition of the house was postponed when a descendant of early occupants of the Lohman property submitted documents claiming that the house stood during the Battle of Antietam. Further research was programmed.

To comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, a Denver Service Center specialist monitored trenching activities, occurring on the visitor center restroom expansion, on October 7 and 11, 1977. No cultural material of historical significance was found.

On January 30, 1979, Park Technician Otto completed a concise history of Antietam National Battlefield, entitled "Antietam Human Suffering Unequalled." During the next year park volunteers worked on a continuing research project concerning youth in the Civil War, specifically at the battles of South Mountain, Antietam, and Monocacy.[122]

j. Volunteers in Parks

The Volunteers in Parks Act (Public Law 91-357) authorized the National Park Service to recruit, train, and accept the services of individuals without compensation as volunteers. These people could assist with interpretive functions, other visitor services, or activities in or related to National Park Service areas. The volunteers were not considered federal employees and were not subject to federal employment laws.

---

[121] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1977-1981.
[122] Ibid., 1974-1975, 1977, 1979-1980.

The volunteer program was in its third year at Antietam when the park separated from the C & O Canal in 1974. Three living history programs at the park continued only through the efforts of the volunteers during the year. Volunteers in period clothing worked on weekends, offering interpretation at the national cemetery and the Dunkard Church. They also portrayed a Confederate gun crew and demonstrated cannon firing. A goal for the next year was to expand the volunteer program onto the historic Piper Barn to portray 19th century farm life and the 1862 battle's effect on the area's farms.[123]

In 1975 volunteers continued to offer programs at the Dunkard Church and the national cemetery, in addition to providing visitor assistance at the visitor center. The volunteer program expanded during the year to include living history demonstrations at the Piper Farm. Volunteers portrayed known Piper family activities, i.e., blacksmithing, gardening, quilting, rug braiding, and reverse painting on glass. Further development of these activities depended upon rehabilitation of the Piper Farm buildings for visitor safety. Seasonal Park Service interpreters conducted three workshops for volunteers as part of a volunteer self-development training program. The park volunteer coordinator conducted four sessions on 19th century arts and crafts. A local resident taught rug braiding.[124]

At the Piper Farm living history activity flourished in 1976. The farm was being restored for volunteers and National Park Service staff to utilize as a "living farm." Cattle grazed on the farm and volunteers grew garden crops. The Morning Herald of Sharpsburg noted that the restored smokehouse contained authentic butchering tools, kettles and crocks, and even "hams" and "sides of bacon" which hung from the rafters. The wagonshed and corncrib were turned into small museums containing antique farm tools. A multiple forge and carpentry shop was used by several blacksmiths. National Park Service blacksmiths Arnold Schofield from Harpers Ferry, Wayne Dobson from Turkey Run Farm, and Dennis Keuper from Williamsport alternated demonstration duties.

---

[123] Ibid., 1974.
[124] Ibid., 1975.

Antietam maintenance staff member Ray Whipp attended public sales and auctions to collect a complete line of farm machinery used to till, seed, and cultivate an 1800s farm. His machinery collection was displayed at the Piper Farm. Whipp also demonstrated farming with horse teams.

Volunteers were scheduled on weekdays during July and August, and on weekends during June, September, and October at the Dunkard Church and Piper Farm in 1976. On weekends another volunteer portrayed a Union sergeant of the Second Maryland Volunteer Infantry at the Burnside Bridge.

The volunteers received training in 1976 through a day-long bicycle tour of the battlefield, a two-hour training session concerning the Piper Farm, and participation in Park Service seasonal training sessions. During July, August, and September discussion sessions were held for information on volunteers' problems, visitor comments, and other administrative details such as schedules and evaluations. At the end of the summer season, a picnic for the volunteers was held at Philadelphia Brigade park, and special awards were presented to volunteers who contributed outstanding work.[125]

In 1977 the volunteer orientation session was held on May 25. Volunteer coordinator Betty Otto conducted the session, in addition to sponsoring a four-hour hike and bicycle tour of the battlefield; orientation sessions on the Dunkard Church, Piper Farm and national cemetery; and three problem-solving sessions in August.

Volunteers offered living history programs at the Dunkard Church, Piper Farm, national cemetery, Burnside Bridge, and Bloody Lane. They also assisted in completing library inventory and other museum conservation activities.

A problem occurred when half of Antietam's older youth volunteers enrolled in the YCC program for the year. This situation left the children volunteers under the age of 13 without adequate supervision. Volunteer standards stated that children under 13 must have a parent volunteering with them.

Five park volunteers received awards for excellence, while one, Amy Boyce, received a nomination for outstanding volunteer of the year for the second consecutive year. She won an expense-paid trip to the Virgin Islands.[126]

---

[125] Ibid., 1976; The Morning Herald, Sharpsburg, Md., July 13, 1976.

Antietam's volunteer program expanded in 1978 with the recruitment of 91 living history interpretive volunteers and one natural science interpretive volunteer, who were older and more sensitive to the need for complementing the National Park Service interpretive programs. These volunteers offered new and different types of educational interpretive programs which supported the park staff's interpretive goals.

A major change in Antietam's interpretive programming occurred in 1978. The Piper Farm was not opened for visitation despite the popularity of the living history program. The decision was based upon the lack of permanent and seasonal Park Service staff, and the lack of adult volunteers, to supervise the younger volunteers who, during past summers, had carried out most of the demonstrations on the farm.

The established programs at the Dunkard Church, national cemetery, and Civil War soldier encampment groups near the Dunkard Church, Bloody Lane, and Burnside Bridge continued on weekends, May through October. Additionally, one living history group of eight volunteers represented the unmounted Fifth U.S. Cavalry with historical talks and demonstrations on weekends starting June 1. Another group of 32 represented the Fourth North Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment at Bloody Lane. A third group of six volunteers represented the First Maine Cavalry (General Burnside's Escort) and conducted a living history cavalry encampment at Burnside Bridge.

Volunteers were also scheduled regularly to assist with library management and interpretive programming. One volunteer developed reading lists on the Antietam and Monocacy battlefields, completed the library annual inventory, updated library catalog records, and compiled research references which Park Service staff used to reply to written research requests. An attempt was made by one volunteer to conduct nature walks along Snavely Ford Trail, but visitor participation was minimal.

---

[126] Superintendent's Annual Report, 1977.

Laurie McKnight, the regional volunteer coordinator, met with Betty Otto to develop plans, guidelines, and awards for the 1979 volunteer programs.[127]

By 1979 Antietam's volunteer program boasted 135 participants, compared to 20 when the program began in 1972. The volunteers participated from May to October in living history programs at the Dunkard Church, Bloody Lane, and Burnside Bridge. Programs were also given at the visitor center and in the West Woods.

The encampment groups participated less frequently on the weekends than they had the year before because of gasoline shortages and inflation. Fourteen groups participated on just one or two weekends for practice and training experience. New programs included a depiction of the Sanitary Commission and a Ladies Relief Hospital tent and equipment, and volunteers who displayed their personal Civil War weapons and gave programs on small-arms and military accoutrements. Goals for the 1980 volunteer program included presenting more programs emphasizing Civil War medical activities and youth and women at the Battle of Antietam.

Two volunteers were nominated for the 1979 Maryland Volunteer Activist Award. Both William Hasenbuhler, who portrayed a sergeant-major in the Second Maryland Infantry at Burnside Bridge, and Connie Hetzel, who portrayed a Dunker at the Dunkard Church, received certificates of recognition. Hasenbuhler also received the Maryland Service Corps Certificate of Merit.[128]

In 1980 volunteers contributing their time and talents at Antietam numbered 197. They participated in interpretive, living history, and resource management activities. Hasenbuhler offered a new program, "A Day in the Life of the Civil War Soldier," on weekends at Rohrbach Campground upon request. Other programs featured the Ninth New York Zouaves; the Fourth Maryland Artillery, with mock artillery demonstrations; the Fifth U.S. Cavalry encampment, with mounted and unmounted sword and sabre drills; and Civil War rifle displays.

---

[127] Ibid., 1978.
[128] Ibid., 1979.

Over the Fourth of July weekend, volunteers offered a living history event, "A Union Headquarters Staff Encampment," for Antietam visitors. The volunteers had authentic uniforms and equipment in the scenarios they presented hourly during the three-day holiday. The activity highlighted the year's volunteer activities.

Betty Otto was assisted by five volunteers and a seasonal interpreter in presenting a special exhibit and display at a local shopping center mall. The exhibit featured volunteer activities at Antietam, and 770 people stopped to talk and view the display.

On October 19 the volunteers held their end-of-the-year gathering. Six volunteers were honored for their new programs and assistance in resource management.[129]

The 1981 volunteer orientation session was held on April 12, 1981. The staff stressed the need for authenticity in uniforms and equipment, good interpretive techniques, documentation for programs, and research. Further emphasis was placed upon visitor and volunteer safety and security of military equipment.

Volunteers for the year totaled 182. They served as interpreters in living history roles, and aided in library and cultural resource management work. Fifteen reenactor groups presented interpretive Civil War encampment programs. The programs featured scenes of soldier's camp life; military routine; details; orders; leisure time; marching, sword, sabre, and small-arms drills; mounted and unmounted cavalry drills; bugle calls; and rifle-musket firing demonstrations. All of the volunteers' interpretive talks and demonstrations were based upon hours of detailed research in primary sources.

Several groups presented outstanding programs. The Fifth New York Zouaves (Warren's Brigade) and Company C, Fifth U.S. Cavalry, under the direction of William Hutchison, set up a U.S. Army Signal Corps display of reproduction signal flags, kits, and equipment complete with signal tower. The 74 uniformed volunteers demonstrated "signaling in the field" to park visitors. Volunteer Tom Williams directed Company C, Fifth U.S. Cavalry, programs featuring dismounted cavalry sabre and carbine drills and arms demonstrations. Volunteer William

---

[129] Ibid., 1979.

Hasenbuhler continued his Rohrbach overnight camp experience for scout troops and church groups with the assistance of the First N.Y. Infantry and the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Company E, 33rd Virginia Infantry gave "In Camp" programs and the Fourth Maryland Artillery presented artillery programs on weekends. The reactivated Fourth Georgia Regimental Band presented a concert for park visitors on July 6. The 13 members were music majors, dressed in authentic uniforms, and played authentic or reproduction instruments.

The end-of-the-year volunteer gathering was held on February 27, 1982, when the "Antietam Visit" was previewed. Many of the volunteers had participated in making the film.[130]

The 1982 volunteer orientation was held in May. Betty Otto and other National Park Service staff members conducted the training on resource management, visitor safety, and protection topics.

Volunteer activities during the year continued to focus on living history programs, camp reenactments, and cannon and rifle-musket demonstrations. Over the Fourth of July three-day weekend, volunteers offered camp life and inspection scenarios, demonstrations of infantry and cavalry tactics, and sabre and carbine drills. Other programs were given over the summer at the Dunkard Church, the West Woods, and the Burnside Bridge. One new program focused on youth in the Civil War, with a volunteer and a seasonal interpreter working together to discuss the life of a drummer boy and to demonstrate drum calls.

In September, handicapped students from the Kemp Horn Vocational Center offered volunteer services. Thirty-nine students and 10 adult supervisors worked with Antietam's maintenance crew to paint, perform general ground work, and to clear brush from fences and stone walls.

In November the volunteers held their traditional end of the season party. The Maryland Light Artillery received recognition for their artillery talks and demonstrations over the summer. Two other volunteers' work was also cited.[131]

The National Park Service staff at Antietam was visibly complemented by the Volunteers in Parks program during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The volunteers contributed thousands of hours to the park's interpretive and resource management programs. In 1981 alone, volunteers presented 64 percent of the interpretive programs offered. The program benefitted both the National Park Service and the community, for it offered opportunity for personal growth, responsibility, and community service.

---

[130] Ibid., 1981.

[131] Weekly Activities Report, May 6, June 24, July 7, July 15, Sept. 30, 1982, Park File A2623.

k. Special Events

(1) Bicentennial Events, 1975-1976. The nation's 200th birthday was commemorated at Antietam in a variety of ways. In 1975 the interpretive staff placed special emphasis on the local area's early history in their park interpretation. The staff sponsored special exhibits featuring Washington County Schools artwork and National Park Service history and artifacts. Off-site programs featured National Park Service films, slides, and taped music. The staff also cooperated with the Washington County Board of Education, several television stations, and local historical groups in researching, developing, and presenting bicentennial programs throughout the year.

During the bicentennial year Antietam's staff worked with Harpers Ferry staff and the regional bicentennial office in presenting audiovisual materials, travel exhibits, publications, and travel shows to both the visiting public and in the local community. Displays of poster art, photographs, slides, and film programs were offered in the visitor center lobby. Film programs were also held in the national cemetery lodge and at off-site locations.

A selected list of bicentennial events included:

1. Antietam National Battlefield was included in the Western Maryland Bicentennial marker system and guide of historic sites.
2. Bicentennial leaflets and posters of National Park Service areas and a list of famous Sharpsburg foods was sent to the Leechburg, Pennsylvania, Bicentennial Committee. The menu was incorporated into their 500-guest Bicentennial Dinner of the original Thirteen Colonies on April 4, 1976.
3. The Washington County Board of Education Television Center videotaped the National Park Service Bicentennial films for closed circuit programming throughout the 45 schools of the Washington County School System.

VOLUNTEERS IN PARKS AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

1972 - 1981

YEAR	TOTAL OF VIP'S	NEW RECRUITS	RETURNING ENROLLEES	NO. OF HOURS CONTRIBUTED	NO. OF VISITORS CONTACTED	N.P.S. EXPENDITURES
1972	20	20	0	--	—	--
1973						
1974	50	11	39	1,268	30,000	$1,200.00
1975	51	18	33		5,222	700.00
1976	54	13	41	2,108	21,396	3,800.00
1977	56	23	33	2,810	19,662	2,000.00
1978	92	33	59	4,453	25,661	2,900.00
1979	123	37	86	5,982	17,423	2,650.00
1980	197	74	--	5,786	20,884	4,865.00
1981	182	71	—	6,431	18,300	3,800.00

Data complied from the Antietam National Battlefield Annual Reports for the Years 1974 to 1981.

4. The Washington County Bicentennial group planted a Wye Oak sapling in Philadelphia Brigade Park on Arbor Day, April 7.
5. A bicentennial travel show entitled "We've Come Back for a Little Look Around," was presented three times on June 16 at Hagerstown City Park. Antietam's volunteer coordinator Betty Otto and five volunteers assisted during the shows.
6. On June 20 the Brownsville, Maryland, Church of the Brethren opened "German Baptist Brethren Heritage Week" with a traditional service at the Dunkard Church.
7. The Frederick Douglass Mobile Theatre presented "Black American Reflections" at the park. Television star Esther Rolle was the special guest.
8. The U.S. Marine Corps Museum exhibited a bicentennial four-panel display of "Marines in the Civil War," "Ante Eatum Iron Works," "To Gettysburg with Lincoln," and "Marines at Harpers Ferry" in the visitor center lobby.
9. The Washington County Chapter of the American Red Cross borrowed a copy of an 1860-style dress and bonnet for the Hagerstown exhibit on Clara Barton and the American Red Cross.
10. A Sharpsburg resident displayed his "200 Years of Coins" collection in the visitor center lobby for the summer months.[132]

(2) President Jimmy Carter's Visit, 1978. President Jimmy Carter and First Lady Rosalyn Carter visited Antietam for the first time on Thursday, July 6, 1978. Accompanied by Civil War Historian Shelby Foote, the president toured the woods behind Dunkard Church, the Bloody Lane, the Burnside Bridge and Miller Cornfield. Park Technician Betty Otto accompanied the Carters, and Superintendent Leimer presented Carter with a framed, color photograph of the Burnside Bridge. The President made a few remarks regarding the Antietam staff's good work in maintaining the battlefield and the National Park Service's good record in administering all of its areas.[133]

---

[132] Superintendent's Annual Report(s), 1975-1976.
[133] Ibid., 1978; The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Md., July 1, 1978.

(3) Antietam National Battlefield's 90th Birthday, 1980. On August 30, 1980, the Antietam staff celebrated the 90th anniversary of the battlefield's establishment by the War Department. The festivities included decorations, period music, and interpretive programs. Visitors participated in a special birthday ceremony, and enjoyed pieces of birthday cake. Park staff and volunteers offered a rifle-musket firing demonstration, an artillery talk and a cannon firing demonstration for the visitor's interest and enjoyment.[134]

---

[134] The Morning Herald, Hagerstown, Maryland, Aug. 29, 1980.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Time ran out for Charles Snell to complete the entire Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery, Maryland: An Administrative History, 1874-1983. Chapters X, XI and several additions to the Snell draft were researched at the Library of Congress and National Archives in Washington, D.C., and at Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland, during June 6-10, 1983; and written at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site, St. Louis, Missouri, in June and July 1983. This accounts for any noticeable differences in the style and approach of the last two chapters as compared to the rest of the text.

Mr. Snell's statement in his preface that the Antietam administrative history from January 1, 1954, to June 30, 1974, should be restudied and rewritten on the basis of documentary evidence not presently available deserves repeating here. The scanty information known about those years, particularly between 1967 and 1974, does not do justice to the staffs' achievements in preserving and interpreting the battlefield's history and physical beauty and serenity.

I would like to thank Virgil Leimer, Ed Mazzer, Sam Nichols, and especially Betty J. Otto for their assistance during the two days I spent at Antietam, and for their patience during my subsequent information-seeking telephone calls. I thank Charles Snell and Edwin Bearss for offering both guidance and the opportunity for me to complete the Antietam administrative history. Charles Snell also deserves credit for most of the meticulous work compiling the graphs in Chapter XI.

Sharon A. Brown
St. Louis, Missouri
August 1, 1983

APPENDIX I

Officers and Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery Association, Sharpsburg, Maryland

March 23-June 27, 1877

OFFICERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION

1865-1877

PRESIDENTS OF THE BOARD

1. Augustin A. Biggs, M.D., Maryland, May 25, 1865-January 1, 1868
2. John Jay, New York, 1868
3. Gibson L. Crammer, Wheeling, W. Va., 1869-1877

VICE PRESIDENTS

1. Gen. Edward Shriver, Frederick, Md., May 25, 1865-Jan. 1, 1866, 1869-1871
2. Gen. Erza A. Carman, Jersey City, N.J., 1874-1877

Secretary and Treasurer

1. Thomas A. Boullt, Hagerstown, Md., May 25, 1865-Oct. 5, 1876 (died)
2. Dr. A. A. Biggs-1877

Executive Committee, 1869

J. H. B. Latrobe, Maryland, 1869, Chairman
John J. Bagley, Michigan, 1869
Henry Edwards, Massachusetts, 1869

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

Augustin A. Biggs, M.D., Maryland, September 12, 1865-1869

Keeper of the Cemetery

Hiram S. Siess, Maryland, September 1867-June 7, 1877

Executive Committee, 1871-1877

Dr. S. Rutledge McNary, Chairman, Connecticut
Gen. H. W. Slocum, 1877, New York
Gen. George B. Wright, Ohio
Gen. Erza A. Carman, New Jersey

Executive Committee, 1867

Col. W. Yates Selleck, Wisconsin
Gibson L. Crammer, West Virginia
William Dwight, Massachusetts

BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION, 1865-1877

TRUSTEES FOR THE FOLLOWING STATES

1. NEW YORK	Gen. B. Van Petten, term expired Sept. 17, 1867
	Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, term expired Sept. 17, 1867
	John Jay (second president of Board), resigned, Dec. 1868
	Major Gen. H. W. Slocum, 1869-1871
2. INDIANA	Henry D. Washburne, Clinton, 1866-1871
	W. S. Holman, Aurora, 1874
3. CONNECTICUT	A. G. Hammond, died (in 1867)
	William S. Charnley, resigned
	Henry H. Starkweather (in 1869)
	Dr. S. Rutledge McNary, Hartford, 1871-1877
4. MARYLAND	Dr. Augustin A. Biggs, Sharpsburg, May 25, 1865-January 1, 1868
	1st President of Board, 1865-67; General Superintendent, September 12, 1865-June 7, 1877
	Thomas A. Boullt, May 25, 1865-1869, Hagerstown, Secretary-Treasurer, May 25, 1865-June 7, 1877.
	Gen. Edward Shriver, May 25, 1865-1877, Baltimore, Vice President, 1869-1874
	James H. Grove, Hagerstown, 1868, resigned
	Charles C. Fulton, May 25, 1865-Jan. 1, 1867
	Gen. Charles E. Phelps, appointed January 1, 1868, resigned, and replaced by R. B. Carmichael, 1869
	John H. B. Latrobe, Baltimore, January 1, 1867-1874
	Daniel Weisel, Hagerstown, 1871-1874

5.	NEW JERSEY	Gen. Erza A. Carman, Newark and Jersey City, 1871-1877
6.	ILLINOIS	No trustee appointed.
7.	MINNESOTA	Alexander Ramsay, St. Paul, 1866-74
8.	MAINE	James G. Blaine, August, March 7, 1866-1874
9.	RHODE ISLAND	B. Lapham, Centerville, 1866-74
10.	PENNSYLVANIA	Gen. John R. Brooke, resigned, replaced by: Major Gen. James S. Negley, Pittsburgh, 1867-74
11.	OHIO	Col. Cordon Lofland, Cambridge, 1866-1879. Died.
		Gen. George B. Wright, Columbus, 1871-1877
12.	WISCONSIN	Col. W. Yates Selleck, Washington, D.C., March 7, 1866-1870
		Henry D. Barrow, St. Croix Falls, 1871-1874
13.	MICHIGAN	John G. Bayley, Detroit, 1866-1874
14.	VERMONT	Major William Rounds, Centerville, 1866-74
15.	DELAWARE	Trustee not appointed by State. Board, December 5, 1867-ask following to represent State of Delaware: Col. A. H. Grimshaw, Wilmington, Dec. 1867 - 1868
16.	WEST VIRGINIA	Gibson L. Crammer, March 7, 1866-1877, Wheeling. President of Board, 1869-1877. (Judge)
17.	NEW HAMPSHIRE	L. D. Mason, South Tansworth, 1874
18.	MASSACHUSETTS	William Dwight, 1866-1867, resigned Henry Edwards, Boston, March 6, 1866-1874
19.	IOWA	No trustee ever appointed.

Source of Information: Board of Trustees, History of Antietam National Cemetery, Including a Descriptive List of the Loyal Soldiers buried therein, together with the Ceremonies and Addresses on the Occassion of the Dedication of the Grounds, September 17, 1867. (John Wood, Steam Printer, Baltimore, 1869), pp. 84.

Also Proceedings of the Trustees of Antietam National Cemetery at Special Meetings Held in Washington City, May 6, 1868; p. 15; and Washington, D.C., December 16, 1874, p. 11, printed copies of minutes in R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 130.

APPENDIX II

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES AND STRUCTURES OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, MARYLAND

JANUARY 9, 1889

prepared by

Superintendent George Hess

for

the Quartermaster General

Record Group 92, Entry 576, Box 130

Quartermaster General's Office
Washington, D.C. January 8, 1889

Superintendent
Antietam National Cemetery,
Sharpsburg, Md.

Sir:

You will please fill up and return to this office direct, with as little delay as practicable, the following schedule of information and data required concerning the National Cemetery under your charge, viz:-

(Report prepared by Superintendent George Hess):

Location

Name of nearest town with direction and estimated distance from some central point therein, and if near a river, the direction and distance therefrom:

700 yards N.E. from Public Square in Sharpsburg, Md. to main entrance at Cemetery 3½ miles N.E. from Potomac River by Public Road -- 2 miles East, air line, to main entrance at Cemetery.

Direction and distance from nearest R.R. Station, and name of road: 1 2/3 miles N.E. from Antietam Station, Shenandoah Valley R.R. to main entrance at Cemetery.

Means of approach from nearest town and from R.R. Station and condition of road or roads: Hack or public conveyance. ½ the distance is dirt road, other ½ Turnpike. The former in bad condition during winter and spring.

Post Office Address -- Sharpsburg, Md.
Shipping Address -- Antietam Sta., Md. S.V.RR.
Telegraph Station -- Antietam Sta., Md. S.V.RR.

Description and History

Date of Establishment -- 1865 -- Dedicated Sept. 17, 1867.

Area of all ground pertaining to the cemetery: Eleven (11) Acres.

Area of ground within the enclosure: nine and half (9½) acres.

Brief description of topography of the grounds: An irregular figure of four sides. Summit of a ridge, is graded to a uniform slope each way from large Monument near the center and highest point of ground in the Cemetery.

Names and dates of battles and engagement from the scenes of which the dead were removed to this cemetery: South Mt., Sept. 14; Antietam, Sept. 17-62. Monocacy Junction, Md.; Harpers Ferry, W. Va.; Hospitals, Hagerstown, Williamsport, Cumberland, Frederick, Middletown, Smoketown, Weaverton, and other places in vicinity.

Enclosure

Description and length of wall or railing, stating also whether there is a hedge along the inside line of wall:

Stone nicely dressed, 2 ft. thick, 4½ feet high on inside, with heavy coping on top three sides of cemetery. On north or front side is a stone wall and coping about 3 ft. high surmounted by a substantial iron fence running east-west from main entrance to within about 100 ft. of the end. The balance is a stone wall similar to sides. Entire length 2,662 feet of wall & iron fence of which 600 ft. is iron fence on stone base. No hedge inside wall.

Location of main entrance and description of gates:

Front north on turnpike. 300 ft. from S.W. corner of cemetery; 475 ft. from N.E. corner of cemetery wall. Over driveway double iron gates, each side small gates at walks, hung on heavy iron posts. All ornamental & handsome design.

BUILDINGS

Description, stating size, material, and location of each:

Lodge: Of finely dressed gray limestone cottage style, slate roof, main wall outside 23 x 33 feet; wing for Office 16 x 18 feet, all 2 stories high, with 6 rooms including Office, 3 rooms on 1st floor, 3 on 2nd floor. Tower or Observatory, 11 x 11 feet, 45 ft. high. Located at main entrance, west side.

Outbuilding: Of rough hammer dressed Blue limestone, comb. Slate roof, wall outside 16 x 20 feet. One story, one room, Tool and Supply room located 55 feet west from Lodge on line.

Outbuilding: Of brick, comb, slate roof, 6 x 10 feet -- Privy, located about 75 yards N.W. from Lodge, at N.W. corner of Cemetery.

Rostrum: Of brick, stone, wood & iron, the Genl. Meigs plan, 22 x 34 feet, covered with vines, located 150 feet east from lodge.

AVENUES AND DRIVES

Give description of drives and avenues, beginning at main entrance:

From main entrance south 310 feet is a cinder and gravel walk or drive 18 feet wide. A sodded 18 ft. avenue circles around the large monument. From this circle avenue are 18 ft. wide avenues leading east, south and west in point with large monument, to an 18 ft. wide avenue encircling all the grave sections, this is a belt avenue, with an arber vita hedge lining it on one side and next to grave sections. On the other side it is lined by trees and shrubery; a 10 ft. walk crosses the cemetery about mid way and from one side of belt ave., to the other running east & west, and parallel with and along side Pa. & N.Y. Grave Sections. Everything is in sod, except main ave. 18 ft. wide. From main entrance south 310 ft. is gravel & cinder, and is not in good condition. All sodded drives and walks are in good condition.

Description and location of Flagstaff:

Wood, 12 inches in diameter at ground in an iron socket about 8 feet in ground, 48 feet high, erected on a mound 25 ft. diameter & 5 ft. in center of symmetrical form. Located 100 ft. S.E. from main entrance.

DRAINAGE

State extant and whether underground or surface:

1,700 feet, 6" to 12" vitrified clay pipe, 2' to 3' underground. 19 brick inlets at surface, 4 outlets through the wall at surface and in the ground.

WATER SUPPLY

State means of water supply, and if by cistern, the capacity thereof.

One cistern, 10 ft. west of Lodge, 10 ft. diameter, 9 ft. deep.

Capacity -- 8,000 gallons.

BURIAL SECTIONS

State number and arrangement of burial sections:

Arranged by States, viz. 20 sections States, 1 sec. U.S. Officers, 1 sec. U.S.A. soldiers. 4 sec. unknown U.S. soldiers.

INTERMENTS

Number and classification of interments	Known	Unknown
U.S. Officers, Soldiers, Sailors & Marines	2,858	1,830
Confederate	0	0
Civilians	0	0
Total number of interments	2,858	1,830
Total number of graves	4,230	

HEADSTONES AND MONUMENTS

Give location and description of all monuments, stating by whom erected and estimated cost:

One large Soldier's Monument, base at ground on foundations, 22 x 22 feet, height 47'6" from surface of ground to top of Statue, located near center of cemetery.

One monument 4'6" x 4'6" at base, 8 feet high, on Officer Section near 150 feet north of large monument.

Former erected by Battison [sic - James G. Batterson] from Rhode Island --$30,000.00 [$32,804.04]. [Dedicated September 17, 1880].

Latter by Survivors of 20th Regt. N.Y. Vols., $1,100. [Dedicated September 17, 1887].

It is desired that special attention be given to the preparation of this report, and that it be transmitted to this office promptly as possible.

Very respectfully, your obedient Servant

S. B. Holabird
Quartermaster General, U.S. Army

In his History of Antietam National Cemetery, published in 1890, George Hess described the Gun Monuments in the Cemetery, (page 9) as follows:

> In passing up the main avenue, about a hundred feet from the entrance, are planted two iron guns, as monuments, the gun on the left is a 32-pound Columbiad, captured from the Confederates at Harper's Ferry (Bolivar Heights) by General John W. J. Geary's men (28th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers) in [October 16] 1861 and transported at once up the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Williamsport, Md., and was brought from there to this spot in 1867. The gun on the right is a 12-pound rifled piece, was disabled near the foot of Elk Mountain (north) and about two miles east by north from the National Cemetery.

In 1867, General Superintendent A.A. Biggs of Antietam National Cemetery had written to Quartermaster J. D. Bingham regarding these guns:

> There are no pieces of artillery which have been mounted in the cemetery. There are two dismounted pieces, one, an English 32 pounder captured from the Rebels by whom it was spiked; the other a rifle gun (Rodman) bursted at the muzzle (From R.G. 92, Entry 576, Box 131).

These cannon were apparently mounted by the War Department in 1880. (Report of James Gall, Jr., Civil Engineer, June 28, 1880-R.G. 92, Entry 576. Box 130-"Small gun should be erected on a stone base and a small carriage -- at present it lies on the ground.")

BLANK PAGE

APPENDIX III

EXPENDITURES FOR REPAIR AND IMPROVEMENTS
AT
ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, MARYLAND
(Exclusive of the Salaries of the Superintendents)
BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT FROM
1878 to 1894

JUNE 30	WALLS AND GATES	LODGE	OUT-BUILDING	TOOLS	TREES AND PLANTS	EMPLOY-EES	DRAIN-AGE	IMPROVEMENT OF GROUNDS	FLAG POLES & MONUMENTS	WATER SUPPLY	GRAND TOTAL
1865	ANTIETAM NATIONAL MILITARY CEMETERY, MARYLAND										
1866											
1867											
1868											
1869											
1870											
1871											
1872											
1873											
1874											
1875											
1876	Repair of Repair of										
1877	Becomes a National Cemetery during this fiscal year on June 7, 1877.										
1878	$0	$405.00	$0	$171.62	$0	$435.75	$0	$433.45	$170.00	$0	$1,764.66
1879	0	6.00	1,730.00	50.73	50.00	641.16	0	81.50	0	0	2,559.39
1880	0	157.12	0	119.17	54.65	430.50	0	207.75	0	0	1,568.69
1881	0	38.58	25.00	123.42	96.70	429.50	0	222.92	77.00	0	1,013.12
1882	0	4.50	0	39.94	86.85	513.00	0	298.31	0	74.75	1,013.12
1883	0	20.50	0	46.89	0	738.33	0	38.98	10.00	3.80	858.50
1884	15.00	10.00	0	37.08	0	425.00	0	140.62	0	0	650.70
1885	25.00	100.00	0	38.35	5.97	423.50	0	27.50	40.00	0	660.32

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

JUNE 30	WALLS AND GATES	LODGE	OUT-BUILDING	TOOLS	TREES AND PLANTS	EMPLOY-EES	DRAIN-AGE	IMPROVEMENT OF GROUNDS	FLAG POLES & MONUMENTS	WATER SUPPLY	GRAND TOTAL
1886	10.00	19.25	0	7.10	5.72	424.50	0	125.85	15.40	6.75	$614.57
1887	2.00	0	0	24.32	0	377.00	0	16.50	0	0	495.02
1888	0	375.00	0	34.00	0	466.00	0	125.00	0	0	1,068.10
1889	0	85.00	9.37	70.63	0	450.50	0	145.50	10.00	0	867.18
1890	0	0	0	66.90	0	425.00	30.00	87.50	31.21	0	756.05
1891	0	0	42.00	53.75	0	416.00	0	33.00	10.00	0	650.85
1892	55.00	0	0	28.00	0	425.00	0	47.10	0	200.00*	876.36
1893	0	20.00	0	6.16	0	425.00	0	0	0	0	556.16
1894	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	574.16
1895	$706.50	$1,241.29	$1,806.37	942.80	299.89	7,865.74	30.00	2,052.48	368.61	285.30	589.29

GRAND TOTAL, JULY 1, 1877 to JUNE 30, 1894 = $16,565.84

*New cistern built in 1892.
Brick stable built in 1901.

?
726.40
1,145.90
737.43
746.32
1,771.65

$22,282.83

EXPENDITURES, JULY 1, 1877 TO JUNE 30, 1894:

Enclosing Walls and Gates	$706.50
Lodge (for Superintendent's Quarters)	1,241.29
Outbuilding	1,806.37
Greenhouses	0
Tools	942.80
Trees and plants	299.89
Employees (but not including the salary of the cemetery superintendent)	7,865.74
Drainage	30.00
Water Supply	285.30
Office furniture and stoves	64.50
Interments	72.75
Fuel (1887-94)	555.86
Forage (1187-94)	0
Transportation	124.75
Purchase of land (1878)	5.00
Total, July 1, 1877 to June 30, 1894:	$16,565.54

Improvement of the grounds	2,052.48
Flag Poles and Monuments	368.61

Stone Bridges, two, built in 1905, replacing two wooden bridges

ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY,
MARYLAND.

BLANK PAGE

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, AND THE CEMETERIAL BRANCH OF THE QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE (Relating to ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY AND BATTLEFIELD, 1876 to June 30, 1912

from Congressional Serial Number Series of House Executive Documents

Serial No.	For Fiscal Year	
1. 1794	July 1, 1876 to June 30, 1877	Quartermaster Corps takes charge of Antietam National Cemetery, 1876-77.
2. 1843	July 1, 1877 to June 30, 1878	
3. 1903	July 1, 1878 to June 30, 1879	
4. 1952	July 1, 1879 to June 30, 1880	
5. 2010	July 1, 1880 to June 30, 1881	
6. 2091	July 1, 1881 to June 30, 1882	
7. 2182	July 1, 1882 to June 30, 1883	
8. 2277	July 1, 1883 to June 30, 1884	
9. 2369	July 1, 1884 to June 30, 1885	
10. 2461	July 1, 1885 to June 30, 1886	
11. 2533	July 1, 1886 to June 30, 1887	
12. 2628	July 1, 1887 to June 30, 1888	
13. 2715	July 1, 1888 to June 30, 1889	
14. 2831	July 1, 1889 to June 30, 1890	
15. 2921	July 1, 1890 to June 30, 1891	Antietam Battlefield Commission and Park authorized Aug. 30, 1890.
16. 3077	July 1, 1891 to June 30, 1892	First report on progress of Antietam Battlefield Commission.
17. 3198	July 1, 1892 to June 30, 1893	

Serial No.	For Fiscal Year
18. 3295	July 1, 1893 to June 30, 1894
19. 3370	July 1, 1894 to June 30, 1895
20. 3478	July 1, 1895 to June 30, 1896
21. 3630	July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1897
22. 3744	July 1, 1897 to June 30, 1898
23. 3899	July 1, 1898 to June 30, 1899
24. 4071	July 1, 1899 to June 30, 1900
25. 4270	July 1, 1900 to June 30, 1901
26. 4443	July 1, 1901 to June 30, 1902
27. 4629	July 1, 1902 to June 30, 1903
28. 4782	July 1, 1903 to June 30, 1904
29. 4942	July 1, 1904 to June 30, 1905
30. 5106	July 1, 1905 to June 30, 1906
31. 5272	July 1, 1906 to June 30, 1907
32. 5421	July 1, 1907 to June 30, 1908
33. 5717	July 1, 1908 to June 30, 1909
34. 5955	July 1, 1909 to June 30, 1910
35. 6197	July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911
36. 6378	July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912

APPENDIX V

LIST OF THE 20 SUPERINTENDENTS OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, MARYLAND SEPTEMBER 12, 1865, TO APRIL 5, 1942

MARYLAND BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY

March 23, 1865-June 7, 1877

1. Augustin A. Biggs, M.D., General Superintendent and Designer of the Cemetery, 1865-June 7, 1877.

2. Hiram S. Siess, Keeper of the Cemetery, 1867-June 7, 1877.

WAR DEPARTMENT, QUARTERMASTER CORPS, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CEMETERY,

June 7, 1877 to August 10, 1933

3.	Hiram S. Siess	June 7, 1877-April 7, 1879.
4.	George A. Haverfield	April 7, 1879-March 13, 1880.
5.	Walter A. Donaldson	March 13, 1880-July 1887.
6.	George Hess	August 15, 1887-January 1, 1897.
7.	Frank Barrows	March 23, 1897-May 16, 1904.
8.	J. W. Bryant	June 2, 1904-March 30, 1905.
9.	Joshua V. Davis	April 10, 1905-February 2, 1909.
10.	John L. Cook	March 6, 1909-September 15, 1920.
11.	Charles M. Snyder	September 1920-October 18, 1923.
12.	Thomas E. Tobin	October 18, 1923-August 16, 1924.
13.	Louis N. Donaldson	August 16, 1924-April 20, 1927. (Died)
14.	George L. Fisher	May 14, 1927-December 24, 1927 (died). (A)
15.	George B. Alexander-Acting Supt.,	December 26, 1927-May 9, 1928.
16.	Thomas E. Tobin	May 9, 1928-August 28, 1929.
17.	W. R. Dupree	October 21, 1929-May 2, 1930.
18.	Placide Rodriquez	August 1, 1930-June 9, 1931.

19.	Humphrey King	June 9, 1931-March 3, 1932.
20.	Clarence L. Nett	March 9, 1932-August 10, 1933.

Interior Department, National Park Service

20.	Clarence L. Nett	August 10, 1933-July 11, 1934.
21.	Carl M. Taute	August 16, 1934-April 5, 1942.

Position of cemetery superintendent consolidated in April 1942 with that of superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site.

APPENDIX VI

ALLOTMENTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, MARYLAND

July 1, 1904-June 30, 1938

Data from:

"Record Book of Purchasing, Receipt of Funds, and Dispersement of Funds for Antietam National Cemetery, 1904 to 1921," Antietam National Battlefield Museum Catalog Number 1448.

June 30	For Labor	Water Supply	Fuel	Forage	Shoeing Animals	Total Allotment	Supt.'s Salary	Spent Nat. Cemet.	Dates of Allotments
1905	$565.00		$92.26	$123.65	$6.00	$1,063.31	$ 900.00	$1,872.79	
1906	545.00		92.87	123.65	6.00	825.14	900.00	1,852.10	
1907	545.00		68.92	115.63	6.00	776.05	900.00	1,788.07	
1908	545.00		73.44	114.20	6.00	738.64	900.00	1,983.33	
1909	561.25		72.25	135.47	6.00	774.97	525.00	1,279.32	
1910	561.25		73.84	147.71	6.00	788.71	900.00	1,688.71	6/17/09
1911	555.00		71.19	208.99	6.00	841.18	900.00	1,741.18	7/9/10 & 12/20/10
1912	553.75		68.00	125.69	6.00	753.44	900.00	1,653.44	7/1/11
1913	553.75		72.78	148.83	6.00	781.36	900.00	1,681.36	8/30/12
1914	553.75		75.00	181.95	6.00	816.70	900.00	1,716.70	7/23/13
1915	553.75		75.00	133.17	6.00	767.92	982.50	1,750.47	8/8/14
1916	553.75		75.00	137.82	6.00	772.57	990.00	1,760.57	6/23/15
1917	553.75		80.75	160.59	7.50	802.59	1,017.50	1,820.09	7/11/16
1918	628.50		91.38	199.24	6.00	925.12	1,120.00	2,045.12	6/28/17
1919	728.00		0	0	0	0	0	0	7/18/18
1920	758.00		0	0	0	0	0	0	7/24/19
1921	758.00		0	0	0	0	0	0	7/24/20
1922	788.00		0	0	0	0	0	0	7/16/21
1923									

June 30	For Labor	Water Supply	Fuel	Forage	Shoeing Animals	Total Allotment	Supt.'s Salary	Spent Nat. Cemetery	Dates of Allotments
1924	765.00								7/25/23
1925									
1926							$1,140.00		
1927							1,140.00		
1928							1,140.00		
1929									
1930								$3,162.88	
1931						$5,730.00			
1932									
1933						4,917.00			
1934						1,500.00		1,494.67	
1935						2,470.00	1,140.00	2,464.97	38.59
1936						2,530.00	1,140.00	2,505.88	24.12
1937						2,900.00	1,140.00	2,697.86	202.14
1938						2,360.00	1,140.00	2,335.92	24.08
1939									
1940									
1941									
1942									
1943									
1944									
1945									

BLANK PAGE

APPENDIX VII

MEMBERS OF THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE BOARD

1890-1898

1. Col. John C. Stearns of Vermont, Agent and historical expert, August 1, 1891 to July 26, 1894.

2. Gen. Henry Heth of Virginia, Agent and historical expert, August 1, 1891 to August 17, 1895; June 30, 1896 to December 31, 1896; August 1, 1897-December 31, 1897.

3. Gen. Ezra A. Carman, of New Jersey, Historical expert, October 12, 1894 to August 17, 1895; June 30, 1896-December 31, 1896.

4. Maj. Jed Hotchkiss, Expert topographer, October 13, 1894-August 17, 1895.

5. Col. E. B. Cope, of Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, employed as expert topographer, May 1897.

6. Maj. George B. Davis, Judge Advocate, President of the Board, October 20, 1894 to August 10, 1895.

7. Maj. George W. Davis, President of the Board, August 10, 1895-March 18, 1898.

BLANK PAGE

560

APPENDIX VIII

LIST OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD, MARYLAND

JUNE 14, 1900-1982

WAR DEPARTMENT, QUARTERMASTER CORPS

1. Charles W. Adams June 14, 1900-June 6, 1912 (assassinated).

2. George H. Graham August 5, 1912-January 1914 (fired).

3. John L. Cook March 7, 1914-June 9, 1915. (Cook had been appointed superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery on March 6, 1909, and held this position until March 7, 1914. He was then given a leave of absence as superintendent of the cemetery to take the position of battlefield supt. at $1,500 per year vs. $900 per annum as cemetery Supt). Cook thus held both positions from 1914 to 1915 but was paid only as battlefield supt. Cook, however, had free use of the cemetery lodge as his quarters.

4. Jacob Manath June 9, 1915-ca. June 1925 (died). (Last former Union soldier to hold office)

5. C. H. Bender Ca. June 1925-February 1928 (?)

6. George B. Alexander February 3, 1925-August 10, 1933 (?)

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AUGUST 10, 1933 to date

7. George B. Alexander, August 10, 1933-September 30, 1933.

8. John K. Beckenbaugh, October 10, 1934-October 5, 1940 (died).

9. Carl M. Taute, (Supt. of cemetery) Acting Supt. of Battlefield, October 5, 1940-April 5, 1942-assisted by Ida F. Mongan, Battlefield Clerk.

10. Clarence L. Nett April 6, 1942-June 1, 1945 (died).

Position of cemetery superintendent consolidated with that position of battlefield superintendent on April 6, 1942.

11. Paul H. Younger November 7, 1945-June 10, 1950 (died).

12. Harry W. Doust August 25, 1950 -June 30, 1960

13. Benjamin H. Davis August 7, 1959 - January 26, 1963

14. Robert L. Lagemann January 27, 1963 - September 14, 1963 (acting)

15. Harold I. Lessem September 15, 1963 - October 21, 1967

C & O Canal Takes Over Antietam National Battlefield and Cemetery to Form "Antietma" - C & O Canal National Park Service Group, Maryland":

16. W. Dean McClanahan (C & O Canal) December 17, 1967-July 1972.

17. William R. Failor (C & O Canal) August 1972-July 1, 1974.

Antietam and C & O Canal are separated:

18. A. W. Anderson July 1, 1974-March 11, 1978 (Antietam)

19. Virgil G. Leimer March 12, 1978, to date (Antietam)

APPENDIX IX

The Antietam "Brain Trust" Civil Work Administration Project, 1933-1934[1]

Historical Survey Project for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland, planned by the National Park Service's History Division, Branch of Research and Education, Verne E. Chatelan, chief historian: historian James B. Wolf, supervising.

Personnel	Title	Ages	College	Salary per hour
1. J. William Schnebley	Engineer, Draftman, Supervisor of Project	54	Valparaso University, 1914	$1.33½
2. Thomas L. Loy	Historian and second in command	23	U. of Md. U. of N.C.	1.00
3. Langdon Backus	Historian	22	U. of N.M.	.83 1/3
4. J. Carlton Godlove	Historian	22	Dickinson College	.83 1/3
5. Calvin S. Munna	Historian	22	Shepard State Teachers College	.83 1/3
6. Merle G. Kaetzel	Historian	24	Washington & Lee	.83 1/3
7. Jordon Bean	Historian	20	Mass. Military School	.83 1/3
8. John O'Connell, Jr.	Historian	27	Lehigh U., 1930	.83 1/3
9. Francis Poffenberger	Stenographer	--	-	.50
10. Ida F. Mongan	Stenographer	19	-	.50

Weekly salaries - Schnebley - $40.00; Loy - $30.00; six other historians - $25.00 and two stenographers, who lived in Sharpsburg, $15.00 each.

---

[1] Data from Memorandum of Historian John B. Wolfe, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., December 21, 1933--"Memorandum on Antietam Trip of December 20--copy in Park Museum files.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BLANK PAGE

APPENDIX X

Extracts from assistant historical technician Edward Steere's Memorandum of October 2, 1941, regarding the status of research studies at Antietam:

MAPS

A-3. MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM. (1898) Subtitle reads: "Published under the direction of Daniel Lamont and Russel A. Alger, Secretaries of War by the Antietam Battlefield Board. Surveyed and drawn by Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer, H. W. Mattern, Asst. Engineer, Gettysburg National Park. Contour Interval 10 feet. Scale: (6 inches to one mile.)"

Accompanying the Board's Final Report of 1898, this map locates by their index numbers all cast iron tablets within the Antietam tactical area. Also are shown the National Cemetery, memorial plots, monuments, avenues, and all other installations belonging to the site. It may, in a sense, be regarded as the Master Plan of the Antietam Battlefield Board brought to completion.

A-4. MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM. (1899) Prepared under direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board. Surveyed by Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer, H. W. Mattern, Assistant Engineer, Gettysburg National Park. Contour Interval 10 feet. Scale: (6 inches to one mile.)"

So far as known, no copies are available in the National Park Service files. The map consists of a reconstruction of war-time culture super-imposed upon Cope's topographical survey of 1898, (A-3, above) and serves as the base sheet for General E. A. Carman's tactical study of the Antietam operation, otherwise known as the "Cope Combat Maps." (See A-5, below)

Excepting the dubious authenticity of authority regarding types of crops shown in various cultivated fields, and granted positive identification of the Library of Congress print as the base sheet of Carman's combat maps, the sheet here described seems better adapted, in the opinion of the undersigned, to the requirements of a base historic map for this area than the Michler map of 1867. The following reasons are submitted in support of this opinion:

(1) The discrepancy of distances, as scaled on the Michler and Cope surveys, varies by .07 to 1.00 mile. Such a margin of error would necessarily cause considerable distortion in the areas of different fields, as well as inaccuracies in map distances between historic points.

(2) As already indicated, the Cope map is based on a spirit-level survey, showing 10-foot contour intervals, with water level at Burnside Bridge as datum. Elevations on the Michler map are

shown by hatchers, comparative elevations of different points being indicated only by the length and thickness of hatchers. In contrast to contour lines established by a spirit-level survey, the hatcher system affords no possibility for the determination of areas of visibility. Due to the importance of artillery fields of fire, the base historic sheet of a military area should, it is believed, meet this requirement.

(3) Stream beds and drainage areas are but vaguely approximated by the hatcher system. In view of the fact that the original Confederate defensive line followed, in the main, the watershed between the Potomac River and Antietam Creek, and that the drainage basins of streams running both east and west from the watershed conditions much of the violent fighting around high points along the crest, it is believed that a suitable base historic sheet should locate the areas of these drainage basins with a greater degree of accuracy than that is achieved by Michler's hatchers.

(4) The location of rock outcrops, which played a highly important role in defensive combat during the battle, are shown with meticulous detail on the Cope survey. They are not indicated on the Michler map.

(5) Classification, on the Cope map, of five categories of fencing (rail, post and rail, stone, pailing and unknown), a feature lacking in the Michler survey, offers data of historical and military significance. Inclusion of an unknown category tends to substantiate the authenticity of the others. In the absence, however, of survey notes, question arises as to the reliability of specific crops, as shown, in many fields, as well as the indicated location of certain haystacks and, perhaps, some of the orchards. At the same time, it is to be considered that reconstruction of the war-time culture was done by an able military topographer, who, in addition to serving with distinction in this capacity on the staff of the V Corps, Army of the Potomac, was intimately familiar through long association with the imposition on a detailed, spirit-level survey thirty-seven years after the battle. That is to say, many of the farmers whose ages ranged between twenty and thirty at the time of the battle, were still plowing furroughs in their fields when Colonel Cope was reconstructing the culture of 1862.

A-5. MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM. (1904, so-called "Cope Combat Maps", 14 sheets.) Subtitle reads: "Prepared under the direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board. Surveyed by Lieut. Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer, H. W. Mattern, Assistant Engineer of the Gettysburg National Park. Drawn by Charles H. Ouard, 1899, Position of Troops by General E. A. Carman. Published by authority of the Secretary of War under the direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1904. Contour Interval 10 feet scale, (4 inches approx. to one mile)."

The series of so-called Cope Combat Maps require no additional description to establish their value. It is presumed that General Carman must have prepared and used an elaborate set of notes in deveoping so detailed a series of tactical situations. Inquiry at the Army War College, the Engineer's office and the National Archives, has furnished as yet no clue as to the existence or repository of any such notes. Mr. Jesse S. Douglas, of the National Archives, has undertaken to institute a search and promises to report on the matter forthwith.

Dr. Tilberg remarks: "The authors of the Cope Maps of the Antietam Battlefield evidently had at their disposal much material not contained in their official records of the war, as no authority can be found in the records for many positions indicated on their maps. Obviously much of their work was done by correspondence with the participants of the battle. As far as we know, at this point, this correspondence has been lost. (See A-5, above.) The following study is an attempt to explain the markings on the Cope Maps in the vicinity of the Lee Headquarters Site on the basis of the official records."

BLANK PAGE

APPENDIX XI

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE HISTORICAL STUDIES, 1933-1941

A-6. SUMMARY OF THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN. By Thos. L. Heffernan, Historical Assistant, N.P.S., 1935, 5 pp.

This paper offers a brief statement of objectives and narrates briefly the strategic movements of the armies of the Battlefield of Antietam. The subject matter is admirably proportioned to the purpose in hand.

A-7. ABSTRACTS FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS, CONCERNING ACTION AND MOVEMENTS ON THE SPONG FARM, FROM THE REPORTS OF GENERAL BURNSIDE, COX, STURGIS, NAGLE, FERRERO, FAIRCHILD HARLAND, LT. COL. EWING, GEN. JONES, TOOMBS. By Seasonal Ranger George K. Gelbach, 1940, 1940, 34 pp. As indicated by its title the paper is a transcription of the reports mentioned. Due to termination of service, Mr. Gelbach was unable to complete the study as originally planned.

A-8. A REPORT ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE ARTILLERY AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, MD., WITH A VIEW TO MARKING BATTERY POSITIONS AT THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE. By Joseph Mills Hanson, Assistant Research Technican, National Park Service, February 14, 1940, 61 pp.

Major Hanson presents the following aspects: Lists of batteries, Federal and Confederates, with data concerning artillery organization, numbers and types of guns by batteries; employment of the individual batteries, Federal and Confederate, during operations Sept. 16-17, 1862, with a view to determining, (a) the tactical effectiveness of the artillery arm of both forces, and (b) determination of priority in a list of battery positions, Federal and Confederate, for marking by emplacement of guns available for such purpose.

A-9. A TABULATED LIST OF THE NUMBER AND TYPE OF THE FEDERAL ARTILLERY AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM (OR SHARPSBURG), MARYLAND, ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1862. Compiled by Capt. E.C. Franklin, as submitted by S. S. Eberle, Lieut. Colonel, Infantry, Secretary, Historical Section to Major J. M. Hanson, April 20, 1939.

In developing his report of May 1940, Major Hanson used Captain Franklin's Artillery tabulation, citing as his authority the Army War College. In view of the fact that Captain Franklin lists the sources from which he derived his figures, the Army War College tabulation should be regarded as an appendix to Major Hanson's Antietam Artillery Study. A copy of this tabulation was recently made for the Antietam file from a typescript furnished the undersigned by Captain Franklin.

A-10. THE HISTORY OF THE BURNSIDE BRIDGE. 11 pp. Excerpts from a news story printed Oct. 13, 1887, in the Hagerstown "Herald and Torchlight," reporting exercises at dedication of memorial tablets on the Burnside Bridge and quoting MS. address of Gen. Hartranft, Commanding 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. This study will be indispensable in connection with any contemplated development of the Spong Farm area.

B-8. HISTORICAL STATEMENT RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM IN THE AREA OF THE WEST WOODS AND THE DUNKARD CHURCH. A PART OF WHICH AREA IS NOW KNOWN AS THE PHILADELPHIA BRIGADE PLOT. By Frederick Tilberg, Assistant Historical Technician, August 22, 1940. 2 pp. with photostat map (Cope, 1899). A report on the historical significance of the tract mentioned, with a view to justifying its acquisition. Text offers a concise resume of the operations in and around the West Woods. Map of "Philadelphia Brigade Plot."

B-9. INFORMATIONAL NOTES RELATING TO THE SPONG AND DORSEY FARM TRACTS ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE. By Frederick Tilberg, Assistant Historical Technician, October 12, 1940. 2 pp. with photostat map (Cope, 1899). A report on historical significance of tracts mentioned, with a view to justifying acquisition. Documented text offers concise treatment of operations along Antietam Creek in vicinity of Burnside Bridge and area of Spong and Dorsey farms. Map indicates these tracts and area of fighting.

B-10. HISTORICAL STATEMENT RELATING TO THE LEE HEADQUARTERS SITE. By Frederick Tilberg, Assistant Historical Technician, August 23, 1940. 5 pp. documented. A documented report on the historical significance of the tract mentioned, with a view to justifying its acquisition. Text traces Lee's itinerary from South Mountain to site of headquarters camp established Monday morning, September 15, 1862, and movements of various Confederate units in vicinity of the camp during operations of September 16-17, 1862. Carman (Cope) combat maps Nos. 7, 8 and 10 are used in conjunction with the Official Record. The report touches on an important Antietam research problem in this connection.

A-1. WAR DEPARTMENT HISTORICAL CAST IRON TABLETS. The 1898 Report of the Board contains all the legends of cast iron tablets placed by the War Department on the Antietam Battlefield and at the five outlying areas of Turners Gap, Fox's Gap, Cramptons Gap, Harpers Ferry and Blackfords Ford. Precise, accurate and detailed, these tablets do not readily lend themselves to the solution of a fundamental interpretive requirement - that of conveying the narrative story of an historic event in the limited time period usually at the disposal of a visitor travelling by automobile. They presuppose for a quick comprehension of the episode narrated by any one tablet an intimate and detailed knowledge of the organization of the battle. Granted these prerequisites, the cast iron tablets contribute admirably in putting the details of the story on the ground.

A-2. DESCRIPTION AND INDEX OF CAST IRON TABLETS AND MARKERS, ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE & NATIONAL CEMETERY. Compiled by Ida F. Mongan, Clerk, Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1940. Texts of legends of all tablets extant in 1940, on both the Antietam Battlefield and at the outlying areas of Turners and Cramptons Gaps, Harpers Ferry and Blackfords Ford are transcribed and assembled in a 278 pp. typescript. The compilation includes 251 tablets, or narrative historical markers. The work is carefully indexed with a view to identifying the typescript page number of tablet legends referring to corps, divisional, brigade, regimental (infantry and cavalry) and artillery units of both the Federal and Confederate forces, together with individuals mentioned in the legends. Regimental units are separately indexed under state headings.

The utility of such a work in the routine of interpretation is obvious. Furthermore, its value as the key to a rich fund of historical information needs no comment.

A-14. DESCRIPTION AND PHOTOS OF "MONUMENTS AND MARKERS", ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE AND NATIONAL CEMETERY. (1940). 121 pp. Compiled by Ida F. Mongan, Clerk, Antietam National Battlefield Site. Contains texts of inscriptions on eight-eight monuments and markers or tablets, with photographs of each memorial. Approximate locations indicated, indexed under headings: Corps, Division, Brigade, Regiment, Company, Battery, Cavalry and Individual.

1. DEEDS, GOVERNMENT-OWNED AREA, ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD SITE AND CEMETERY. (1933). A 91 pp. typescript, including copies of deeds of all plots constituting Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery, with a tabulation of all plots according to title number of deed, name of plot, number of acres and approximate location.